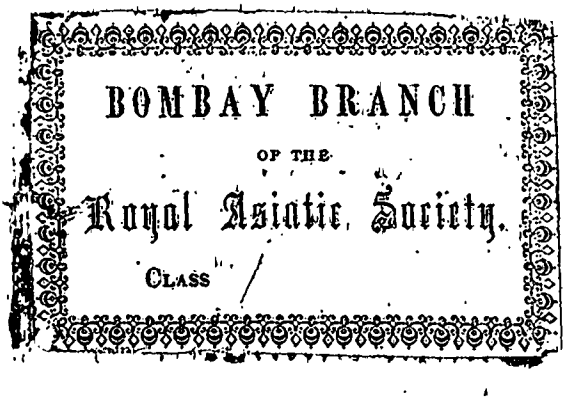
00059077

NOT TO BE ISSUED
OUT OF THE LIBRARY.



Digitized with financial assistance from
Government of Maharashtra
on 30 January, 2020

AN

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CRITICAL STUDY AND KNOWLEDGE

OF THE

HOLY SCRIPTURES.

BY

THE REV. THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B.D.
OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;
M.A. OF KING'S COLLEGE, ABERDEEN; D.D. OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA;
RECTOR OF THE UNITED PARISHES OF SAINT EDMUND THE KING AND MARTYR
AND SAINT NICHOLAS ACONS, LOMBARD STREET;
PREBENDARY OF ST. PAUL'S.

ELEVENTH EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND BROUGHT DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

Edited by

THE REV. THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B.D.
(THE AUTHOR)
THE REV. JOHN AYRE, M.A.
OF CONVILLE AND CAIUS COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE;
AND
SAMUEL PRIDEAUX TREGELLES, LL.D.
AUTHOR OF "REMARKS ON THE PRINTED TEXT OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT," ETC.

5 C 077 ae

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND FACSIMILES OF BIBLICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

IN FOUR VOLUMES—VOL. IV.

LONDON:
LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS.
MDCCCLX.

00059077

AN

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM

OF

THE NEW TESTAMENT;

WITH

ANALYSES, ETC., OF THE RESPECTIVE BOOKS,

AND

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF EDITIONS OF THE SCRIPTURES IN THE ORIGINAL TEXTS AND THE ANCIENT VERSIONS.

BY THE

REV. THOMAS HARTWELL HORNE, B.D.

THE CRITICAL PART RE-WRITTEN AND THE REMAINDER REVISED AND EDITED

BY

SAMUEL PRIDEAUX TREGELLES, LL.D.

THIRD EDITION.

LONDON:

LONGMAN, GREEN, LONGMAN, AND ROBERTS.

MDCCCLXII.

PREFACE

TO THE

INTRODUCTION TO THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THIS volume consists of three parts, which may be considered separately.

The *first* is an Introduction to the *Textual Criticism* and Study of the New Testament: for this I am wholly responsible; for, with the exception of portions cited expressly from the Rev. T. H. Horne, it has been entirely prepared for this volume. It would, indeed, have been easy to have taken the material already existing on the subject of the MSS., versions, &c. &c., of the New Testament, as written by Mr. Horne, and to have enlarged it by a few additions, and to have introduced the mention of newly-discovered MSS. in a similar manner; two reasons, however, especially weighed with me in giving to this portion of the volume its present form.

Textual Criticism has been my especial study in connection with the Greek New Testament for many years; and thus it appeared to be right to treat the topics more independently than I could have done, had I sought to act *merely* as an editor and annotator; for when any scholar has been an investigator in any department of study, it is only natural that he should be in some measure especially qualified for speaking for himself, and communicating the

results of his studies to others. And this leads me to the second of the reasons referred to above.

In examining the whole subject of Textual Criticism, and in obtaining an acquaintance with the sources of evidence (MSS., versions, and early citations), not a little has accumulated on my hands, which is certainly not accessible to all Biblical scholars; and although others have freely used and have published without hinderance much that has been collected by me, yet all this has formed a part of what I have long thought might be profitably published at some future day, as a contribution to the accurate knowledge of New Testament criticism. These things, then, being so, I was glad to have the opportunity of thus making some *present* use of the results of my studies, so that they may be available for the benefit of others. I have thus, in speaking of MSS., versions, the History of the Text, and some other topics, given at least an *outline* of my own investigations on these subjects. A hint was communicated to me while the volume was passing through the press, that this portion had been unduly extended; but as the publishers coincided with me in considering that too much compression would in that part be injudicious, no portion of what had been written was omitted. It must be understood, however, that even on the sources of criticism many subjects are rather indicated than entered into in detail; enough, however, has been given to direct the student in learning for himself.

To me it is a satisfaction to have been able to speak thus far on these subjects, though I might wish that it had been possible to have entered more minutely into the *internal characteristics* of the ancient MSS., and the several versions, and to have discussed fully the patristic citations. But still this volume, and one which appeared not long ago *,

* "An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, with Remarks on its Revision upon Critical Principles." Bagster: 1854.

may suffice for the present for communicating to others the results of my own studies, which have been carried on through many long years. I ought, perhaps, to add, that if I am ever able to exhibit fully the results of my studies in this department of Biblical learning in a combined and united form, I can see no prospect of its being possible for several years at least, a period which appears doubly uncertain to those who consider the instability of all mundane and human things. The indefiniteness of any such prospect makes me all the more glad that I have been able to put the portion of this volume, which relates to Textual Criticism, into its present definite form. I may rightly add, that in this determination, and in the manner in which it has been carried out, I have had the satisfaction of the approval of the Rev. T. H. Horne. It only requires, in stating this, that it should be borne in mind that for all *critical opinions* expressed, I alone am responsible.

When I remember how differently some now regard critical principles to what was the case comparatively few years ago, I cannot do other than feel thankful that results should so far have been attained. Twenty years ago things were not so regarded in this country as is the case at present; the principle of recurrence to the earliest and best authorities is one in which many have now acquiesced; and while continued efforts, made both in private and public, have been thus far of use, the original authorities have been at the same time re-examined; MSS. have been more accurately collated; the texts of many have been published by Tischendorf; the ancient versions have been more accurately investigated, and the patristic citations have been more studied. Thus there has been in the last twenty years a simultaneous apprehension of critical principles, and of the facts to which they may be applied. I believe that I have no occasion to say more as to the first part of this

volume, the contents of which may speak for themselves. No one will, I believe, consider that I have given undue prominence to my own investigations, who is aware of the change of the tone of thought as to many critical points amongst Christian scholars in this country, to effect which my efforts have been constantly directed for more than twenty years, and that not without *some* success.

The *second* portion of this volume consists of Introductions to the respective books of the New Testament. And here I am not author, but simply editor. Here I felt that I stood on very different ground from that which I had occupied with regard to the Textual portion of the volume. I had not so much to consider how *I* should have treated the subjects, as what addition might be needful, in consequence of modern research, to what the Rev. T. H. Horne had himself stated. It was not for me to pull down one edifice in order to erect another in its stead; to do this for the mere sake of change, would be like removing an old manor house to make room for a trim Italian villa.

But as editor I have used my liberty: as to those books of the New Testament, the authority, &c., of which has been specially disputed, I have added what appeared to me *necessary;* I have removed what seemed doubtful, or what has not borne the test of close examination, and I have sought that the evidence in favour of the respective books of the sacred volume may be sufficient for the purpose of the general student.

Some would have wished that the quotations of earlier writers given by Mr. Horne should be omitted; to do this in general was, however, equally opposed to my *judgment* and *inclination;* for there are few things to which it is now more needful to direct the attention of young Biblical students than that there were Biblical scholars before those who have lived and written during the last thirty years.

To many now the investigations of such foreigners as Eichhorn and Michaelis seem things almost unknown; and such seem unconscious that we ever had Biblical scholars in our own country. To such the names of Lardner and others are unfamiliar, and their works are almost or quite unknown. I am therefore glad that such citations remain as given by Mr. Horne, and I hope that they may be the means of directing some students to the works of those who lived before the present generation. Had there not been such an ignoring of what others have done long ago, and such obliviousness as to their works, we should not find so many new *discoveries* made as to points long ago investigated and known. It is the part of wisdom, for scholars now to combine all that is *true* in recent research with the *ascertained facts* of earlier inquiry.

It is true that many of the objections raised against the books of the New Testament, which were noticed by Mr. Horne, belong, *in the form stated*, to a past generation; but this does not render them even now void of application; for it is well that students should be aware that much in the way of objection that is advanced as *new* is only some old argument put in a new dress, or adapted to some novel mode of phraseology. It is thus well to see that the objection had been fully *answered*, even before the supposed scheme of philosophy to which it is *now* adapted had been heard of. Absolute *evidence* to the authority of the New Testament books remains the same, even though it is now the fashion with some forms of pseudo-philosophy to ignore this as much as possible, and to subject all testimony to the application of some supposed principle, or to the subjective feeling of each inquirer.

I have not gone out of my way to state these forms of objection; they vary continually, and their shapes change as often as that of the clouds which flit across the sky. If

I know on the evidence of my senses that the sun is *there*, the varying kinds and consistencies of cloud and mist that obscure his brightness do nothing to efface from my mind that known fact. Had objection assumed some *one* definite ground of argument, I might have well noticed it; but absolute evidence, if apprehended, is sufficient to answer the subjective notions which are put in competition against it.

On some occasions, and for certain students, it is well, no doubt, to meet and refute sceptical theories, and to discuss objections and difficulties one by one: but this is not the only thing to which Introductions to the New Testament books should be devoted. A young student may well receive the impression (if this be the prominent and principal thing) that all that can be said about the New Testament is to show in how many ways it may be assailed, and how clever the men must be who use such ingenuity in raising objections. In this way a tendency may be communicated to the mind of the student, from too great prominence being given to forms of objection, which is hardly ever eradicated; just as the specimens of false spelling in Lindley Murray's exercises have often so familiarised the eyes of children with what is incorrect, that they never quite overcome the effects of that most injudicious mode of teaching orthography. The result produced is just the contrary of that which was intended.

All facts and arguments stated by Mr. Horne are retained with due prominence. It was not my business as editor to interfere with these, even though my own opinion is freely added where needful.

The *third* part, or Bibliographical Appendix, contains such portions of Mr. Horne's List as relate to the Scriptures in the original languages and in the ancient versions, with such additions as appeared to me to be necessary. Some of these

are old works; but the greater part are such as have appeared in the last ten years.

In conclusion, let me remind all students and readers that the New Testament is not given us as that on which our intellectual faculties simply are to be exercised, but as the revelation of God, inspired by the Holy Ghost, to teach the way of salvation through faith in Christ crucified.

S. PRIDEAUX TREGELLES.

Plymouth, September 18. 1856.

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

ON THE

FŒDUS CUM GRÆCIS AND THE FLORENTINE COUNCIL.

In p. 108. the correspondence between Erasmus and Sepulveda is referred to in connection with the question whether Greek MSS. were ordered by the Florentine Council to be corrected by the Latin. But as, in the collected works of Erasmus, but little of the correspondence between him and Sepulveda is given, some points are left in obscurity.

Since, however, the passage above mentioned was printed, the works of Sepulveda[1] have been added to my study, and there the letters are given which are omitted amongst those of Erasmus. My oversight of these letters till now will not be harshly judged by those who remember that the same had been committed by those who wrote before me on this subject, and who observe that I myself have drawn attention to my former omission.

The *first* of these letters (vol. iii. p. 77.) is from Sepulveda to Erasmus, dated April 1. 1532, in which he speaks of the annotations of Stunica. To this Erasmus replied (p. 78.), on the morrow of the Assumption of the Virgin in the same year. The third letter in the series is from Sepulveda to Erasmus, dated the Ides of October, also in 1532.

The fourth (p. 81.) is that from Sepulveda to Erasmus, dated Nov. 1. 1533, which is noticed in this volume (p. 108.), as not existing amongst the letters of Erasmus any more than his reply. In it Sepulveda thus mentions the Vatican MS.: "Scito exemplaria Græca, quæ tu secutus es in Novo Testamento, plerisque mendis esse depravata, jam singulis verbis, jam solidis orationibus sublatis, aut vicissim redundantibus. Quod factum esse reor culpa librariorum, quibus errandi occasionem præbuerint scholia quædam importune ut sæpe solet, a quibusdam studiosis in librorum marginibus ascripta. Itaque id malum, semel per errorem a nonnullis admissum, tam late, ut video, permanavit, ut non solum excusi omnes libri cum eis erratis circumferantur, sed quædam etiam manuscripta exemplaria ab his mendis non abhorreant. Quo minus debet mirum videri cuipiam, te dum

[1] Joannis Genesii Sepulvedæ Cordubensis Opera, cum edita tum inedita. Accurante regia Historiæ Academia. Matriti, 1780. 4 vols. 4to.

cæcos sequeris, ad easdem salebras offendisse. *Est enim Græcum exemplar antiquissimum in Bibliotheca Vaticana, in quo diligentissime et accuratissime litteris majusculis conscriptum utrumque Testamentum continetur longe diversum a vulgatis exemplaribus.* Mihi enim cum ab Stunica fuissem admonitus, rem perspicere, et libros conferre curæ fuit. Hoc autem exemplar omnium esse emendatissimum, cum ejus antiquitas declarat, et librarii diligentia, tum quod multum convenit cum vetere nostra translatione, quæ dubitari non debet, quin ex emendatissimo quoque exemplari conversa, et tradita nobis sit a majoribus. Cum igitur ad illius exemplaris fidem et quasi normam ceteri libri sint emendandi ac dirigendi, quid opus facto sit, ipse considerabis: sic enim habeto, raro vulgatam Græcorum editionem a veteri translatione nostra discrepare, discrepat autem, ut nosti sæpissime, ut a Vaticano illo exemplari non dissentiat. Ac ne teneam, trecentis sexaginta quinque locis scripturæ diversitatem adnotavimus."

The list of the 365 places is not given in the printed letter.

To this letter Erasmus replied by one dated February 17. 1534, in which he says: "Quod scribis de Codice Græco, quem nactus es in Bibliotheca Pontificia tantopere cum Vulgata editione consentiente, vide ne inanem operam sumas. Constat enim, cum Græci fœdus inirent cum Ecclesia Romana, quemadmodum testatur *Bulla*, quæ dicitur *Aurea*, hoc quoque fuisse comprehensum in articulis, ut Græcorum codices, præsertim Evangelici, ad Romanam lectionem emendarentur, et in similes codices ipse incideram, cum primum ederem Novum Testamentum. Quare ex isto codice nihil est, quod possis judicare. Sed Græcorum lectio petenda est ex Græcis auctoribus, Athanasio, Basilio, Origene, Chrysostomo, Nazianzeno, Cyrillo."

It is part of the reply of Sepulveda to *this* letter which I have given in p. 108. [1], in which he shows that the *Bulla Aurea* had contained no such clause, and that no decree of the Florentine Council *could* apply to an ancient MS. like the Codex Vaticanus.

In Erasmus's answer to Sepulveda, "V. Non. Jun. 1534," he says: "Quod adducis Pontificiæ Bibliothecæ auctoritatem, acciperem; nisi exemplar, quod secutus est Franciscus Ximenius Hispan. Card. missum esset ex Pontificis Bibliotheca tamquam germanum. Atqui hoc fere convenit cum exemplaribus meis. *Bullam auream nec ipse vidi. Cutbertus Episcopus Dulmensis vir apprime doctus mihi narravit cui credidi.* De correctione codicum non dixit esse in bulla, sed aiebat idem mutationem Græcorum Codicum esse factam. Vidi et ipse codicem Evangeliorum ex Bibliotheca Capnionis [1 Evangeliorum, &c.], qui per omnia consentiebat nostræ editioni Latinæ, verum is erat recentior."

This information which Erasmus received must have been when he

[1] But there are some *verbal variations* between that in Erasmus's works and that in Sepulveda. Thus, "nam quomodo poterant" in Erasmus, is "quomodo enim poterant" in Sepulveda; "a *sciolis* scholia sæpe cum *scripturis* confundentibus" in one, is "*parum doctis* scholia sæpe cum *scriptura* confundentibus;" and the date in Sepulveda is according to the *Roman* Calendar, "X. Kal. Jan." Thus easily did *various readings* arise.

wrote his annotations for his third edition. Thus, then, originated the notion of the *Fœdus cum Græcis* in an incorrect casual remark of Cuthbert Tonstall, Bishop of Durham; and this hint thus thrown out has haunted the domain of criticism like a phantom, so that after three hundred thirty and three years it still seems to possess a vitality which would not have been possible if the correspondence between Sepulveda and Erasmus had been rightly attended to.

P. 138. line 28. read, "The first and third of these editions have at the end tables of the variations;" for it seems that this table is not rightly added to the *second:* the titles and contents of them, however, are much confused.

P. 160. *foot-note.* It should be mentioned that the writer has now ascertained that it was not from beneath the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem that the fragment of the Pentateuch came, but from beneath the Mosque of *Amrou* at Cairo. The error arose from a confusion of the two names.

P. 296, &c. To the Thebaic fragments mentioned, there should be added that in Zoega's "Catalogus Codicum Copticorum Manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur," some fragments of the Apocalypse are printed; also there are Thebaic fragments introduced into the Egyptian Grammar of Tukius.

The work of Zoega also shows that there exists another fragment of T. of the Gospels, not edited or collated, containing part of St. Luke's Gospel in Greek and Thebaic; and that this or some other Thebaic copy *does* contain Luke xxii. 42. 43. commonly said to be absent from that version.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FOURTH VOLUME.

CONTENTS OF INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAP. I. — *The Objects proposed in an Introduction to Textual Criticism and Study* - - - - - - - Page 1

Definitions, 1. Preliminary Studies, 4. Divisions of Subjects, 6.

CHAP. II. — *Language of the New Testament* - - - 8

Characteristics of Greek, 8. Diffusion, 8. Common Dialect, 10. Attic Greek, 10.

CHAP. III. — *Characteristics of New Testament Greek* - - 12

Lexicography, 12. Dialectic Traces, 13. Meanings of Words, 13. Forms, 13. Syro-Chaldaic and Latin Words, 14. Grammatical Peculiarities, 15. Phraseology, 18. Greek of LXX., 18. Other Peculiarities, 20. Term "Hellenistic," 21. Discussions on New Testament Greek, 21.

CHAP. IV. — *On the Text of the New Testament, in its External Form, Divisions, Marks of Distinction, &c.* - - - 24

Writing Materials, 24. Books of New Testament when collected, 25. Form of MSS., 25. Mode of Writing, 25. Interpunction, 26. Stichometry, 26—29. Punctuation, 29. Division of Words, 30. Sections of Books, 30. Accents, 33. Modern Chapters, 34. Verses, 34. Vatican Chapters, 35. Lectionaries, 36.

CHAP. V. — *On the History of the Text itself, especially to the Fifth Century* - - - - - - - 37

Early History, 37. Marcion's Corruptions, 38. Metaphrases, 39. Tatian's Dia Tessaron, 40. Early Quotations, 40. Versions, 40. Text in the Third Century, 42. In the Fourth, 43. Jerome's Labours, 44. Transition Text, 44. Recent Text, 46. Variations of Copies, 47.

CHAP. VI. — *On the various Readings* - - - - Page 48

Causes of Variation, 48. Interchanges of Vowels, 50. Substitutions, 52. Order, 52. Contractions, 54. Difficulties, 54, Assimilations, 54. Insertions, 55. Lord's Prayer, 56. Amplifications, 56. Conflate Readings, 60. Omissions, 60. Corrections, 62. Sporadic Readings, 64.

CHAP. VII. — *On the Systematic Classification of Documents — Bengel's, Griesbach's, and Hug's Theories of Recensions* - 66

Affinities of Documents, 66. Bengel's System, 67. Semler on Recensions, 70. Griesbach's Theories, 71. Matthæi on Recensions, 76. Michaelis, 77. Hug's System, 78. Griesbach's Meletemata, 84. Eichhorn, 87.

CHAP. VIII. — *Discussions on Recensions — Theories subsequent to those of Griesbach and Hug* - - - - - - 88

Laurence on Griesbach's System, 88. Scrivener on Laurence, 91. Nolan, 92. Scholz's System, 94. Scrivener on Scholz, 102. Rinck, 103. Results of Discussions, 104.

CHAP. IX. — *On the Charge that Greek MSS. have been altered from the Latin — Velezian Readings* - - - - - 107

Latinizing suggested by Erasmus, 107. Velezian Readings, 111. Barberini Readings, 112. Codices Græco-Latini, 113. On Latinizing MSS., 114.

CHAP. X. — *On the History of the Text of the Greek New Testament, as printed, to the Time of Bengel* - - - - 116

Erasmus's Editions, 117. Aldine, 118. Complutensian, 119. Complutensian MSS., 120. Colinæus's Edition, 123. Stephens's, 123. Beza's, 124. Elzevir, 124. Textus Receptus, 124. Curcellæus's Editions, 124. Walton, 124. Fell, 125. Mill, 125. Küster, 126. Wells, 126. Bentley, 127. Mace, 128.

CHAP. XI. — *History of the Printed Text from Bengel onward* - 128

Bengel's Edition, 128. Wetstein's, 129. Griesbach's first, 131. Birch's Collations, 131. Alter, 131. Matthæi, 131. Griesbach, 132. His Second Edition, 132. Scholz's, 132. Lachmann's, 133. Tischendorf's, 138. Tregelles's, 139. Alford, 142. Ellicott, 144. Scrivener's Collations, 145.

CHAP. XII. — *On the Sources of Textual Criticism in general* - 147

MSS., Versions, and Citations, 147. Comparative Criticism, 148.

CHAP. XIII. — *Greek MSS. of the most Ancient Class containing the Gospels, with or without other Portions of the New Testament* 151

A. 152. B. 158. C. 166. D. 169.

CHAP. XIV. — *Fragments of MSS. of the most Ancient Class containing Portions of the Gospels* - - - - - 177

N. 177. P. 179. Q. 179. T. 180. Frag. Woid. 180. Z. 180. R. 183. II. 84.

CHAP. XV. — *MSS. of the most Ancient Class which do not contain the Gospels* - - - - - - - Page 186

E. (Acts), 187. D. 190. E. (Epp.), 193. H. 194.

CHAP. XVI. — *Later Uncial MSS. of peculiar Importance* - 194

L. 194. X. 195. Δ. 196. F. 197. G. 199.

CHAP. XVII. — *The other later Uncials containing the Gospels* - 200

E. 200. F. 200. G. 201. H. 201. K. 201. M. 202. S. 202. U. 202. V. 203. Γ. 203. Λ. 203. Various Fragments, 204.

CHAP. XVIII. — *The other later Uncials containing the Acts, Epistles, or Apocalypse* - - - - - - - - 205

H. 205. F. 205. G. J. 205. J. K. 205. B. 206. Uffenbach Fragment, 206.

CHAP. XIX. — *Important MSS. in cursive Letters* - - - 207

(1), 208. (33), 209. (69), 210. (38, Apoc.), 211. Tischendorf's MS. of the Acts, 211. (13), 212. (22), 212. (209), 212. Cod. Montfort., 215. Cod. Ottobonianus, 217. Cod. Ravianus, 218. Cod. Neap. Regius, 218. Cod. Ebnerianus, 219.

CHAP. XX. — *MSS. containing Lectionaries* - - - 221

Text of Lectionaries, 222. Cod. Harleianus, 5598., 224.

CHAP. XXI. — *On the Ancient Versions in general as Sources of Textual Criticism* - - - - - - - - 225

Value of their Testimony, 225. Denied by Scrivener, 226. Mill's Use of Versions, 229.

CHAP. XXII. — *The Ancient Latin Versions prior to the Vulgate of Jerome* - - - - - - - - 230

Version made in Africa, 230. Wiseman's Investigation, 231. One Translation, not many, 233. Augustine, 234. Jerome, 235. "Itala," 235. MSS. of the Gospels of the old Latin, 237. Of the Acts, 240. Of St. Paul's Epistles, 241. Classification, 241. Revision opposed in Africa, 242.

CHAP. XXIII. — *The Revision of the Latin by Jerome — The Vulgate* - - - - - - - - - 243

Work undertaken by Jerome, 243. His own Account, 244. His Work brought into use, 246. Cassiodorus, Gregory I., 246. Gradual Corruptions, 247. Alcuin, 247. Correctoria, 248. Stephens's Editions, 249. Council of Trent, 249. Hentenius, Lucas Brugensis, 249. Sixtine Edition, 250. Clementine Edition, 251. Vulgate as a Source of Criticism, 253. Editions, 253. MSS., 253—255. Sixtine and Clementine Variations, 256.

CHAP. XXIV. — *The early Syriac Versions: the Peshito, and the Curetonian Text of the Gospels* - - - - Page 259

A Syriac Version in 2nd cent., 258. Hegesippus, Ephrem, 258. Peshito New Testament brought to Europe, 259. Printed, 260. MSS., 264. Critical Use of the Version, 264. Curetonian Syriac, 267.

CHAP. XXV. — *The Philoxenian Syriac Version, and its Revision by Thomas of Harkel* - - - - - - 269

Later Syriac, first mentioned, 267. Philoxenus and Polycarp, 270. This Version noticed by Pococke, 271. MSS. sent to England, 271. Ridley, 271. Thomas of Harkel revises this Version, 272. Bernstein's Theory, 274. Bar Hebræus, 275. White's Edition, 276. Bernstein's St. John, 277. Critical Use, 277.

CHAP. XXVI. — *The Syriac Version of Portions added to some Editions of the Peshito* - - - - - - 278

2 Peter, 2 and 3 John and Jude, 278. Apocalypse, 280. John viii. 1—11., 282.

CHAP. XXVII. — *The Jerusalem Syriac Version* - - - 284

Adler's Examination, 284. Assemani, 285. Readings, 287.

CHAP. XXVIII. — *The Memphitic Version* - - - 287

Early Existence of Egyptian Versions, 288. Marshall's Collations, 289. Wilkins's Edition, 289. Schwartze's, 290. Boetticher, 292. Lieder's, 293.

CHAP. XXIX. — *The Thebaic Version* - - - - 295

Woide's Investigations, 295. Mingarelli, Giorgi, Münter, 295. Woide's Collection of Fragments, 296. Edited by Ford, 296. Zoega, 297. Another Egyptian Version, 298. Zoega, Engelbreth, 298.

CHAP. XXX. — *The Gothic Version* - - - - 299

Account of the Goths, 299. Ulphilas, 300. Version noticed, 301. Codex Argenteus, 301. Editions of Gospels, 302. Fragments of the Epistles, Knittel, 303. Mai and Palimpsests, 304. Recent Editions, 307.

CHAP. XXXI. — *The Armenian Version* - - - - 309

Miesrob and the Translation, 310. Uscan's Edition, 311. Zohrab's Editions, 311. Bredenkamp's Collation, 311. Rieu's Collation, 312. MSS. not Latinized, 312.

CHAP. XXXII. — *The Æthiopic Version* - - - - 315

Frumentius, 315. Æthiopic New Testament, first published, 316. Platt's Edition, 317. His Collations, 317. Prevost's Collation, 318. Æthiopic MSS. described, 321.

CHAP. XXXIII. — *The Arabic and other later Versions* - - 323

Arabic Versions, 324. Storr, 324. Juynboll, 325. Scholz, 326. Slavonic Version, 326. Cyrillus, 326. MSS. and Editions, 327. Persic Gospels, 328. Georgian Version, 328.

CHAP. XXXIV.—*Early Citations, as Sources of Criticism* - Page 329

Modes of Citation, 330. Greek Fathers, 332. Latin Fathers, 336. Syriac,—Ephrem, 336. Citations, how to use, 337.

CHAP. XXXV.—*On the Application of Materials for Criticism* - 342

Critical Principles, 343. Examples, 345.

CHAP. XXXVI.—*On the Reading of* 1 *John, v.* 7. - - 355

Forms in which the Text stands, MSS., 356. Versions, 357. Fathers, 358. Complutensian, 360. Wiseman's Defence, 363. Michaelis, 373. Horsley, 374. Newton, 376. Summary, 380. Appendix to ch. xxxvi., Works on the subject, 384.

CHAP. XXXVII.—*On the Application of some of the Results of Textual Criticism* - - - - - - - 389

Scripture Authority, 389. Inspiration, 393. Interpretation, 394. Philology, 395. Quotations, 397. Difficulties, 398. Authorities, 400.

CONTENTS OF THE INTRODUCTIONS TO THE RESPECTIVE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS - - - - - 403

CHAP. I.—*Classification of the Books of the New Testament* - 404

CHAP. II.—*The Name and Number of the Canonical Gospels* - 407

I. The Appellation Gospels, 407. II. Scope of the Gospels, 408. III. Their Number, 408. IV. Importance, 409.

CHAP. III.—*On the Gospel by St. Matthew* - - - 410

I. Title, 410. II. Author, 410. III. Date, 411. IV. Language, 416. V. Genuineness and Authenticity, 420. VI. Authenticity of chaps. i. and ii., 421. VII. Scope 427. VIII. Synopsis of Contents, 430. IX. Style, 432.

CHAP. IV.—*On the Gospel by St. Mark* - - - - 432

I. Title, 432. II. Author, 432. III. Genuineness and Authenticity, 433. IV. Date, 436. V. Occasion and Scope, 436. VI. Language, 437. VII. Synopsis of Contents, 438. VIII. Did St. Mark abridge St. Matthew? 439. Style, 442.

CHAP. V.—*On the Gospel by St. Luke* - - - - 442

I. Title, 442. II. Author, 442. III. Genuineness, the, 444. IV. Date, 451. V. For whom written, 452. VI. Occasion and Scope, 453. VII. Synopsis, 455. VIII. Observations on this Gospel, 459.

CHAP. VI. — *On the Gospel by St. John* - - - Page 460

I. Title, 460. II. Author, 460. III. Date, 462. IV. Genuineness, &c., 463. (On chap. xxi. 462. On vii. 53.—viii. 11., 465.) V. Occasion and Design, 467. Analysis, 471. VI. Supplementary Character, 475. VII. Style, 476.

CHAP. VII. — *On the Acts of the Apostles* - - - - 476

I. Title, 476. II. Author, 477. III. Genuineness, &c., 477. IV. Scope, 478. V. Chronology, 479. VI. Analysis, 480. VII. Style, 482. VIII. Importance of the Book, 483.

CHAP. VIII. — *Account of the Apostle Paul* - - - 484

I. Birth, Education, and Conversion, 484. II. Travels up to his Second Visit to Jerusalem, 490. III. Labours to his Fourth Visit to Jerusalem, 491. IV. To his Fifth Visit, 493. V. To his First Imprisonment at Rome, 494. VI. Subsequent Life and Martyrdom, 495. VII. Character, 496. VIII. Style, 498.

CHAP. IX. — *Observations on the Apostolical Epistles in general, and those of St. Paul in particular* - - - - - 506

I. Importance and Nature of the Epistles, 506. II. Number and Order, 509. III. Catholic Epistles, 511. IV. Plan of the Epistles, 511. V. Causes of Obscurity, 512.

CHAP. X. — *On the Epistle to the Romans* - - - 513

I. Date and Place, 513. II. Genuineness, 514. III. The Church at Rome, 514. IV. Occasion and Scope, 515. V. State of the Roman Church, 516. VI. Scope, 518. VII. Synopsis of Contents, 518. VIII. Observations on this Epistle, 521.

CHAP. XI. — *On the First Epistle to the Corinthians* - - 521

I. Corinthian Church, 521. II. Occasion of the Epistle, 522. III. Scope and analysis, 523. IV. Date and Genuineness, 524. V. Is an Epistle to the Corinthians lost ? 525.

CHAP. XII. — *On the Second Epistle to the Corinthians* - - 527

I. Date and Place, 527. II. Occasion, 527. III. Scope, 528. IV. Synopsis, 528. V. Observations on the Epistle, 529. St. Paul's Visits to Corinth, 529.

CHAP. XIII. — *On the Epistle to the Galatians* - - - 530

I. Galatian Churches, 530. II. Date, 530. III. Genuineness, &c., 531. IV. Occasion and Scope, 531. V. Synopsis, 532. VI. Observations, 533.

CHAP. XIV. — *On the Epistle to the Ephesians* - - - 534

I. Church at Ephesus, 534. II. Genuineness, &c., of the Epistle, 535. III. Date, 537. IV. Occasion and Scope, 537. V. Synopsis, 538. Style, 538.

CHAP. XV. — *On the Epistle to the Philippians* - - - 538

I. Church at Philippi, 538. II. Date, 539. III. Occasion, 539. IV. Scope and Synopsis, 539.

CHAP. XVI.— *On the Epistle to the Colossians* - - Page 541

I. The Church at Colossæ, 541. II. Date, 542. III. Occasion, 542. IV. Scope and Analysis, 543.

CHAP. XVII.— *On the First Epistle to the Thessalonians* - 544

I. Church at Thessalonica, 544. II. Genuineness, 544. III. Occasion, 545. Analysis, 545.

CHAP. XVIII.— *On the Second Epistle to the Thessalonians* - 545

I. Date, Occasion, and Scope, 545. II. Analysis, 546. III. Observations, 547.

CHAP. XIX.— *On the First Epistle to Timothy* - - - 547

I. Account of Timothy, 547. II. Date, 548. III. Genuineness of the Epistles to Timothy, 550. IV. Scope and Synopsis, 552. V. Observations on the Pastoral Epistles, 553.

CHAP. XX.— *On the Second Epistle to Timothy* - - - 554

I. Date, 554. II. To what *place* sent? 556. III. Scope, 556. IV. Synopsis, 557. V. Observations, 557.

CHAP. XXI.— *On the Epistle to Titus* - - - - 558

I. Account of Titus, 558. II. Christianity in Crete, 558. III. Date, 559. IV. Scope and Analysis, 559. V. Observations, 560.

CHAP. XXII.— *On the Epistle to Philemon* - - - 560

I. Account of Philemon, 560. II. Date, 561. III. Genuineness, &c., 561. IV. Occasion and Scope, 563. V. Observations, 564.

CHAP. XXIII.— *On the Epistle to the Hebrews* - - - 565

I. To whom written, 565. II. Language, 569. III. Genuineness, &c., Authorship, 571. IV. Date, 585. V. Occasion and Scope, 585. Synopsis, 586.

CHAP. XXIV.— *On the Catholic Epistles in General* - - 588

I. Appellation, 588. II. Its Antiquity: Authenticity of these Epistles, 590. III. Order, 590.

CHAP. XXV.— *On the General Epistle of James* - - - 591

I. Author, 591. II. Genuineness, &c., 593. III. To whom addressed, 594. IV. Scope, 595. V. Synopsis, 595. VI. Observations, 596.

CHAP. XXVI.— *On the First General Epistle of Peter* - - 597

I. Account of St. Peter, 597. II. Genuineness, &c., 599. III. To whom written, 599. IV. Whence written and when, 600. V. Design and Contents, 601. VI. Observations 602.

CHAP. XXVII. — *On the Second General Epistle of Peter* - Page 603

I. Genuineness, &c., 603. II. Date, 609. III. Scope and Synopsis, 609.

CHAP. XXVIII. — *On the First General Epistle of John* - - 610

I. Genuineness, &c., 610. II. Date, 611. III. Persons addressed, 612. IV. Occasion and Scope, 613. V. Synopsis, 614.

CHAP. XXIX. — *On the Second and Third Epistles of John* - 616

I. Genuineness, Authenticity, and Date, 616. II. Person addressed in the Second Epistle, 616. III. Its Scope, 617. IV. Person addressed in the Third Epistle, 617. V. Its Scope, 617. VI. Observations, 619.

CHAP. XXX. — *On the General Epistle of Jude* - - - 619

I. Author, 619. II. Genuineness, &c., 620. III. Date, 622. IV. Persons addressed, 622. V. Occasion and Scope, 623. VI. Style, 623.

CHAP. XXXI. — *On the Book of Revelation* - - - 624

I. Title, 624. II. Genuineness, &c., 624. III. Date, 632. IV. Scope, 634. V. Synopsis, 635. VI. Observations on the Book, 637.

APPENDIX. — *On the Sources of the First Three Gospels* - 641

I. Different Hypotheses stated, 641. II. Hypothesis that the Evangelists copied from one another, 641. III. Hypothesis of One Primary Document, 645. IV. Hypothesis of many Documents, 651. V. Hypothesis of Oral Tradition, 657. VI. Statement of other Grounds. Mr. Smith's System, 664.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST OF SOME OF THE EDITIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES IN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGES, AND IN THE ANCIENT VERSIONS, WITH NOTICES OF THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS - 667

INTRODUCTION. — *Works on Bibliography* - - - 667

TEXTS AND VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.

SECT. I. — *Principal Editions of the Hebrew Bible* - - - 670

§ 1. Editiones Principes - - - - - - - 670
§ 2. Editiones Primariæ - - - - - - - 671
§ 3. Editions with Rabbinical Commentaries - - - - - 671
§ 4. Principal Editions, including those with Notes, &c. - - - 671

SECT. II. — *Editions of the Hebræo-Samaritan Pentateuch* - 678

SECT. III. — *Facsimile Editions of MSS. of the New Testament or LXX.* - - - - - - - - 678

SECT. IV. — *Principal Editions of the Greek New Testament* Page 684

SECT. V. — *Polyglott Bibles, &c.* - - - - - 713

SECT. VI. — *Ancient Versions of the Old and New Testaments* - 719

§ 1. Targums - - - - - - - - - 719
§ 2. Ancient Greek versions - - - - - - - 720
[i.] The Septuagint - - - - - - - 720
English translations of the LXX. - - - - - 726
[ii.] Editions of Origen's Hexapla and Tetrapla - - - - 726
[iii.] Another Greek version - - - - - - 727
§ 3. Ancient Oriental versions - - - - - - - 727
[i.] The Syriac versions - - - - - - - 727
The Peshito, or Old Syriac - - - - - - 727
The Curetonian Syriac - - - - - - 728
The Philoxenian Syriac - - - - - - 728
Portions added to the Peshito - - - - - 729
Syriac Hexaplar version - - - - - - 729
[ii.] The Arabic versions - - - - - - - 730
[iii.] The Persic versions - - - - - - - 730
[iv.] The Ægyptian versions - - - - - - 731
Memphitic - - - - - - - - 731
Thebaic - - - - - - - - 732
Bashmuric - - - - - - - - 732
[v.] Æthiopic version - - - - - - - 732
[vi.] Armenian version - - - - - - - 733
§ 4. Ancient Western versions - - - - - - - 733
[i.] The Latin versions - - - - - - - 733
Ante-Hieronymian - - - - - - - 733
Version of Jerome - - - - - - - 734
Modern Vulgate - - - - - - - 735
[ii.] The Gothic version - - - - - - - 736
[iii.] The Slavonic version - - - - - - - 738
[iv.] The Anglo-Saxon versions - - - - - - 739

SECT. VII. — *Apocryphal Books and Writings* - - - - 740

§ 1. Apocryphal books of the Old Testament - - - - - 740
§ 2. Apocryphal books of the New Testament - - - - - 749

INTRODUCTION

TO

THE HOLY SCRIPTURES.

INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM AND STUDY OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

CHAPTER I.

THE OBJECTS PROPOSED IN AN INTRODUCTION TO TEXTUAL CRITICISM AND STUDY.

A DISTINCT apprehension of the object proposed in any study is a needful preliminary: the definition of terms having been at first made once for all, may render it not necessary to enter into repeated explanations, and may save the trouble of frequently notifying the limitations of the subject under discussion, which may be sufficiently guarded by the broad principles laid down at first.

By *Textual Criticism* it is, then, intended to denote all that relates to the condition of the text of the Greek Testament; to its history during the eighteen centuries through which it has been transmitted to us; to the sources of critical revision which we possess; to the mode in which those sources have been applied, whether wholly or partially, by various editors; and the means by which the Biblical student may use his own judgment with regard to the transmitted sources of criticism, and to their application either to the sacred text at large or to individual passages.

As a general definition, Textual Criticism may be stated to be that species of criticism which has to do with the ascertainment, as far as is practicable, of what it was that the writer of any ancient work actually wrote. The subjects with which a treatise on Textual Criticism is occupied, are those which relate to the communication of such information as shall enable the student to apprehend the principles on which textual evidence may be applied, and the form in which such evidence may be obtained. Many, indeed, there are who study the Bible, and who know its value, as conveying to them the revelation of the truth of God, who never would find it practicable

for *them* to be *investigators* for themselves in the region of Textual Criticism; but that does not cause the subject to be to them devoid of interest, or (if they view it aright) of profit. For if they use the opportunities of study which are afforded them, they may be enabled, though never aspiring to the rank of critics themselves, to understand intelligently, and to use discriminately, those processes and results of critical study which others may bring before them. They may, by a very moderate exercise of diligence, be saved from either avoiding the subject altogether, as though it were involved to them in hopeless obscurity, or from simply adhering to the results which some real or supposed scholar may have brought forward.

There are, indeed, those who regard textual critics as though their object was to affirm dogmatically that the reading of passages is such, and that this ought to be received *on their assertion;* and who suppose that critical studies are singularly barren of profitable results. This misapprehension is a *fact,* however strange it may seem to those who are better informed.[1] And hence it is of importance to give, if possible, a more accurate and discriminating idea of what this department of criticism proposes. To take a simple illustration: in judicial proceedings in this country *the jury* are those whose business it is to weigh the evidence which may be produced, and to form if possible an accurate and discriminating conclusion. This is not the peculiar prerogative of a few official persons; but it is the function of those who are simply jurors. And it is in such a place that considerate Christian readers and students of Holy Scripture are placed. But the jury must decide according to *evidence;* and so, too, must those who are so intimately connected with the results of Textual Criticism. Now, in judicial inquiries the jury themselves may be very incompetent to *collect* the evidence, and to bring into prominent view the leading features, to show how the different portions are connected, and how link after link conducts to a certain end; and yet practically it is taken for granted that these things can be pointed out to them intelligibly by those who are competent, and that they may thus form a correct conclusion. Be it observed that this conclusion does not depend upon what any authority says that the evidence proves, but it springs from that which is either plain on the face, or which is shown to the jury to be the natural or necessary result. In this, as well as in many other processes of reasoning, moral as well as mathematical, the correctness of the conclusion flows forth by a kind of necessary inference.

Now the real object of Textual Criticism is to enable the student or reader to form such a judgment as in the judicial proceedings referred to is the province of the jury. It is not to lead to blind acquiescence in the dictum of some one of admitted learning and abilities; but it is to lead to an intelligent apprehension *why* he has

[1] Had not this been *a fact,* we should not hear the complaints of the proceedings of textual critics which too often appear, especially in religious periodicals. The name of textual critic is not rightly applied to him who seeks, by mere dogmatism, to require others to adopt *his* view of the reading of a passage.

arrived at such and such results, and on what evidence the results are supposed to be justified.

It is true, indeed, that the textual critic must *state* his conclusions; he cannot leave them to the reader: but still this does not at all invalidate the supposed judicial illustration, for the critic himself is one of those concerned in drawing the needful conclusion; *he* has an interest in it as well as the students of Scripture who may use the results of his labour; and thus his having arranged (it may even be, having himself *collected*) and marshalled the evidence, can by no means preclude him from doing his part towards drawing a conclusion. But no one would be truly acting the part of a textual critic who did not think that he had so defined principles, and so stated the evidence, as to vindicate the conclusion at which he had arrived, at least in the estimation of competent scholars, who understood and admitted the principles, and who felt the cogency and congruence of the evidence.

It is only a thorough and entire misapprehension of what Textual Criticism proposes, that could lead any to regard it as being in its true application at all connected with peremptory and dictatorial assertion, that *such* is the text of Scripture because a certain scholar judges it so to be.

There may be, indeed, cases in which the student finds difficulty in understanding how certain critical conclusions can legitimately follow the principles laid down and the evidence adduced. But even in such cases it is well for him to remember, that one who is thoroughly conversant with a subject *may* see at once the links of evidence which are not obvious to the unpractised eye; and thus, *perhaps*, the want of connection may be only a misapprehension on the part of the inquirer; or it may be that the critic has failed not in the result, but in distinctly stating the processes of thought leading to that result; or the case may be one of the very many in which minds imperfect in their constitution as ours are, fail in seeing alike the inference which *ought* to follow from certain given premises.

But if any person has shown himself to be correct in the enunciation of principles, competent and accurate in marshalling evidence, and very frequently convincing and satisfactory as to the conclusions at which he arrives, — it then at least behoves every modest student to examine with full attention, and also with some measure of respect, those conclusions which may at first appear doubtful. On further inquiry they may be found to be not merely uncertain, but absolutely erroneous; but this conclusion should be formed not on a mere superficial survey, but on such a full inquiry as is demanded by the importance of the subject.

These remarks may serve to meet the mistake which is still repeated, that the object of Textual Criticism is to lead to an acquiescence in the conclusions of certain critics; instead of being (what it really is) that which has to do with causing the student to possess a competent knowledge of the subject *for himself*, so that *he* may test and examine the conclusions of critics: and if he should

receive them, that he may know *why*, and if his mind arrive at different results, that he may equally apprehend the grounds for so doing.

The subjects for study in the department of Textual Criticism are pretty extensive; the intention of an "Introduction" is to indicate these in part, and to point out the sources from which fuller information may be obtained; and to communicate on other portions of the subject information as full as may appear requisite. If it be thought that in directing to other sources for part of the information, a responsibility is avoided which ought to have been met, it must be remembered that many of these departments of learning belong to what might be called the preliminary education of him who enters on Biblical Criticism. Thus, it is not a part of such an introduction to give instruction in the *language* in which Holy Scripture has been communicated to us; nor does it belong to *this* department of Biblical learning to discuss the history, authority, contents, or doctrines of the sacred books: these subjects may be referred to incidentally; they may often require to be *assumed* as things previously known; but *here* their minute *discussion* would be thoroughly out of place.

Let not this be misunderstood: no one who is unacquainted with the spirit and nature of an ancient writing can be fully competent to enter upon its Textual Criticism, and especially true is that with regard to Holy Scripture; but this is a mental and moral prerequisite for the critic, a qualification which he needs in order rightly to enter on the subject at all. It has to do with him subjectively rather than with Biblical Criticism objectively.

Some, indeed, have placed Textual Criticism as the first in order amongst theological studies, for how (they have said) can we know *what* the contents of Scripture really are, unless we are first sure as to the genuine text? On this it may be remarked that, although *absolute certainty* as to the text of any ancient author, and therefore as to his doctrines and sentiments, cannot be obtained without a full examination of critical authorities and an accurate deduction of the results of evidence, yet still it may, almost as a matter of course, be taken for granted, that there is in all copies (unless they have been wilfully falsified) at least a general transmission of what the author actually wrote: and thus he who is able to read the original language of an ancient author may proceed at once to acquire *some* knowledge of the contents of his works. In thus forming an acquaintance with the author's style, sentiments, and subject, much may be acquired which is not only useful for application to the department of Textual Criticism, but also much which may be safely said to be essential.

Of course, if at once there is the opportunity of using a text which we have reason to suppose has been carefully revised by a competent scholar, it will be so much the better; for in that case we are able to use the results of the labours of others as our own point of departure; and then it may be that we shall find that our own critical studies justify and confirm, or else modify, those results which have been already used by us in a condensed form: we afterwards learn the

principles and their application to the evidence on which such a text rests.

If Textual Criticism had been a mere mechanical application of rules and principles, then it would not have been needful to enter into an apprehension of the mind and spirit of the writer to whose works it is applied: it is true that *in general* it has to do with a mere statement of *facts*, but these facts can only be understood in their relation to the work as an organic whole.

And thus to *apply* properly critical evidence to the text of Homer or Demosthenes, it is needful that these authors should be themselves understood and apprehended; not, indeed, that we should thus possess a supposed confidence of asserting what they *must* have written, but that we may regard the *evidence* which relates to the subject from the proper point of view.

The more important prerequisites which a treatise on Textual Criticism may *point out*, but which it does not profess to supply, are, a competent knowledge of the *language* of the work under discussion, and a proper acquaintance with the work itself. Many of those who decry the labours of Textual Criticism in connection with Holy Scripture, do so either from the want of one or the other of these qualifications.

It would be a great mistake in the criticism, if the text of the Greek New Testament were regarded as something completely *sui generis*, as though the common rules could not apply. It would be just as reasonable to expect that in language, in material, and in mode of diffusion, it should differ essentially from all other writings. The only difference which the peculiar character of Holy Scripture can occasion, is, that its *value* impresses an *importance* on the application of criticism to its text, incomparably greater than is the case with regard to any profane writings.

Many have, indeed, undertaken the critical examination of the Greek New Testament without being properly and competently furnished with the preliminary acquaintance with criticism in general, or with the original language as found in its best and truest form. They have thus come to the sacred text without the needful preparation, and thus the results are in themselves imperfect; and even though the range of Biblical scholarship which they may afterwards master may be considerable, the original defect will often prove a hinderance to the obtaining of satisfactory results.

The student of the New Testament, who approaches it with the one desire of knowing the revealed truth of God in the very tongue in which it was given forth by inspired apostles and evangelists, will not find that his time is misemployed which is occupied in gaining a satisfactory groundwork of classical Greek; and this can hardly be insisted on too fully; otherwise, indeed, he may know all the words and sentences of the Greek New Testament, but he will only know them in themselves, and not as a part of that language in which grammatical form and the structure of sentences were so remarkably developed as giving precision to thoughts expressed in words.

Indeed, it may truly be said that all that has been done in the

more accurate ascertainment by scholars of the laws and usages of the Greek tongue, has a direct importance in enabling us to know with more exactitude (with a precision which often cannot be expressed in translation) what we are taught in the inspired record of the New Testament. In this point of view it is interesting to see the spirit and manner in which some of the scholars of former years regarded their studies. Isaac Casaubon may be taken as an instance. He was one who deservedly occupied a high place as a Greek scholar, and who, in the classical texts, did much to establish sound Greek learning. In his Diary he shows the spirit with which his mind was filled; for he made these labours and studies subjects of continual *prayer*. And surely those men who established a definite apprehension of the force and usage of the language of the New Testament Scriptures, were led of God in a remarkable manner to render abiding service to his Church. It may be that they but dimly apprehended what would, in application, be the result of their seemingly indirect studies; but they were led to pursue them in a devout spirit; and beautiful is it to see the simple utterance of thanksgiving on their part when any difficulty was satisfactorily explained, or any point was established. We *now* know to *what*, in the providence of God, all this was tending, and how classical studies have placed divine truth in a clearer and more apprehended light.

One lesson may be profitably learned by Biblical students of the present day from these classical scholars of former years. Let their devout spirit be borne in mind, and let it be distinctly apprehended that it is the place of every one who studies God's word, even though it be but as to its criticism, and as to what some might term its secular aspects, to look to Him in prayer for that blessing which He alone can impart, and without which there can be no real profit. A right apprehension of the value of Scripture as containing the revelation of God, and of His mercy in the atonement and redemption wrought out by Christ His Son, and of the need of His Spirit to illumine our minds, must lead to a habit of prayer as a prerequisite to the study of the word of God in any of its aspects. This is not to take the place of careful investigation, but it is thus that we may seek that our inquiries may be rightly directed, and that the needed diligence, patience, and application may be maintained.

In the following pages it is not presupposed that the readers are other than those who value Holy Scripture, and prize its doctrines as commonly held and taught amongst Protestant Christians, who maintain the principles on which the Reformation was based. No apology is needed for *assuming* this, even though doctrinal questions are not professedly discussed, and the authority and interpretation of Holy Scripture belong not to this branch of Biblical study.

The prerequisites of a competent knowledge of Greek, and an acquaintance with the New Testament itself, having been laid down, an Introduction to Textual Criticism has its proper province before it. The subjects of which a knowledge is to be communicated will then be, the peculiarities of the language employed in the work itself, so far as they affect criticism; the *history of the text;* the

nature and *origin of various readings;* the *sources of criticism* as found in *MSS. versions* and *early citations;* and then the *application of the evidence* so furnished.

To these subjects may properly be added, remarks on the bearing of the results of Textual Criticism on questions of Scripture authority and interpretation, on the citations from the Old Testament found in the New, and on various points, which may seem to be affected by the principles of criticism or their application. Such remarks will serve as materials from which a judgment may be formed *how far* criticism of the text affects the New Testament as a record.

The present writer may mention in this place that he is personally responsible for the statements in the following pages relating to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament. In acting on the liberty that was accorded him he has endeavoured to give a clear and correct statement of those subjects which are of real utility in this department to the Biblical student. He has not sought to give any undue prominence to his own opinions, but has rather desired to gather together the *facts*, and to place them in such a light as may give the reader the grounds on which opinions may be formed.

Although questions of interpretation and of Scripture authority are not formally discussed here, it is proper for the writer to state distinctly that he believes that the true point of view in which Holy Scripture ought to be regarded is, that it is such a record as God has willed should be given forth for our instruction in all ages; and that as it proceeded from the original writers, it was in all its parts, whether such parts be *revelations* or the record of *known facts*, so inspired by the Spirit of God as to be His Holy Word, even as He in His infinite wisdom saw fit that it should be. This authority it claims: and it is right that those who treat but of the external facts relating to its text should be definite in informing those for whom they write, how far they maintain the plenary authority and inspiration of the Scripture.

Biblical study is a field in which the labour bestowed is amply rewarded: and as discussions are continually arising which can only be met satisfactorily by a competent acquaintance with Textual Criticism, it behoves those who really love and value Holy Scripture as the record of God, that they be not mere perfunctory students in this department. This country was once the field in which such studies pre-eminently flourished:—the names of Usher, Walton, Mill, and Bentley hold an honoured place in the history of the Biblical labours of that century in which Textual Criticism found *here* its cherished home. If we value the labours of those who have preceded us, and honour their memory, it should be an incentive to us to attend ourselves to this same department of Biblical knowledge. "——χαίρετ' ἀκούοντες, ὅταν τις ἐπαίνῃ τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν καὶ τὰ πεπραγμένα ἐκείνοις διεξίῃ καὶ τὰ τρόπαια λέγῃ· νομίζετε τοίνυν ταυτ' ἀναθεῖναι τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν οὐχ ἵνα θαυμάζηται αὐτὰ θεωροῦντες μόνον, ἀλλ' ἵνα καὶ μιμῆσθε τὰς τῶν ἀναθέντων ἀρετάς. (Demosth. ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥοδίων ἐλευθερίας, *sub fin.*)

CHAP. II.

THE LANGUAGE OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

THE first subject to be considered in the critical study of the New Testament is the *language* in which it is written; and those points of resemblance and contrast which are found between the Greek of the Evangelists and Apostles, and that of other writers in the same or previous ages.

The reason *why* the New Testament writers should have, under divine guidance and inspiration, employed the Greek tongue is sufficiently manifest. The intention of God now was to give forth a revelation, not confined in an especial manner to one particular people, who were peculiarly the depositaries of divine truth, but that which was intended for the lost children of men whether Jews or Gentiles. Just as the gospel was commanded to be preached, as God's message of salvation to sinners through faith in the Saviour's sacrifice, to all nations beginning at Jerusalem, so too the written Scripture of the New Testament was equally intended to go forth for the instruction of all whose ears and hearts should be opened to receive the teaching thus communicated and thus recorded for after ages.

Thus then it was in accordance both with the divine wisdom and even with what man would have felt to be fitting, that a language of wide extent as to use should be employed. For thus the written record of God's truth became so much the more accessible to the many. And thus GREEK was the language to be employed; for this tongue was at the time of our Lord's advent diffused far more than any other throughout the civilised earth. There was also a fitness in the language, being one of high cultivation and flexibility, in which shades of thought were well and accurately defined, and which had been so cultivated that it would ever demand attention amongst the civilised races of men. These qualities were so peculiarly combined in the Greek language, that the means by which it had become diffused throughout the eastern and central portions of the civilised earth must be regarded as specially ordered by God, with reference to His own purpose in the mission of Christ, and the subsequent preaching of the gospel and the giving forth of this part of the written Word.

How had this been accomplished? How had the Greek tongue burst the narrow limits in which it had once been confined, on the western shores of the Ægean Sea, and spread itself in Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, and other eastern lands; and how, even in Italy in general, and Rome itself, had it become amongst all the educated well known and familiar? A few words in reply to those questions will bring the subject clearly before us, and will show that before the New Testament had been written in Greek, nations of

Greek readers had been prepared, by whom it should be read and used.

Many centuries before the birth of our Lord, the Æolian, Ionian, and Dorian colonies had spread the Hellenic language far beyond the regions in which it had previously been spoken: and as these colonies were commonly, if not invariably, planted in lands inferior in all the arts of civilisation to the Hellenic race, each became a spot not only preserving its Grecian tone of feeling and tongue, but also a centre from which in some measure these things were diffused. Thus it was that in Asia Minor the Grecian cities might well be deemed the rivals of those which had been their elder sisters on the European shores. And even in literary eminence, it must be remembered that Herodotus, "the father of history," as his own race termed him, was an Asiatic Greek, Dorian by birth and citizenship, but Ionian by dialect.

In the literary eminence of Greece in the fourth and fifth centuries B. C., Athens took the first place; and this fact had this measure of importance, that it caused the dialectic forms of Athens to be imitated in a general manner in the more diffused period of the history of that tongue. Thucydides, Æschylus, and the other dramatists, the Attic orators, and Plato impressed a character on the tongue which they employed, which afterwards had an effect on the minds of those who used it, and which may still be observed in the language which the Greeks *now* speak after all the changes of two thousand three hundred years.

It was important that Attic supremacy of dialect should have preceded the wide diffusion of the language; for had this not been so, the outflowing of the Grecian population and the Grecian tongue would have resulted in dialectic distinctions of various kinds, taking root in various regions; and thus, those who adopted the Hellenic speech, instead of possessing a common dialect, would have used forms differing at first, and differing still more in each successive generation. This would certainly have been the result; for the Greek tongue, adopted in its varying forms of dialect as spoken at home, by peoples of less keen perceptions, and less exercised tones of thought, would, of necessity, have diverged more and more; producing, not the diffusion of one noble language, but the formation of a family of languages, bearing merely such traces of their origin as would, to the ear of the polished scholar, contrast painfully with the refined exactness of that from which they had sprung.

After Athens had gained and maintained her literary preeminence, the Macedonian supremacy over Greece arose. The kings of Macedon were themselves of Hellenic blood, and this was, on many occasions, a subject of boast to them when brought into connection with the Grecian states in the days of their independence. The Greeks regarded the Macedonians as being beyond the Hellenic pale, and thus, the claim of the ruling house was one which separated them as to race and feeling from their subjects. There are instances, before the days of Philip, of Macedonian sovereigns patronising the

literary men of Greece; and there can be no reasonable doubt that they sought to lead the Macedonians to the enjoyment of those arts of civilisation which in Greece proper were so intimately connected with their cultivated language. The Hellenic feeling of the Macedonian rulers was in the case of Philip materially strengthened by his Grecian education at Thebes; and thus the fashionable dialect of his court was formed on the model of that which had become the popular literary dialect.

Thus, before the conquests of Alexander, the Macedonians of the higher classes at least had learned from Athens: and even if some of the elegancies and proprieties had been impaired, it was patent to all in what school they had studied. The conquests of Alexander gave a new extension and energy of life to this speech; and wherever his successors bore sway, the Greek tongue, in a form based on the Attic dialect, obtained a footing, firmly established and long continued. In the capitals of states, and other large cities, amongst the educated classes, and with the officials of government, Greek, in the form of the *common dialect*, had become the proper and habitual language. No doubt that Egypt, Syria, and other countries retained their own languages also; but this does not impugn the fact that Greek had established itself, not as a temporary sojourner, but as a settled occupant of the same regions.

The Attic *origin* of the COMMON DIALECT has been already mentioned; wherein it differs from pure Attic, has been thus described:—

"Its staple was of Attic texture, but it differed from that variety of the language in several main respects: it was divested of certain forms, especially Attic, such as might be termed provincialisms, if the idea of vulgarity were not associated with the word; it employed certain words, where the speech of Athens would, with the same meaning, have substituted others, either quite distinct, or differing from them in some point of structure; and it admitted some forms or words belonging to other dialects, or which, though of ancient use, had for a time disappeared, at least in Attic Greek. Besides, it should be observed that the classical type could not be sustained in rigid purity; because it came in collision with people who, taken in the mass, possessed not the exquisitely acute perception and severe taste of the extraordinary community among whom it had its birth. . . . The Common Dialect, technically so called, was that of the courts of the Seleucidæ and the Lagidæ, of the schools of Alexandria and Tarsus, of the educated Roman, of Philo, Polybius, Plutarch, Origen, Chrysostom."[1]

Thus, by the supremacy of Macedon in Greece, and then by the conquests of Alexander, the diffusion was effected of such a tongue as should facilitate the first preaching of the gospel amongst Gentiles, and which should cause that the new revelation of divine truth, which God was about to give forth for a permanent record, should be the

[1] A Treatise on the Grammar of the New Testament Dialect, by the Rev. T. S. Green, M. A., pp. 3–5.

more extensively used with familiarity by those amongst whom it was primarily circulated.

But it would be a mistake to suppose that the East merely had been affected by the expansion of the Greek tongue: to say nothing of Southern Italy, where the early colonies had implanted Hellenic institutions and forms of speech, ROME, the mistress of the civilised earth, had, at the Christian era, become familiar with the language and literature of Greece. Not only had the imperial metropolis attracted vast multitudes from among the Greek-speaking nations, but the Latins themselves so cultivated the literature of the ancient models and masters of poetry, philosophy, and history, that to *them* the Greek language was just as suited for a medium of communication as was their own vernacular Latin.

And the Roman, who deemed that his vocation was the government of the nations, was fain to employ the Greek tongue as that by which he could throughout the East communicate with the provincials. The Latin language was wholly unsuccessful as to any efforts to take root in a soil where Greek had preceded it. Thus Cicero truthfully said, as to the diffusion of the two languages, "Græca leguntur in omnibus fere gentibus: Latina suis finibus, exiguis sane, continentur." (Pro Arch. 10.)

But even though the fact be admitted and known that there was a fitness in the New Testament having been written in Greek, for the use of *Gentiles*, the question must arise, How far could this be suited to the *Jews?* They too had to do with the gospel; for to them it was commanded to be first preached; and thus the written record of that gospel might, perhaps, have been expected to be suited also to them. A few words on this subject is all that may be needed in this place; the Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel may be discussed elsewhere; but it will suffice to remark, that the books of the New Testament were most of them written *after* the time when the Jews had *rejected* the gospel, both as a nation, and also as far as any united body amongst them was concerned; and thus in the written record Gentiles were especially to be considered. Also many of the books gathered in the collection called the New Testament were addressed to communities which consisted either of converted Gentiles entirely, or else with an admixture of Jews by nation, but who, by residence out of the land of their fathers, had become Hellenized as to their language. And, farther, it must be borne in mind that even when the gospel was first preached, and the New Testament books were first written, the portion of the house of Israel who were settled in various countries was very great; and such had long been accustomed to use for ordinary purposes the LXX. version of the Old Testament.

In regarding the diffusion of Greek as a providential ordering of God, to prepare for the spread of the gospel, and for the use of the New Testament Scriptures, it is not without significance that the destruction of Jerusalem and the entire dispersion of the Jews under Titus took place so soon after the writing of the New Testament, (and indeed before all the books had been penned,) that if this record

had been given forth either in the ancient Hebrew, like the Old Testament, or in the Syro-Chaldaic, which had become venacular (under the name of Hebrew) amongst those residing in Palestine, it would have been an arrangement tending in very little measure for permanent or general utility. How far a temporary need amongst the believers from the House of Israel was met by the Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew, may be considered elsewhere when the evidence on that subject is examined.

CHAP. III.

CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW TESTAMENT GREEK.

We may plainly see that there were sufficient reasons to make it fitting that *Greek* should be the language employed by the sacred writers of the New Testament. The next points for examination are those which relate to the style of the writers, to grammatical peculiarities, and to the influence of Hebrew idioms to which their minds were accustomed, or modes of thought arising from the subjects on which they wrote.

Any work or works may be examined on three aspects as to its style and language, (i.), with regard to the *words* employed, or (as it might be termed) *lexicographically;* (ii.), as to the use of forms and constructions, *grammatically;* and (iii.), as to the phraseology, including form of sentences, and modes of expression arising from the character of thought, or from the subject matter on which the writer is engaged.

Thus a work may be written in a certain known language, — the words may be such as wholly belong to it (or there may be certain foreign admixtures); but still the question would remain, whether the use of grammatical forms is such that the laws of correct usage in the language in question might or might not have been observed; and besides these two points would always remain to be considered the writer's phraseology. For it might so happen that the lexicography and grammar had nothing peculiar, while the structure of sentences and form of expression were something by no means customary; and this might be the case even though no obscurity or ambiguity was occasioned in result. This remark bears especially on the New Testament; for the peculiarities which the diction presents have far more to do with phraseology and modes of expression than with either lexicography or simple grammar.

These three subjects must then be considered in their order.

I. Lexicography. — The Greek of the New Testament is in its general form the Common Dialect, *κοινὴ διάλεκτος*, which was established in a kind of general use at the Christian era: the basis of which was (as has been said) the Attic, but with by no means a thorough retention of its purity; and thus we might expect to find an admixture of words not Attic in form, whether they had been

introduced from the other old dialects, or whether they were of later growth.

The following have been given as examples of the lexicography of the common Greek as found in the New Testament, as comprising words and forms of words which had belonged to all the old dialects.[1]

Atticisms, such as ὕαλος, ὁ σκότος, ἀετός, φιάλη, ἀλήθω, πρύμνα, ἱλεώς. Doricisms πιάζω (for πιέζω), κλίβανος, ἡ λιμός, to which some have added ποία, James iv. 14., taking the word not from ποίος, but as identical with ποίη or πόα. Ionicisms, γογγύζω, ῥῆσσω, πρηνής, βαθμός, σκορπίζειν, ἄρσην. To both the Ionic and Doric belongs φύω in an intransitive sense. παρεμβολὴ and ῥύμη have been described as Macedonian words.

Besides words which had once been appropriated to particular dialects, we find in the New Testament old words with new meanings or shades of meaning; such as παρακαλέω, *to beseech*; παιδεύω, *to chastise*; εὐχαριστέω, *to give thanks*; ἀνακλίνω, ἀναπίπτω, ἀνακεῖμαι, *to lie* or *recline at table*; ἀποκρίνομαι, *to answer*; ἀντιλέγω, *to gainsay*; ἀποτάσσομαι, *to renounce*; συγκρίνω, *to compare*; δαίμων, δαιμόνιον in the sense of an *evil* spirit or dæmon; ξύλον, *a living tree*; ἀναστροφή, *mode of life*; κεφαλίς, *a volume, roll of a book*; εὐσχήμων, *a person of distinction*; ὀψώνιον, *wages*; ὀψάριον, *fish*; ἐρεύγομαι, *to utter*; περισπάομαι, *to be distracted with cares*; πτῶμα, *a corpse*; σχολή, *a school*.

Also words or forms of words which in the older Greek had been of rare or poetical use, but had been adopted as part of the language of common life; such as αὐθεντέω, μεσονύκτιον, ἀλάλητος, ἔσθησις, βρέχω.

Many words received a new, and in general, a lengthened form; such as μετοικεσία, ἱκεσία, ἀνάθεμα (ἀνάθημα), γενέσια (γενέθλια), γλωσσόκομον (γλωσσοκομεῖον), ἔκπαλαι (πάλαι), ἔχθες (χθές), ἐξάπινα (ἐξαπίνης), αἴτημα (αἴτησις), ψεῦσμα (ψεῦδος), ἀπάντησις (ἀπάντημα), καύχησις (καύχημα), λυχνία (λυχνίον), ὀπτασία (ὄψις), ἡ ὀρκωμοσία, μισθαποδοσία (μισθοδοσία), καύχησις (καυχή), συγκυρία (συγκύρησις), δυσεντέριον (δυσεντερία), μελίσσιος (μελισσεῖος), ἀποστασία (ἀπόστασις), βασίλισσα (βασίλεια), ἐκχύνω (ἐκχέω), στήκω, ἀργός, declined as an adjective of *three* terminations, νοσσοί, νοσσιά (νεοσσοί, νεοσσιά), πετάομαι (πέτομαι), οἰκοδομή (οἰκοδόμησις, οἰκοδόμημα), ὀνειδισμός, ἐξυπνίζω (ἀφυπνίζω), ῥαντίζω (ῥαίνω), δεκατόω (δεκατεύω), ἀροτριάω (ἀρόω), βιβλαρίδιον (βιβλίδιον, βιβλιδάριον), ὠτάριον, ψιχίον (ψίξ), ταμεῖον (ταμιεῖον), νίκος (νίκη), νουθεσία (νουθέτησις), καταποντίζω (καταποντόω), μοιχαλίς, ψιθυριστής; also verbal forms in ω pure instead of the termination in -μι, such as ὀμνύω for ὄμνυμι; ξυράω (ξυρέω), βαρέω for βαρύνω, σαρόω for σαίρω, χολάω for χολόομαι. Besides these and other similar examples there may be noticed a peculiar use of certain words, and at times a preference for diminutives instead of the common term.

Not a few new words were formed, especially by composition; such

[1] These are taken almost entirely from Winer's Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms, 5th ed. 1844, p. 26. *seq.*

as ἀλλοτριοεπισκοπος, ἀνθρωπάρεσκος, μονόφθαλμος, ἀγενεαλόγητος, αἱματεκχυσία, δικαιοκρισία, σιτομέτριον, καλοποιέω, αἰχμαλωτίζω, ἀντίλυτρον, ἐκμυκτηρίζω, ἀλεκτοροφωνία, ἀποκεφαλίζω, ἀνταποκρίνομαι, ἐξουθενέω, ἐκκακέω, εὐδοκέω, ὁμοιάζω, ἀγαθουργέω, ἀγαθωσύνη, διασκορπίζω, ἐγκρατεύομαι, οἰκοδεσπότης, οἰκοδεσποτέω, λιθοβολέω, προσφάγιον, λογία, κράββατος (or as in many MSS. κράβαττος), πεποίθησις, ῥαφίς, σπίλος, μάμμη, ἀγριέλαιος, καμμύω, αἰσχρότης, ἀγνότης, ἁγιότης, ἐπενδύτης, ἐκτένεια, πελεκίζω, ἀπαράβατος. The substantives in *-μα* form a numerous class of those added to the language; such as, κατάλυμα, ἀνταπόδομα, κατάρθωμα, ῥάπισμα, γέννημα, ἔκτρωμα, βάπτισμα; so also do those compounded with *συν*, such as συμμαθητής, and συμπολίτης; and adjectives in *-ινος*, as ὄρθρινος, ὄψινος, πρώϊνος, καθημερινός, ὀστράκινος; also verbs in *-οω* and *-ιζω*, as ἀνακαινόω, ἀφυπνόω, δολιόω, ἐξουδενόω· σθενόω, ὀρθρίζω, δεινγματίζω, θεατρίζω, φυλακίζω. Adverbs, such as παντότε (διαπαντός, ἑκάστοτε), παιδιόθεν, καθώς, πανοικί. To these later words it may be added, that such later compounds as καλοποιέω took the place of older expressions (as in this case καλὸν ποιέω) which had formerly been in use.

There were also foreign words introduced at times into the later language; and of these we might of course expect to find the number greater in any writings which from any cause had at all a *provincial* character. Thus, in the New Testament there are Syro-Chaldaic *words*, which generally occur in a phrase or a sentence cited or introduced by the sacred writers, such as ταλιθὰ κουμί (or κοῦμ); ἠλὶ ἠλί, λαμὰ σαβαχθανεί; and Μαρὰν ἀθά. In other cases these words had been adopted in the form of the common Greek employed, and thus they were used as being significant to those to whom the New Testament was first addressed. To this latter class of expressions belong ἀββᾶ, μαμωνᾶ, ῥακά.

The intercourse of the provincials in the East with their Roman rulers had some effect in introducing *Latin* words; these were mostly technical terms, or the names of such things as the Latins had introduced with their arms and government. The following have been specified:— ἀσσάριον (from the Latin *assarius*, a coin less in value than one farthing), Matt. x. 29.; Luke xii. 6. κῆνσος (*census*), Matt. xvii. 25. κεντυρίων (*centurio*), Mar. xv. 39. 44, 45. κολωνία (*colonia*), Acts. xvi. 12. κουστωδία (*custodia*, as a guard of soldiers), Matt. xxvii. 65, 66., xxviii. 11. δηνάριος (*denarius*, the *Roman* penny), Luke vii. 41. φραγέλλιον (*flagellum*), John ii. 15.; hence comes the verb φραγελλόω, to scourge with whips, Matt. xxvii. 26.; Mark xv. 15. Ἰοῦστος (*Justus*, a Latin word used as a surname). λεγεών, or, as in some MSS. λεγιών (*legio*), Matt. xxvi. 53.; Mark v. 9. κοδράντης (*quadrans*), Matt. v. 26. λιβέρτινος (*libertinus*, a freed man, used almost as a proper name), Acts vi. 9. λέντιον (*linteum*), John xiii. 4. μάκελλον (*macellum*), 1 Cor. x. 25. μεμβράνα (*membrana*), 2 Tim. iv. 13. μίλιον (*mille*, the Roman mile of a thousand paces). ξεστὴς (*sextarius*, a pot containing a certain quantity), Mark. vii. 4. 8. πραιτώριον (*prætorium*), Matt. xxvii. 27. (this word when used in connection with the city of Rome had apparently another meaning (Phil. i. 13.), probably the quarters of the

prætorian guards). σιμικίνθιον (*semicinctium*), Acts xix. 12. σικάριος (*sicarius*), Acts xxi. 38. σουδάριον (*sudarium*), Luke xix. 20. σπεκουλάτωρ (*speculator*, used of a soldier employed as an *executioner*), Mark vi. 27. ταβερνά (*taberna*), Acts xxviii. 15. τίτλος (*titulus*), John xix. 19, 20.

These lexicographical peculiarities present no real difficulty; they are only of importance as showing the *phase* of the common dialect of the Greek which the New Testament writings exhibit. In general the words which are brought forward as *new* are so thoroughly formed in accordance with analogy, that there is not the slightest difficulty as to their full sense and meaning. It is probable that they were, in general, words in use in common life, which the sacred writers adopted. To ascertain the meaning of any words not previously occurring in Greek, the same means must be employed as we should use with regard to profane authors; the usual philological principles must be carried out, and the usual aids employed. Etymology, form, and use (as gathered from the context) have in the New Testament, as elsewhere, their determining value as to the *sense* of a word; whether it be *employed* in a derivative signification (*secunda intentio*) must be learned from the nature of the case, and the history as far as can be traced of the particular word itself. It is well to observe in this place that there are words of classical usage which the New Testament has appropriated to meanings very different to those which they had previously borne: they have been adopted as the exponents of *new ideas* or of such as have received a new development; and thus their force and bearing would be altogether impaired if the *appropriated meaning* were excluded from our thoughts, and the former classical signification were *alone* regarded. Usage has in such cases a value of the highest kind; and with regard to such terms it will be found very often that the New Testament itself supplies such a definition or explanation as leaves no room for doubt. Such appropriated words are often those which are employed to denote some new thought, for which either a new word must have been formed or an old one applied to a different use. Also in the New Testament, as in other writings, words are used in *technical* senses; and this, too, is the case with many which are also employed in a general and non-appropriated signification.

Some of the words which have been mentioned above would be more or less affected by the criticism of the *text* of the New Testament; *in general*, however, they are such as rest on grounds of absolute certainty.

II. Grammatical peculiarities. — These may be considered as relating either to forms of word, or grammatical characteristics.

The peculiarities as to grammatical *forms* are not many; there are certain inflexions of nouns and verbs, which were rare in the earlier Greek, but which were adopted in the later language. The presence or absence of such forms has little or no bearing on any question of meaning or interpretation: the *fact* is worthy of observation, and has its interest as a point of philology; it is also of value as part of the form and colouring of the New Testament diction. Perhaps few, if

any, of these forms are absolutely peculiar to the New Testament, but at least there are some, the universality or frequency of which in the inspired writers is worthy of note.

But besides peculiarities of forms and inflections, there are in the New Testament Greek remarkable defects in the *non-occurrence* of those forms which are habitual in classical Greek; and this goes very far beyond what is met with in other works belonging to the common dialect in that age. With this is connected the non-occurrence of certain words; for there is hardly a sentence in which there is not more or less of disuse of that array of particles which, in the models of good Greek writing, have a force and beauty which is felt most by contrast when its absence is detected. Not that omissions of this kind are necessarily connected with ambiguity of thought or expression; for so far as they are *needed* for such purposes, the New Testament has them: their presence, however, in ordinary use, gives a flexibility to the moulding of sentences, which a reader accustomed to the classic usages of the tongue must miss in such Greek as we are now considering: this comparatively rare occurrence of certain particles is similar in kind to the absence of particular forms.

The following have been given as specimens of the peculiarities of the later Greek found in the New Testament, both as to the forms which it presents, and those which do not occur. Such genitives as Ἀρέτα, σατανᾶ, (instead of the termination in -ου); νοΐ for νῷ; τὸ πλοῦτος instead of ὁ πλοῦτος; δύο used in the genitive as indeclinable; the absence of the dual number; contractions such as Ἀρτεμᾶς from Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Δημᾶς from Δημέτριος or Δήμαρχος, &c. The interchange of the terminations of the second Aorist with that of the first Aorist, such as εἶδαν, εὗραν (so also in the LXX.), ἦλθατε, ἔπεσα, ἄνευραν, παρελθάτω (as found in the MSS. of the New Testament), ἔγνωκαν instead of ἐγνώκασι; ἐδολιοῦσαν for ἐδολίουν; καυχᾶσαι for καυχᾷ; δώῃ for δοίῃ; ἤμεθα for ἦμεν. The rare occurrence of the optative; the construction of ἵνα with the present; the weakened force of ἵνα in phrases such as θέλω ἵνα; also prepositions with adverbs.[1] To these may be added forms to which but little attention has been paid except in critical editions of the Greek Testament; such as the *doubled* augment of compound verbs, as ἀπεκατεστάθη, or even trebled as ἠνεῴχθησαν; the future tense in the subjunctive mood, as ἵνα δώσῃ, ἵνα καυθήσωμαι; also forms of the later Greek found in the MSS. of the New Testament, and admitted of late years by critical editors, such as the retention of μ before a labial in the flection of λαμβάνω, e.g. λήμψεται; the strenthening of a syllable by the insertion of a letter, as ἐκχυννόμενον, ἀποκτέννειν; inflections such as μαχαίρῃ; accusatives such as ἀστέραν. There are also flexions of verbs to which but little attention has been paid; in which those terminating in -ω pure seem to adopt forms taken from some other class of those which are contracted. Thus in good MSS. νικοῦντι occurs where the common text has the ordinary form

[1] De Wette, Einleitung (5th ed. § 6. *b.*)

νικῶντι; and thus it appears that νικάω assumed in flexion, at least, forms taken as if from a verb νικέω. So too in Matt. vi. 28. where the common text has κοπιᾷ, recent editors have adopted the *plural* on good and sufficient grounds; but they have given this in the regular form from κοπιάω, κοπιῶσιν; whereas in B. (the Codex Vaticanus) and other authorities of high character, the actually occurring form is κοπιοῦσιν: and this it is which on the ground of authority should be adopted (as if from κοπιέω). The adoption or rejection of such forms must always depend on the weight of authority in each case. They are only of importance in this place as belonging to the enumeration of those particulars in which the Greek of the New Testament differs from that ordinarily in use.

The whole subject of *grammatical characteristics* is of far higher importance than that of mere forms of words; for this involves the question whether the force and meaning of tenses, moods, cases, &c. as fixed by the common syntax of the Greek language, will apply to the New Testament; whether, in other words, we must suppose that the sacred writers, employing a remarkable definite tongue, but with certain peculiarities of diction, carried their differences from the common use of language so far that the rules of construction will not apply at all, or must be modified essentially, and not merely in circumstantial details. On this question much of the interpretation of the New Testament must, as a matter of course, depend. The real object of all New Testament grammar (as distinguished from that of Greek in a general sense) is to show *how far* the common application of rules of syntax requires to be modified when the New Testament is the special subject of consideration. The necessity of investigating this point arose out of the proved peculiarity of the New Testament Greek in many particulars, for some seem to have carried this thought so far that they have maintained that the sacred writers were not bound by any precise grammatical laws. If this had been the case, how hopeless would have been the task of examining what they wrote with the endeavour to understand *what* it teaches. And if we receive Holy Scripture as the *inspired* record of that truth which it was fitting to the Divine Wisdom to impart, and important or essential for man to know, an hypothesis would be indeed strange which left men in such a state as to what had been taught, that each would need for himself an objective revelation of divine truth, and not merely the subjective application of what has been already recorded.

A satisfactory examination of such a point as this can only be carried out by means of a full investigation of *facts;* and this has been the mode in which the inquiry has been conducted with regard to the New Testament. The result is that, with certain exceptions belonging rather to the head of *phraseology* than that of grammatical characteristics, the severe rules of Greek syntax may be as fully applied to the New Testament as to other writers of an age subsequent to that of the classic models. The purest Attic writers are taken as the standard, and after full investigation the conclusion may be thus stated. The peculiarities of the New Testament diction do

not interfere with the correct and idiomatic use of the article, the moods and tenses, prepositions, combined constructions, &c., so that the shades of thought which Greek expresses more fully than almost any language, were defined as accurately by the expressions of the sacred writers, in almost every case, as they could have been by the more refined writers of Athens. A few modifying considerations may be noticed under the next head. Of course this subject cannot be entered into in this place in its detail; for to be considered *fully* it would demand not a mere section, but an elaborate work on this particular subject, as well as a full statement of the general principles of Greek grammar.[1]

III. PHRASEOLOGY. — A work may be in English as to its words, as to their inflections, as to the grammatical constructions employed, and yet the whole may have a very peculiar colouring, so peculiar as to show that it has not sprung from the tone of thought and feeling common amongst English writers; this peculiarity may spring from the idiosyncrasy of the author, or from the character of his subject being such as has rarely or never been discussed in our tongue, or from some influx of foreign streams, which impart characteristics of their own to the English words employed, and a form of their own to the sentences. Thus it has been occasionally with those who have written on philosophical subjects; when they have let the tone of *their own* mind influence their phrases, and when they have employed new terms, or else old terms in new senses; and have also perhaps unconsciously intermixed not a little of the form of expression used by foreign writers whom they have followed.

All these particulars illustrate the phraseology of the New Testament. The sacred writers were Jews by nation (almost if not entirely without exception), and they were accustomed to the ancient Biblical Hebrew as the language of expression for religious thoughts and feelings, and to the Syro-Chaldaic idiom which had become current among them as the language of common life. There was, indeed, some knowledge of Greek in Palestine in the first century; Cæsarea, Gaza, Gadara, and others were *Greek* cities: but it is probable that even in those places the Hellenic tongue had received a considerable colouring and modification from the dialects of the Aramæan, then current in the land amongst, at least, three peoples, the Jews, the Samaritans, and the Syrians. Also the LXX. translation ought here to come into consideration; for in that version there was a transfusion from the Hebrew original into the Greek; but (as was needful from the nature of the case) with the retention of the Hebraic mould and form of sentence. Thus, so far from its being a cause for surprise that the form of phraseology presents traces of Hebraism, it would rather have been remarkable if this had *not* been the case. And

[1] See Winer's Grammatik des Neutestamentlichen Sprachidioms, als sichere Grundlage der Neutestamentlichen Exegese. (5th ed. Leipsic, 1844.) Also, A Treatise on the Grammar of the New Testament Dialect, by the Rev. T. S. Green, M.A. (London, 1842.) The object of this latter work is that of definitely comparing the best Greek constructions, as found in classic writers, with those of the New Testament, to show the essential unity of the syntactic principles, as existing even in the midst of *circumstantial* differences.

this Hebraistic character is one reason by which may be explained the comparative absence of those particles which are so conspicuous in every page of classical Greek.

The non-periodic form of sentences (often, indeed, resembling the Old Testament in the use of *parallelisms*) may be observed in every part of the New Testament. The fact is obvious and patent to all.

But besides this cast of sentences, there are words and phrases which show *still more* of a Hebrew character. These have been divided into *perfect* and *imperfect* Hebraisms, the former including those expressions and uses of words which have no parallel in Greek writers in general; the latter comprising those to which something (though of very rare occurrence) has been pointed out in common Greek, but which, in the New Testament, had probably an origin merely from Hebrew connection. A knowledge of the elements of the forms of construction in Hebrew suffices to enable a reader to detect many traces of the kind in the New Testament. The usage of *words* in Hebrew equally shows what Hebraisms in the New Testament belong to that class. The following have been specified as Hebraisms:—*ὀφείλημα, debt,* used in the sense of *sin* (like חוֹב); *νύμφη, bride,* used (like כַּלָּה is sometimes) for *daughter-in-law; εἷς,* used for *first,* as אֶחָד also is; *ἐξομολογοῦμαί τινι,* as answering to הוֹדָה לְ, to praise or give thanks to some one; *εὐλογέω,* as answering to בָּרַךְ; *ἐρωτάω* to שָׁאַל. There are many figurative usages of this kind, such as *ποτήριον,* as an *allotment,* answering to כּוֹס; *σκάνδαλον,* used in a moral sense like מִכְשׁוֹל; *γλῶσσα,* like לָשׁוֹן, used for *nation; χεῖλος,* like שָׂפָה, for *speech.* Some of these Hebraisms were transfused into the Greek by mere verbal translation, as seems to be the case with the expressions *πρόσωπον λαμβάνω,* נָשָׂא פָּנִים; *ζητέω ψυχήν,* בִּקֵּשׁ נֶפֶשׁ; *ποιέω ἔλεος* (*χάριν*) *μετά τινος,* עָשָׂה חֶסֶד עִם; *ἀνοιγέω* (*ὀφθαλμούς, στόμα*), פָּקַח. Some Hebraisms arise from Greek derivatives having been formed after the analogy of something existing in Hebrew; thus, *σπλαγχνίζομαι* from *σπλάγχνα,* like רָחַם connected with רַחֲמִים; *σκανδαλίζω, σκανδαλίζομαι,* like הִכְשִׁיל נִכְשַׁל.[1]

Besides the use of words and terms of so decidedly an Hebraic character, Hebrew constructions and modes of thought are of frequent occurrence: they present no peculiar difficulty, for most of the former kind are expressions such as *οἰκόνομος τῆς ἀδικίας,* where such a use of the genitive is Hebraic, while the latter has been illustrated by *οἱ υἱοὶ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου.*[2] Care must, however, be taken not to be too hasty in setting down genitives after substantives, as being necessarily used adjectivially, according to the Hebrew usage; for this would deny to the New Testament that independent character which in a great measure it does possess, and might often reduce it to some mere Aramaic writing transfused into Greek.

One of the more marked Hebraisms of construction is the pleonastic insertion of a pronoun after a substantive, preceded by a relative, with which the pronoun is in apposition. This answers

[1] See Winer's Grammatik, pp. 22, 23.
[2] See Green's Treatise. Introd. vii. *note.*

precisely to the use of אֲשֶׁר in Hebrew, with the pronominal suffix joined to the following noun. Examples of this Hebrew construction are found in Mark i. 7., *οὗ οὐκ εἰμι ἱκανὸς . . . λῦσαι τὸν ἱμάντα τῶν ὑποδημάτων αὐτοῦ*; vii. 27., *ἧς εἶχε τὸ θυγάτριον αὐτῆς*. Rev. iii. 8., *θύραν . . . ἣν οὐδεὶς δύναται κλεῖσαι αὐτήν* (so the best authorities); xx. 8., *ὧν ὁ ἀριθμὸς αὐτῶν*.

These remarks on Hebraisms have relation to *two* of the subjects proposed under this head, namely, the tone of thought characterising the writers, and the influence of a foreign idiom. It need only here be added that in different writers of the New Testament, Hebraisms of expression, construction, and tone of thought, are found in very different degrees of frequency, and each as to these things seems to have his own personal characteristics.

One peculiarity of the New Testament Greek arises from the *subjects* on which the authors wrote, and the terms and expressions which they had to use as expressive of Christian ideas. The LXX. might furnish them with a portion of their theological vocabulary: but in the communication of new truths they could not limit themselves to that version as a basis of technical expressions; and they had to use new words, or else old words in senses so new that their definition had to be learned from the nature of the subject to which they were applied. In this procedure there was nothing strange or opposed to the custom of the Greek tongue: heads of philosophic sects had found it necessary to act in this manner; much more then was it needful for those who were for the first time *authoritatively* dealing with the Greek tongue, and consecrating it as the channel of communicating the truth revealed by God. Thus arose the use in the New Testament of such terms as *πίστις, πιστεύω εἰς χριστόν, δικαιοσύνη, διακαιοῦμαι, ἔργα* and *ἐργάζομαι* in their *appropriated* senses, the expressions *ἅγιοι, κλητοί, ἐκλεκτοί*, several ethical terms, and words which related to Christian offices or observances, such as *ἀπόστολος, βάπτισμα, εὐαγγελίστης*, and even the name *ἐκκλησία* itself. Such words and expressions must not be interpreted by a comparison either with classical Greek or with Hebrew usage; for they really belong to the technical terminology of the New Testament. Had not this terminology been introduced the New Testament *could* not have been written; since the truths which apostles and evangelists were commissioned by God and fitted by the Holy Ghost to teach, resulted so thoroughly from redemption by Jesus Christ, and the character of this sacrifice. Now those things which the law had dimly shadowed were fully manifested, and thus *redemption, righteousness, propitiation*, in its full and effective sense, and all that shows the sin of man, and the mode in which God mercifully deals in taking away sin and bestowing the gift of righteousness, could be *formally* and *expressly* taught. Thus the need of a new terminology is most manifest. And from this new terminology spring other characteristics of phraseology and expression; for the language of the sacred writers is in a great measure moulded by the subjects of which they treat. Their *object* also almost prevents the adoption of the periodic form, which, in good

classic writers, is so effective for their purposes: they had to make forcible statements in simple words, and thus, what they wrote, almost required an unadorned mode and style.

However much the classical Greek scholar may see in the Greek of the New Testament that is peculiar, the greater part by far springs from the nature of the subjects, and the mode in which it was needful to apprehend them: the difficulties arising from the points of lexicography and grammar are of little importance when compared with those springing from the subjects on which the authors wrote, and the mode of thought and the terms which were needed to convey these subjects aright.

It now seems to be strange that it ever could have been a subject of discussion whether the Greek of the New Testament is *pure* or not. The term *Hellenistic* was applied by Joseph Scaliger to the Greek of the Septuagint and the New Testament; the origin of the name being apparently the fact that the Jews who used the Greek language are called in the New Testament Ἑλληνισταί, *Hellenists* (in our version "Grecians"). The name is, however, little suitable; for though a Jew speaking Greek might be well termed a Hellenist, so far from its following that the Greek language when used by Jews should receive a similar name, the very opposite is the conclusion which should have been formed. Jews called other Jews who used Greek *Hellenists*, because they *so far* differed from Hebrews; but to use this term with regard to *Greek* when marked by any particular idiom, is wholly inapt: if a name of distinction be used, it should be one to express wherein this kind of Greek is *not* Hellenic, and what the different colouring may be that it has received. And thus *Hebraic Greek* might (if needful) be adopted to designate Greek which has thus received a tinge of Hebrew idioms; while *Christian Greek* would be needed if we wished to include the most characteristic of the peculiarities of the New Testament phraseology.

The name Hellenistic Greek will, however, retain a place in works in which the diction of the New Testament is discussed; but this is simply from its having been so habitually used in the controversies which were once carried on, when it was a subject of debate whether the New Testament was written in a style of Attic purity, or of rude and uncultured barbarism. A brief outline of this controversy is needful as a record of past discussions, which, though wearisome in themselves, and carried on with very defective and one-sided views, have resulted in good, and have given definiteness to our grasp of the *facts* of the case. When once the *facts* were apprehended and admitted, the fruit of the controversy was gained. Meanwhile *much* had been done to illustrate the words and phrases of the Greek New Testament from the sources of comparison to which each side respectively appealed.

Laurentius Valla (in the fifteenth century) has been cited as an early opponent of the notion that the Greek of the New Testament was pure; its Hebraic tinge was definitely pointed out by Erasmus in the early part of the next century. Beza (on Acts x. 46.), maintained not only the existence of this Hebraism, but he even defended

its use by the sacred writers as being a kind of elegance, and as (what many might now well maitain) an advantage as to force and expressiveness. Henry Stephens, however, in the preface to an edition of the Greek Testament, in 1576, defended the purity of the style, as to many particulars in which some had deemed it to be barbarous. A merely one-sided view of the subject appears to have commenced with Sebastian Pfochen, whose *Diatribe de linguæ Græcæ Novi Testamenti puritate,* appeared at Amsterdam in 1629: in this work he undertook to show *that profane authors had used the same phrases and words as the writers of the New Testament have employed.* A reply to this soon appeared from Joachim Junge of Hamburgh, who maintained the Hebraistic cast of the New Testament, but he denied, like Beza, that this was a barbarism. But this point was resolutely denied by Grosse, also of Hamburgh (1640), who carried on a long paper war on the subject, bringing not a few irrelevant questions into the discussion; for he even used his opinions on inspiration as an argument, maintaining that this doctrine could not be *fully* upheld by those who were not *purists.*[1] Meanwhile two scholars, Daniel Heinsius in Holland (1643), and Thomas Gataker in this country (1648), distinctly opposed the *purism* of Pfochen, and maintained what was now termed *Hellenisticism.* After many works had appeared, some of which were distinguished by little except boldness of assertion, and of which others were useful in collecting the actual idioms of the New Testament, and classifying and arranging them, J. H. Michaelis published in 1707 his *Dissertatio de Textu Novi Testamenti,* in which he took a very similar ground to that which Beza had maintained: the existence of Hebraisms was also twenty years later conceded by Blackwell in his "Sacred Classics illustrated and defended;" although he took on the whole too much the side of the *purists.* All the studies of the last century issued in result on the side of the Hellenists, though there were not wanting defenders of what they considered to be closely connected with the honour of the sacred writers.

The process of argumentation to which the better sort of *purists* resorted was that of collecting from classical writers all the words and phrases which appeared to correspond with what had been called Hellenistic. In doing this they doubtless illustrated some passages; but they confused the poetical or figurative language of the classics

[1] Hoffmann well remarked on this notion: — "Frivole quæritur, cur S. Spiritus Apostolis non idem quod Isocrati et Demostheni aliisque Græcis scriptoribus familiare fuit dicendi genus inspiraverit? Potuisse S. Spiritum, dubium non est, etsi ratio quoque detur, cur mysteria fidei non nisi aliis quam Demosthenis verbis exprimi potuerint. Noluisse autem S. Spiritum, in propatulo est; eccur vero? 1. Quia, si Apostoli tam puro, uti Demosthenes, dicendi genere essent usi, nemo facile crederet ejusmodi libros ab hominibus Judæis conscriptos. Nunc autem ipsum scripturæ genus incredulos convincere potest, libros revera ab illis, quibus tribuuntur, auctoribus compositos esse. 2. Quia Spiritus S. Amanuensibus suis usus est, non ut machina inanima, neque manibus eorundem ut inanimis calamis; eo usque nemo sanus θεοσυνεύστιαν extendet, etsi in rudi plebecula subinde ejusmodi opiniones observentur: sed per συγκατάβασιν cuilibet S. viro permisit, ut suo dicendi genere uteretur, ac pro naturæ dotibus ingeniique viribus θεόπνευστα eloqueretur. . . . . Divina autem θεοπνεύστια singulis adfuit, ne quas alias voces, quam quæ rebus aptissimæ et verissimæ mente conciperent, literarumque monumentis traderent."—Introd. pp. 319, 320. (ed. 1737).

with the plain and homely diction of the New Testament; they also often brought together words and phrases which, though to the eye the same as were found in the New Testament, were really used in senses and connections wholly different; so that no result of truth or profit could spring from the comparison. Also they even used works subsequent in date to the New Testament, in which the phrases and expressions under discussion had no doubt been borrowed from it by writers whose minds were imbued with scripture phraseology. Still there were many Hebraisms of the New Testament of which these writers said nothing, because they had nothing to say. The inaptness of some of the comparisons of the use of words which were brought forward are hardly conceivable: e.g. the New Testament use of χορτάζω, to satisfy, or fill (one who is hungry), was put into connection with the use of the same word in Plato (Republ. ii. 372.), where it is used of *feeding swine*. Matt. x. 27., κηρύξατε ἐπὶ τῶν δωμάτων, was compared with Æsop, ἔριφος ἐπί τινος δώματος ἕστως: and so too as to many other of the illustrations employed.

The application of correct philological principles has settled the questions amongst scholars which were once so warmly debated; and now in a few words it may be said, that the Greek of the New Testament is essentially the common dialect of the later writers, with a certain influx of Hebrew constructions and phraseology, and with that colouring which the subject to which Greek was now applied—revealed Christian truth—rendered necessary.

To some it may seem strange that this question was so long debated; but one reason appears to be that many theologians were far more acquainted with the Greek New Testament than with the classical writers of antiquity: the words, phrases, and constructions used by the sacred writers were, therefore, so familiar to their minds and ears, that they did not regard them as anything at all strange; and thus they were almost (if not quite) incapable of perceiving the force of the arguments plied by the Hellenists. And this, too, is still a hinderance to many theologians whose Greek studies have been *specially* directed to the New Testament, so that they can hardly appreciate the force of critical remarks which require a more comprehensive view of the Greek language. It can hardly be too earnestly pressed on Biblical students the importance of making their Greek studies far more comprehensive than this; and if they have begun with the Greek Testament, and even if they are familiar with it, and it alone, it is *needful* for them to know in addition Greek as found in Attic writers of the purest days, and to be familiar with grammar as laid down by good authorities. Thus there will be known what the standard of comparison is by which the Greek of the New Testament must be judged, and by which the shades of thought, definitely expressed by the sacred writers as well as others, will be properly discriminated and apprehended. A knowledge of the Greek of the New Testament only will be a mere verbal knowledge; but a *thorough* acquaintance with a few good Greek writers in addition, will give it a very different cast. Theological studies are not to be contrasted with philological, as though there was some

opposition between them; but as Holy Scripture has come to us expressed (as it only could be expressed) in *language*, sound and thorough philology becomes a part of the theological armoury of him who would use the Word of God and understand its contents aright.

CHAP. IV.

ON THE TEXT OF THE NEW TESTAMENT, IN ITS EXTERNAL FORM, DIVISIONS, MARKS OF DISTINCTION, ETC.

In giving an account of the text of any ancient writer as unprinted, there is little in general that can be done further than to collect the few notices which may bear on the subject, from the time in which the author in question may have lived and onward. In discussing what relates to this head, it is intended to treat, first, of the *external form* of the Greek New Testament in ancient times, and of the *divisions*, &c. which were from time to time introduced, and of those points which are connected with these subjects. In this manner there will be a general outline drawn of what is known of the external history of the text. The internal history, such as it is, will then be considered.

The twenty-seven writings which we possess conjointly in the New Testament, were originally, as the most cursory reader may see, separate and distinct; they were composed by various persons and at intervals during a period of perhaps sixty years. The *original* writing material employed was probably the Egyptian papyrus (*χάρτης* is mentioned expressly 2 John 12.). We do not find the least trace in ancient writers of the *autographs* of any of these writings (for the passages which have been cited as referring to them will not stand the test of critical examination); so that it is probable that the ancients knew as little of what had become of them as *we* do. They were in all probability unnoticed from the time that they were copied and distributed (*published*, in the ancient sense of the term); for then they would be as little likely to attract particular attention as does the MS. of any modern work. Of few works printed fifty years ago can we now say where is the author's MS. The copies which were multiplied in ancient times by the transcribers by profession, under the direction of the author or those acting for him, took the place and did the work of originals. It can hardly be doubted that the *Epistles* at least were written at first on papyrus, whatever be thought of the historical books; and that they were also so written is probable in the highest degree. It must have been, however, at a very early period that the more durable material for use, parchment or vellum, was employed for the copies for circulation, and it is on this material that the oldest codices which we have are written.

The history of the combination of the New Testament books into

one volume belongs rather to the history of the canon than to this place; it may suffice here to say that in the reign of Trajan, *i. e.* almost immediately after the death of St. John, the last evangelist and the last surviving apostle, the four Gospels were collected and circulated in one volume: and as a united volume they were used in the former part of the second century by the churches in general. St. Paul's Epistles were also in the same age circulated unitedly: there may have been another collection in use omitting some of them, but this question, as well as whether the Epistle to the Hebrews belonged to this united volume, does not require to be here discussed. Of the other books of the New Testament, the greater part were in use as separate books; but in the third century they appear to have been all combined in one volume; and this arrangement was habitual from the fourth century and onward; though even then a copy might contain but a part of the collection.

We do not find any trace of copies of the New Testament or of its separate writings in the form of rolls; all that we have are in square *books* of the modern form. At a period comparatively late, we find *paper* employed as a material; cotton paper makes its appearance subsequently to the ninth century, and that of linen was used after the twelfth.

The writing of the oldest copies is what has been termed *uncial*; by this word it is intended that the letters are all capitals, written without any connection with one another. *Cursive* writing, in which the letters run on continuously, being often joined, and with no capitals except as initial letters, belongs to a later age; Montfaucon[1] ascribes it in sacred documents to the tenth century. The uncial writing was not, however, at once discontinued; it was employed for some ages after this for certain church books.

In very ancient MSS. there is no division of words whatever, no accents, no breathings, no iota postscribed (as subscribed it belongs to more recent time), no interpunction, as regular or systematic. The continuous writing led to errors of interpretation; for some read words wrongly by so dividing the letters as to give them another meaning; and some read words in a former sentence which others took as commencing that which succeeded. There are, however, very early *some* traces of interpunction, a dot makes its appearance between two words, and it is evident that the copyist was accustomed to divide the sentence at such a place. When such a mark is *common* to several ancient MSS., we shall rarely find that it is not both in accordance with the sense of the passage, and also upheld by some of the ancient versions.

An instance of this variation of interpunction is found in John i. 3, 4.; where the habitual division in the earliest times was such as to *separate* between οὐδὲ ἕν and the following clause ὃ γέγονεν. However opposed this is to the *modern* mode of treating the passage, its prevalence prior to the Macedonian controversy cannot be doubted. The notion of Macedonius and his followers was that the Holy

[1] Palæographia Græca, lib. iv. p. 262.

Ghost is included in the expression *πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο*, as though the third person of the Trinity had been a creature, and made *διὰ* Christ. To limit the *πάντα* and *οὐδὲ ἕν, ὃ γέγονεν* was taken from the following sentence in order to exclude the Macedonian interpretation. There was no dishonesty strictly speaking in this procedure, for many MSS. had no marks of distinction, and it cannot be shown that such divisions were regarded as *authoritative*.[1]

It seems probable that by the beginning of the fifth century (even if not long before) the use of a dot to divide sentences had become very general, and that there was a kind of received punctuation thus adopted; which, although it did not serve to distinguish the pauses as our system does, sufficed to show the reader when he might draw breath without confusing those who were listening. And this appears to the writer to have been almost or quite identical with the origin of *stichometry*.

Euthalius, deacon of Alexandria, and afterwards bishop of Sulca, *published an edition* (in the *ancient* sense of the term) of St. Paul's Epistles stichometrically divided. This has been supposed with good reason to have caused stichometry, *στιχομετρία*, to be very generally adopted; while others have assumed (too hastily as it will be shown) that this must have *originated* with Euthalius himself. The date of the Euthalian copy of the Pauline Epistles thus divided was A.D. 458., as is known from the reckoning of Euthalius himself, by which he carried on the computation of the period from St. Paul's martyrdom, from the fourth consulship of Arcadius and third of Honorius (the point to which a writer from whom he copied had brought his computation) to his own time. This he estimated pretty accurately to be 462 years after the birth of our Lord, whence some have given A.D. 462 as the date of the commencement of stichometry.[2]

In this mode of writing the text was divided into *lines*, *στίχοι*, for the convenience of readers, each of which was intended to contain as

[1] The writer has elsewhere remarked pretty fully on the evidence which bears on the interpretation of this passage. See "An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament," by S. P. Tregelles, LL.D., pp. 213, 214.

[2] So Hug and De Wette. The point is very unimportant *in itself*; only for reasons which will presently be explained, it is necessary to investigate every particular relative to the editorial labours of Euthalius, and to see what he collected and copied from others.

The writer from whom Euthalius took the computation of the period from St. Paul's martyrdom, places that event in the sixty-ninth year after the birth of our Lord, the thirty-sixth after his crucifixion. The day is defined to be "the fifth of the month *Panemos*, called by the Romans the third of the Calends of July" (*i.e.* June 29.); and thence the computation is carried on as being 330 years to the fourth consulship of Arcadius and third of Honorius. (This notice *in this form* may be found in Montfaucon's Bibliotheca Coisliniana, p. 77.) Euthalius, in adopting this account of St. Paul's martyrdom, prefixes *κατὰ Συρομακεδόνας* to the name of the month, and also subjoins *παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιφὶ ε'*. He then states how he carries on his computation "to this present consulship." *ἀπὸ τῆς ὑπατίας τετάρτης μὲν Ἀρκαδίου, τρίτης δὲ Ὀνωρίου μεχρὶ τῆς παρούσης ταύτης ὑπατίας, πρώτης Δέοντος Αἰγυπτίου, ἰνδικτιῶνος δωδεκάτης, ἐπιφὶ ε'. Διοκλετιανοῦ ροδ'. ἔτη ξγ'. ὡς εἶναι τὰ πάντα ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἡμῶν παρουσίας μεχρὶ τοῦ προκειμένου ἔτους ἔτη τετρακόσια ἑξήκοντα δύο.* (Zacagni Collectanea Monumentorum veterum, p. 537. Rome, 1698.) This description of the year answers in part to 458, and in part to 459, apparently from the different beginning of the year in the Roman and Egyptian modes of reckoning.

much as might be taken up by the reader at once, without marring the sense. After the year 490 he put forth a similar *edition* of the Acts and Catholic Epistles. This he said was στιχηδὸν γράψαι, and from the name thus given to the divisions the name stichometry has arisen.

There has been a very general supposition that the stichometrical division was the work of Euthalius himself, and thus it has been attributed to the latter part of the fourth century. But this can hardly be adopted as *certain*, if every thing is taken into consideration. For Euthalius was professedly a *collector*, and he seems to have diligently availed himself of the labours of others. The whole of the ἔκθεσις κεφαλαίων τῶν πράξεων τῶν ἀποστόλων (in Zacagni Collectanea, pp. 428–36) is taken from a work of *Pamphilus* the Martyr, as may be seen in Montfaucon's Bibliotheca Coisliniana, pp. 78—82., where this same enumeration is entitled ἔκθεσις κεφαλαίων τῶν πράξεων τοῦ Παμφίλου. Hence it is worthy of more inquiry than the subject has received, how much of what was put forth in a collected form by Euthalius might have been taken from Pamphilus the Martyr. It has been already shown that Euthalius made use of a writer who belonged to the year 396; so that in copying from Pamphilus he acted on the same plan. It appears probable that he intended fully to avow his obligation, for at the end of his enumeration of the κεφάλαια, &c. of the Acts and Catholic Epistles he adds, ἀντεβλήθη δὲ τῶν πράξεων καὶ καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν τὸ βιβλίον πρὸς τὰ ἀκριβῆ ἀντίγραφα τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ βιβλιοθήκης Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου (Zacagni, p. 513.). Having thus copied the κεφάλαια from the MS. of Pamphilus in the Cæsarean Library, it is at least *not* improbable that he may have taken more from the same source. Now the Coislin fragments of St. Paul's Epistles H (from which a specimen of stichometry will presently be given) contain a subscription stating, 1st, that this copy of St. Paul's Epistles had been written στειχηρόν (*sic*), and that this was πρὸς ἐγγραμμὸν καὶ εὐκαταλημπτὸν ἀνάγνωσιν τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀδελφῶν, and 2nd, ἀντεβλήθη δὲ ἡ βίβλος πρὸς τὸ ἐν Καισαρείᾳ ἀντίγραφον τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ ἁγίου Παμφίλου χειρὶ γεγραμμένον αὐτοῦ.

It has been suggested that this subscription is that of Euthalius, retained by the more recent scribe who wrote the Coislin MS.; but even if this be the case, it gives another point of connection between his labours and those of Pamphilus; for it shows a comparison with regard to St. Paul's Epistles, such as he has himself mentioned at the end of the Acts and Catholic Epistles.

Just, then, as it is certain that some of the Euthalian chapters and divisions are the work of Pamphilus, so it is at least not improbable, from the joint testimony of the Coislin fragments and Euthalius's own subscription, that the stichometrical arrangement was a part of the Biblical labours of Pamphilus the Martyr to which allusion was made by Jerome.

The account which we have of the stichometrical arrangement is contained in the Prologue to the Acts, addressed to Athanasius the younger, bishop of Alexandria (and, therefore, after the year 490).

In this Euthalius, or the writer from whom he quotes, says that he now sets forth the Acts and Catholic Epistles *στοιχηδόν*, as he had *formerly* done those of St. Paul, so that the whole of this must have proceeded from the same person, whether Euthalius, Pamphilus, or any other. He then speaks similarly of making summaries (*ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι*) of the Acts, which we know proceeded from Pamphilus himself.[1]

This account of the origin of *στίχοι*, though very uncertain as to the date, seems to be the best which can now be given.

There was also a division termed *ῥήματα*, which was probably another mode of separation into lines, perhaps not so long as the *στίχοι*. Many MSS. contain at the end of the books an enumeration of the *στίχοι* and *ῥήματα*; but in these there is considerable confusion.

The following will serve as specimens of stichometrical writing:—

ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΑΣΝΗΦΑΛΙΟΥΣΕΙΝΑΙ
ΣΕΜΝΟΥΣ
ΣΩΦΡΟΝΑΣ
ΥΓΙΑΙΝΟΝΤΑΣΤΗΠΙΣΤΕΙ
ΤΗΑΓΑΠΗ
ΤΗΥΠΟΜΕΝΗ
ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΙΔΑΣΩΣΑΥΤΩΣ
ΕΝΚΑΤΑΣΤΗΜΑΤΙΙΕΡΟΠΡΕΠΕΙΣ
ΜΗΔΙΑΒΟΛΟΥΣ
ΜΗΟΙΝΩΠΟΛΛΩΔΕΔΟΥΛΩΜΕΝΑΣ
ΚΑΛΟΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΟΥΣ

Tit. ii. 2, 3., from the Codex Coislinianus, described by Montfaucon (Bibl. Coisl. p. 259.).

ΤΟΝΜΕΝΠΡΩΤΟΝΛΟΓΟΝΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΜΗΝ
ΠΕΡΙΠΑΝΤΩΝΩΘΕΟΦΙΛΕ
ΩΝ ΗΡΞΑΤΟ ΙΗΣ ΠΟΙΕΙΝΤΕ
ΚΑΙΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΙΝΑΧΡΙΗΣΗΜΕΡΑΣ
ΑΝΕΛΗΜΦΘΗΕΝΤΕΙΛΑΜΕΝΟΣΤΟΙΣΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΙΣ
ΔΙΑΠΝΣΑΓΙΟΥΟΥΣΕΞΕΛΕΞΑΤΟΚΑΙΕΚΕΛΕΥΣΕ
ΚΗΡΥΣΣΕΙΝΤΟΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ.

Acts i. 1. &c. from the Codex Bezæ.

[1] If we could be *certain* when that Hesychius of Jerusalem lived who divided the minor prophets *στιχηρόν*, we should know with more precision whether these in the New Testament are the work of Euthalius; for Hesychius says, *πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἀποστολικὴν βίβλον οὕτω τινὶ συγγραφεῖσαν εὑρών*. This makes it at least *probable* that they did not originate in the New Testament in the latter half of the fifth century.

Zacagni, who edited the labours of Euthalius (Collectanea Monumentorum Veterum: Rome, 1698,) from several Vatican MSS., found a difficulty in reconciling some parts of their contents with the dates of the life of that Egyptian bishop, especially (Pref. p. lxii.) that any one who had been connected with the Council of Chalcedon (451) should call himself *forty* years after *νέον χρόνων καὶ μαθημάτων*. This difficulty would have been removed on the publication of the Bibliotheca Coisliniana (1715), if it had been observed that this expression is taken from Pamphilus, and has nothing to do with the years that Euthalius had lived. A somewhat similar expression, in which the writer compares himself to *νέος ἀμαθὴς ἐρήμην ὁδὸν καὶ ἀτριβῆ ἰέναι προστάγμενος*, occurs in the general Prologue addressed to Bishop Athanasius; and it certainly *seems* to comport more with one who was young, than with Euthalius, whose ecclesiastical standing had been such for forty years. It may very well be the expression used by some writer whose words Euthalius used.

It has been remarked that we have no information as to any similar work performed by Euthalius or any one else with regard to the Gospels; and the division of those books into στίχοι has been conjectured to have been performed by him at a later period; but is it not more probable to suppose that it had been previously executed by some other hand, and that it was in common use, and that the division of the Epistles, whether originating with Euthalius, or only circulated by him, was in imitation of what had been previously employed in the Gospels? At all events the Gospels *required* it the most, because they were the most habitually read in the churches, and it was to meet a felt need that this mode of writing was adopted.

Thus it appears as if Euthalius, or the author whom he followed, completed a work previously begun; and that the whole plan of stichometry was to write in separate lines, for the sake of greater distinctness, those members of a sentence which might have been separated by dots.

There are also instances of a MS. being written like the Codex Laudianus (E) of the Acts, in which only a word or two stands in each line; this has been sometimes styled stichometry, but it has no relation whatever to the proper στίχοι. It only resembles them to the *eye*.

For a time the adoption of stichometry seems to have prevailed, but how far it was general has never been shown; it must have disappeared after a few centuries, though some MSS. appear to exhibit traces of having been copied from exemplars so divided; thus in the Codex Boernerianus of St. Paul's Epistles (G), a large letter often stands at the beginning of an ancient στίχος, though this MS. is itself written in lines continued across the page. It has also been thought that the dot of interpunction found in the Codex Cyprius (K) of the Gospels, marks the end of a στίχος; but this seems to be only the same mode of interpunction which was probably in use before stichometry had been introduced, and certainly was so before it was common.

From the eighth or ninth century punctuation in MSS. became more frequent and more regular; and after the tenth century it is very common to find it carried out very thoroughly; and thus it is customary in cursive MSS. But there was no absolute regularity, and certainly nothing that could be called a *system*, prior to the invention of printing. Even then the same editor varied from time to time. On this subject it is important to observe that though punctuation is necessary, yet there is none that is authorised absolutely by ancient use, or that possesses any prescriptive right. The sentences which are ambiguous in their connection are but few; for writers do not often so combine their words that they are capable of being punctuated in a way in which they did not intend; and this is the case even more markedly in Greek than in English. In really doubtful cases the context and parallel passages may decide; and if in such cases there is a pretty general early testimony in favour of some particular punctuation, it must not be considered rashness in any to follow it, even though all modern usage may oppose.

The absence of *word divisions* was a far greater difficulty to a reader in ancient times; for it required a considerable acquaintance with a work before it could be read aloud with any certainty of avoiding mistakes. This barbarous mode of writing was continued in Greek far longer than in Latin; for the Gothic rulers of Italy, in the close of the fifth century, introduced *word divisions* in Latin documents. We have not many existing proofs of confusion having arisen from the undivided mode of writing; 1. Cor. vi. 20., however, affords one instance; where after δοξάσατε some copies read in early times, as they do still, ἄρα τε. This sentence then stood in undivided writing ΔΟΞΑΣΑΤΕΑΡΑΤΕΤΟΝΘ̄Ν, and this was read by some as if the latter words were ἄρατε τὸν θεόν; and so in the Latin Vulgate the passage now stands "glorificate *et portate* Deum in corpore vestro."

Ancient Divisions. — The chapters and verses which we now use are inventions of comparatively recent times; those which were anciently employed, and to which reference is made by early writers, are still found in MSS. as well as being retained in some printed editions. Their *utility* is considerable in modern copies, because they facilitate reference to MSS., and they explain ancient allusions.

Chapters, κεφάλαια, are early spoken of; but perhaps in some of the more ancient writers who use the word, it was employed indefinitely as denoting *part* or *section*. Of the introduction of some of the existing divisions we possess some historical information; of others which appear in MSS. we know neither the origin nor the date. Thus the Codex Vaticanus B, contains a distribution into sections wholly peculiar; of these St. Matthew contains 170, St. Mark 61, &c. The length of these divisions is very unequal; the *sense* being the reason of the breaks occurring where they do. In the Gospels, at least, the sections are perhaps the best that were ever devised; and this system of capitulary division is probably the earliest of which we have the means of knowing any thing.[1]

In the second century Tatian, the disciple of Justin Martyr and afterwards the head of a body of ascetic heretics, had formed a *harmony* or combined history from the four Gospels: and in the following century this plan appears to have been carried out still further by Ammonius of Alexandria, who divided the Gospels into such sections as would answer to certain other parts in one or more of the other Gospels. The length of these divisions was wholly dependent on the portion which might be parallel in another Gospel. These divisions may very commonly be found in MSS.; they take from their inventor the name of *Ammonian sections*. In the early part of the fourth century Eusebius, the celebrated bishop of Cæsarea, made the divisions of Ammonius the basis of his harmonising tables; he let each Gospel remain undisturbed as to its order, but under the

[1] This Capitulatio Vaticana is inserted in the "Emphatic New Testament," edited and arranged by John Taylor, Esq. In this work a very commendable prominence is given to the readings of this most ancient and important MS. These divisions, with their numbers, are also given and made the basis of the distinction into paragraphs in Dr. Tregelles's "Greek Testament, edited from ancient authorities," now (1855) in the press.

number of the Ammonian sections another was placed referring to one of *ten* lists in which they were so arranged as to show *what* answered in the other Gospels to that which was found in St. Matthew, or if it were a portion which had no parallel in St. Matthew, then one of the other Gospels took the lead. These ten tables contained, first, the passages common to all four Evangelists; then (in three tables) what three have in common; then (in four), what two Evangelists have in parallel statements; and in the last were placed those passages which are *peculiar* to each of the four. The *Eusebian Canons*, as these tables are called, were adopted almost as generally as the Ammonian sections.

These divisions were chiefly for the aid of those who wished to study the New Testament minutely, and to compare the Gospels with one another. Sections of a different kind were also formed, though their date and origin are wholly uncertain: these were the portions allotted for public reading.

The divisions of the Gospels, which have been styled τίτλοι, probably originated in this manner; of these Matthew contains 68, Mark 48, Luke 83, John 18. The divisions appear to have been formed from their subject matter, so as to be a kind of chapters in the modern sense of the term. Each of these divisions received a *title* from one of the first or principal subjects mentioned in it; thus the fifth of these sections of St. Matthew, which happens to begin at the same place as our fifth chapter, is entitled περὶ τῶν μακαρισμῶν, *concerning the beatitudes*, from the *first* subject in the sermon on the mount, though this same τίτλος comprehends the whole to the end of chap. vii. The last section in St. Matthew, the 68th, is called περὶ τῆς αἰτήσεως τοῦ σώματος τοῦ Ἰησοῦ, *concerning the request for the body of Jesus;* this being the *first* thing which it contains, though the principal part of it treats of the resurrection of our Lord. These *titles* are found in MSS. placed at the head of the page on which they begin, with the *numeral* prefixed, which also stands in the margin opposite the line in which each commences: and prefixed to each Gospel is an index of the sections, with their numbers and titles. There has arisen some confusion from the term κεφάλαιον having been used to designate the τίτλοι, as well as the Ammonian sections, to which that term was more commonly appropriated. Hence, whenever κεφάλαια are mentioned it is needful to observe *which* kind of divisions are the ones intended.

In the Gospels, and in some of the other books, the first section or τίτλος, noted in the margin, does not stand at the beginning of the book itself; so that there is one section more than those enumerated in the index. Griesbach [1] explains this peculiar arrangement thus: "In all MSS. which comprise the notation of the κεφάλαια, and have the τίτλοι marked, the first of those in Matthew, marked Ἀ, is inscribed περὶ τῶν μάγων, and begins ch. ii. 1. Similarly the first of these divisions in Mark is entitled περὶ τοῦ δαιμονιζομένου, and commences ch. i. 29. The first in Luke is περὶ τῆς ἀπογραφῆς,

[1] Commentarius Criticus, ii. 49.

and begins ch. ii. 1. The first in John is *περὶ τοῦ ἐν Κανᾷ γάμου*, commencing ch. ii. 1. Also in several of the Epistles the arrangement is the same. The first section in the Epistle to the Romans begins ch. i. 18. It may be worth while to explain so singular a mode of enumerating the *κεφάλαια*, by reference to their origin. At first, the argument of every larger section was in a few words prefixed[1], or else placed in the upper or the lower margin; afterwards they were drawn out into a list, and numerals were prefixed. . . . But the *beginning* of each book had already a general inscription (as ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΝ, or ΠΡΟΣ ΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣ ΕΠΙΣΤΟΛΗ). Hence it was thought that there was hardly a place for a special heading at the beginning of the first page of each book. And thus it came to pass that in the *enumeration* of *κεφάλαια* there is no mention whatever of the first portion of each book."

A clear apprehension of the *τίτλοι* is not only of historical importance, but it is needful from their being found so generally in Greek MSS., and also in the so called fac-simile editions, which have rendered many of the more valuable of these documents accessible to the biblical student, without his having to go beyond the walls of his study.

It may seem singular that MSS. should contain the twofold division of Ammonian sections, and these larger *τίτλοι*; probably the latter originated in church usage; and when once they had been marked in MSS., copyists, whose aim ever was *not to omit anything*, inserted both systems of division.

The divisions of the other parts of the New Testament have been thought to be of later origin. Euthalius, whose stichometrical arrangement of some of the books has already been mentioned, introduced into a copy which he sent to Athanasius the younger, bishop of Alexandria, a division of the Acts and Catholic Epistles into *κεφάλαια*, giving also similar divisions which had been previously introduced into St. Paul's Epistles by some one whom he does not name, but whom he describes as, *ἑνὶ τῶν σοφωτάτων τινὶ καὶ φιλοχρίστων πατέρων ἡμῶν*, *one of the wisest of our Christ-loving fathers*, a term by which it has been supposed that he intended Theodorus of Mopsuestia. He also gave headings to the chapters, descriptive of their contents; these, however, are not his own, but they were collected by him from a previously existing synopsis of Sacred Scripture, and from other sources. Euthalius has been supposed to have formed the divisions of the Acts and Catholic Epistles himself; but this seems doubtful as to the latter, and certainly incorrect as respects the former, which was (as has been stated above) the work of Pamphilus the martyr, nearly two centuries previous. It is more certain that he subjoined to the Epistles subscriptions, denoting the places from which he supposed that they had been written; in these particulars he sometimes contradicts the summaries of the chapters which he had introduced. Euthalius also

[1] This is the case in the Codex Sangallensis Δ of the Gospels. The *titles* are there introduced in a different form of writing into the text itself.

inserted *written* accents in his copy,—a great aid to the reader of undivided Greek; and many of these particulars were transcribed by others from his Exemplar.[1] The labour of Eusebius in arranging the Ammonian sections of the Gospels, and that of Euthalius in connection with the Acts and Epistles, resemble far more what is undertaken by a modern editor of the New Testament, than anything else which we find in ancient times.

The Apocalypse was divided into twenty-four portions, to which the name of λόγοι was given, and into seventy-two smaller κεφάλαια; both of these divisions are attributed to Andreas of Cæsarea in Cappadocia: if it be correct that this twofold division was made by one person, it is probable that it was in imitation of what was found in the Gospels, where both κεφάλαια and τίτλοι were marked in the same MS.

The Greeks continued to use the ancient divisions until after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453; some of the fugitives, who sought to obtain a living in Western Europe by copying Greek MSS., then, in some exemplars, introduced the Latin chapters. These more recent divisions, and the still more modern verses, may be briefly mentioned here as completing the outline of the *history* of the divisions and marks of distinction in the New Testament.

The Latins had used the Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons, and *breves* resembling the Greek τίτλοι. Whether these had fallen into disuse, or whether they seemed unsuitable for the purpose in-

[1] It is very uncommon for a change of accents to affect the sense at all. More might be said as to the difference of *breathing* at the beginning of certain words; αὐτοῦ and αὑτοῦ, for instance. It happens, however, that in the New Testament there are the strongest grounds for excluding αὑτοῦ and its cognates altogether, and for always using αὐτοῦ. In our common printed copies, some passages have been much misconceived from the aspiration on this word, αὑτοῦ, &c. having been inserted in a manner which is wrong on any principle and in any manner.

Thus, in Col. ii. 15., θριαμβεύσας αὐτοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ occurs in most of the Greek Testaments in common use in this country. This has, of course, been taken to mean "triumphing over them in himself;" and this has been applied to Christ as the only person of whom this could be said. Christ has thus been assumed to be the *subject* of the sentence, and all has been applied to him. And thus, in the same verse, ἀπεκδυσάμενος has been thought, of course, to belong to our Lord; and whatever it may mean, it has been thought to be *his* action. Of late an endeavour has been made to translate it "having put off," or "having stripped himself of" the ἀρχαὶ and ἐξουσίαι, which are immediately mentioned; and it has even been maintained that these powers of evil were what existed in the humanity of our Lord (!!), and that He put them off at the cross. This doctrine is sufficiently different from what is commonly held to be true of our Lord's person, as to make one ask whether the words of the verse *could* be thus translated, applied, and interpreted. As to this, let it be observed that the notion that Christ is the subject of the sentence turns entirely on the breathing ἐν αὐτῷ, and on a kind of traditional apprehension taken from that form of the word. But let the whole context be examined, and it will be seen that ἐν αὐτῷ is in entire discordance with it. Verse 12. speaks of "the faith of the operation of GOD who raised Him (Christ, *sc.*) from the dead. (Ver. 13.) And you . . . . hath He [God] quickened together with Him [with Christ], having forgiven you all trespasses; (ver. 14.) having blotted out the handwriting . . . . He [God still] took it out of the way, nailing it to the cross; (ver. 15.) having despoiled the principalities and the powers, He [God] made a shew of them openly, triumphing over them in it" [*i. e.* in the cross of Christ]. Thus might some have been kept from going so far astray, if they had not been misled by ἐν αὐτῷ having been put with a breathing which *could* not belong to it. Whatever be the meaning of ἀπεκδυσάμενος, no sense must be assigned to it which is incompatible with the subject being GOD simply.

tended, the modern chapters were invented in the middle of the thirteenth century by Cardinal Hugo de S. Caro (Hugues de St. Cher), who had projected a Latin Concordance of the whole Bible. He subdivided each chapter into different portions by using A. B. C. D., placed in the margin at intervals. This new notation spread amongst the Latin copies, and it was afterwards introduced into the printed editions of the Greek New Testament, just as some had adopted the Latin chapters previously in their Greek transcripts. Verse divisions of any kind, and numberings, seem first to have appeared in Latin in the Psalterium Quincuplex of the elder Henry Stephens (Paris, 1509), in which each of the Hebrew verses (as distinguished by the punctuation) was marked and numbered in Latin. This was repeatedly imitated in printed editions of the Psalter. In 1528 Pagninus published his new Latin translation of the whole Bible, in which he numbered the verses in the Old Testament, the divisions of which are marked in the Hebrew text; he also introduced certain *numbered verses* into the New Testament; these were however *much longer* than ours, which were suggested by them. After Robert Stephens was molested and almost persecuted by the Theological faculty of the Sorbonne, in consequence of his large Greek Testament, in 1550, he found it needful to flee to Geneva, and there in the following year he published the first Greek Testament with our modern verses. He meditated the formation of a Concordance to the Greek New Testament, and during his ride from Paris to Lyons[1], he either planned or else executed this verse division: it was introduced into the edition which he published at Geneva[2] in 1551, in which the Greek text stands in a central column between the Vulgate and the Latin version of Erasmus. In this edition there were not only the *numbering* of the newly invented verses inserted (which is all that would have been needed for a Concordance), but also the verses are divided by separate breaks, according to the modern plan. For this Robert Stephens had a reason, irrespective of what had led to his having introduced them at all. He says in his preface that he did this to make other versions correspond in location to the Greek text. From the time of their introduction, but a short period elapsed before their use had become general; they were adopted alike by Roman Catholics and by Protestants, in editions of the original, and in modern versions. Of late, however, many editions have been printed without breaks, in which either the verse notation is placed in the margin, or else introduced in the line itself at the commencement of each verse.

[1] The account is given by his son, Henry Stephens, in the Preface to his New Testament, 1576.

[2] Dr. Wright says, in Dr. Kitto's Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature (Art. *Verse*, iii. p. 910.) of this edition, "with the date in the title MDLXI., an evident error for MDLI. The X has been in consequence erased in nearly all the copies." It is quite true that the title-page *is* thus found in some copies; but it is a mistake to suppose that there are none with the proper date. There are copies with M.D.LI without any erasure or place for an erasure, between the L and I. Such a copy, formerly in the library of the Duke of Sussex, is in the writer's possession. Those which have MDLXI seem to be copies in which a *reprinted title* had been inserted.

Many complaints have been made of the want of skill shown in the divisions of sentences. Some of these, however, ought not to be charged upon Robert Stephens: thus Col. i. 21. ends in our common editions with the words *νυνὶ δὲ ἀποκατήλλαξεν, but now hath he reconciled;* and then verse 22. goes on *ἐν τῷ σώματι τῆς σαρκὸς αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ θανάτου, in the body of his flesh through death;* although not the smallest pause can be interposed between the words. R. Stephens, however, put the *whole* of this at the beginning of verse 22.; so that, here at least, the sense was not marred.

It has been often said that the introduction of verse divisions has had an injurious effect; for it became (it is said) almost a habit for each verse to be taken as a distinct proposition, and it thus was treated in preaching or exposition apart from the context. It must, however, be remembered, on the other hand, how much the use of verses has facilitated the reference to passages in the New Testament; those only, indeed, who have had frequent occasion to use those editions (such as the Complutensian and those of Erasmus), which were anterior to verse division, can appreciate the practical inconvenience of the undivided chapters. It may, however, be gravely doubted whether the introduction of verse division has caused the injurious effects which have been attributed to it For if we compare the modes of preaching and of scripture exposition which were prevalent during the middle ages with those of the last three centuries, we shall find in the former period that there was quite as much of the system of taking a few words for a motto without regard to the context, as has been the case since. The evil lies far deeper than any thing connected with typographical arrangement; and it is much more dependent upon those habits of thought which cause the Scripture to be regarded rather as teaching subjectively than objectively. This leads to the non-contextual selection of portions for exposition: the remedy must be sought in a more full apprehension of Scripture, and in the importance being felt of true and thorough *exposition*. The tendency has been far too often found to make the Scripture text the basis for our own thoughts, rather than to let the Scripture speak for itself in the form and manner in which it presents its truths.

From the time of Bengel many editions of the Greek New Testament have appeared divided into paragraphs, like any other book. This may be considered as a sufficient remedy for the evil of which complaint has been made; for thus *conventional divisions* which possesses no authority are cast aside. The notation of the verses being retained renders such editions as convenient as others for reference and use. No *system* of paragraph division has been universally adopted, though that of Bengel has been followed by several, and no numbering of the paragraphs has been introduced. Of late, however, an attempt has been made to bring into use the oldest system of divisions of which we know anything, by adopting as paragraph divisions the sections found in the Vatican MS. together with the numerals by which they are designated. But for reference nothing now introduced could have the smallest probability of taking the place of the modern chapters and verses. Their admitted defects

are well known, and it is easy for every student of the Bible to learn from childhood that both these modes of division are purely for conventional use, without any pretentions to authority.

Besides the ancient chapters and other divisions, there were portions appropriated at a comparatively early period for church reading at particular festivals. Such divisions of the Acts and Epistles in the latter part of the fifth century were given by Euthalius; he probably specified the portions which use had before his time thus appropriated to the Sundays and other festivals. But as days of special observance were multiplied, appropriated portions of the New Testament increased in number likewise, and many MSS. are marked in the margins with the copious lists of church lessons and with indications where the reader was to begin, where he was to end, and what he was at certain times to pass by.

But as the Scripture ceased to be a book of domestic and private use and study, it became valued almost exclusively for ecclesiastical services; thus *Lectionaries* were formed, in which the portions required for the different festivals were arranged in the order in which they were wanted in the course of the year. It is said that though the Latins had such books as early as the fifth century, they were not introduced among the Greeks before the eighth. They continued to be transcribed in uncial letters long after cursive writing had been adopted for Biblical MSS. in general: this was, it seems, in part with the object of retaining a church usage, and partly because the *size of the letters* was deemed more suited to the reader's eye. These Lectionaries have received various names from the parts of the New Testament from which they are taken. Thus one from the Gospels has been styled *Evangeliarium* (by Griesbach Evangelistarium), one from the Epistles, *Epistolare;* while the Greek term *πραξαπόστολος* seems to be the only name given to one from the book of Acts. Similar to these names is *ἀποστόλος*, which appears to have been *originally* a volume containing the Epistles of St. Paul, while it gradually became a designation for the volume of the select lessons from all the Epistles; and this appears to be the present meaning of the name in the Greek Church.

Besides the Lectionaries themselves there were also lists of lessons called *Synaxaria*, and *Menologia*, in which were specified the portions to be read on the different days. Scholz has printed a *Synaxarium* and *Menologium* from several Paris MSS. in his Greek Testament; there is hardly a day of the year for which the lessons are not specified. A knowledge of the connection, the beginning, &c. of these portions is sometimes of value when various readings are under discussion.

CHAP. V.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT ITSELF, ESPECIALLY TO THE FIFTH CENTURY.

THE preceding chapter has contained various notices of the text in the early ages, so far as its external form is concerned; and while books were not multiplied by means of the press, it often happens that even less could be said of their history than that which has been already stated with regard to the New Testament.

There are, however, certain points of importance which give us historical notices respecting the text itself in its internal condition. These may be gathered in part from the citations of ecclesiastical writers, and in part from what they occasionally say respecting readings which had been employed by others. In the second century we find that our canonical books in general were in the hands not only of the Christian Church, strictly so called, but also of various bodies, Marcionites, Valentinians, some of whom used certain books, and some employed others. From the moment that the sacred books were in the hands of those who were hostilely opposed to each other, there was some check on falsification or intentional alteration. Not but that accusations were made of such changes having been introduced, and sometimes on very sufficient grounds; but the fact of such charges having been brought shows that attention was directed to the subject.

Supposing that it had been possible for an ancient work to have been so transcribed as to be transmitted in all respects with accuracy, so that there would be no variation of any kind in the copies used a thousand years after the author's time from his own autograph, then *textual criticism* would have no place; the subject could not have been a matter of study, and there would be no such thing as a *history* of the unprinted text, unless it gave a detail of means that were used to preserve it from wilful and designed corruption. It is probable that, except as to few and rare passages, the early Christian fathers thought but little of any changes except those which might arise from design or evil purpose: at all events, they reverenced the words and phrases of the Scriptures, so as to think that intentional alteration would be a sin. Thus Irenæus (C. H. v. 30. 1.) discusses the true reading of the number of the beast in Rev. xiii. 18., whether it was 666 (χξς′) or 616 (χις′), as still found in some authorities; he determines that the former is the true reading (as we now have it) on the authority of the old copies, *καὶ μαρτυρούντων αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἑωρακότων, and on the testimony of those who had seen John face to face.* He attributes the other to the error of copyists who had wrongly transcribed the numbers, expressed in the accustomed manner by letters, and that thus iota, *ten*, had been substituted for ξ *sixty*. This, he thought, had led many into error who had ignorantly followed what they found in incorrect copies. He adds, "Sed his quidem qui simpliciter et sine malitia hoc fecerunt, arbitramur veniam dari a Deo;"

But to those who have done this simply and without evil intention, we suppose pardon to be granted by God. Whether he applies this to the inaccurate scribes or to those that followed them, is not quite clear; but it is very certain that he judged (and in this no doubt but that he uttered the Christian sentiment of his age) that any change in Holy Scripture, even when only from oversight and carelessness, was a very serious thing. On Matthew i. 18. Irenæus says (C. H. iii. 16. 2.), "Ceterum potuerat dicere Matthæus, *Jesu vero generatio sic erat;* sed prævidens Spiritus Sanctus depravatores, et præmuniens contra fraudulentiam eorum, per Matthæum ait; *Christi autem generatio sic erat.*" This perfectly legitimate argumentation on the use of a word is of twofold importance; for it bears on the early reverence for the *authority* of Scripture in all its parts, and it also is a plain proof as to what the phraseology was of this passage in the second century; this reading, χριστοῦ without Ἰησοῦ (of the common text) is also upheld by other good authorities, so that it has, irrespective of the evidence of Irenæus, no small claim on the attention of critics; the testimony of that father may be considered as giving a decisive preponderance. Whether or not errors of transcription had been often or to any great extent introduced in the second century into the sacred text, it is at least certain that the Christian feeling was strongly directed to uphold and maintain the readings which were believed to be true.

The actions and doctrines of Marcion of Pontus belong to Church history, but his corruption of the New Testament is of importance in this place. As to the ground of his procedure it must here suffice to say, that Marcion having rejected the Old Testament altogether, and denying that the God of the Jews could be the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, he formed out of some of the Epistles of St. Paul (the only apostle who in his opinion really understood Christianity) a sort of canon, on principles of selection and rejection; and as he repudiated the doctrine of the true incarnation of the Lord Jesus, he formed a *Gospel* for himself; of this the ancients who speak on the subject all say that the basis was our canonical St. Luke; from which, however, the more prominent features that would militate against his system were removed; but enough still remained without change (through oversight probably) to refute Marcionism on Marcion's own ground.

We learn in part from Irenæus, and as to more particulars from Tertullian and Epiphanius, how Marcion acted. And thus we have in the two latter of these fathers very many specimens of the readings which they approved, but which Marcion had (as they alleged) altered. In their general accusations they were undoubtedly right; though it must be said that in several passages Tertullian accused Marcion of falsification when *his own copy* or Latin version was all that was in fault. But let all deductions be made, the general fact remains, and we can go through St. Luke's Gospel, passage by passage, pointing out what Marcion cancelled, and what he allowed to remain unaltered. Thus early did the corruption of the sacred books commence; for it appears that in A. D. 127 Marcion went

from Pontus to Rome, carrying his remodelled collection of the New Testament Scriptures, and spreading his peculiar opinions. Although the most remarkable fact in the history of the text during the second century connects itself with that heretical leader, he was not alone in his designed alterations. Dionysius of Corinth (Eusebius, Ecc. Hist. iv. 23.) complains of the manner in which *the apostles of the devil* had dared to adulterate the sacred writings by sowing tares amongst them.

It seems as if this had been partly done by means of false readings introduced into the text, and partly by the assumption of certain glosses as being the explanation of what the true text contains. Irenæus (C. H. iv. 6. 1.) gives a specimen of the proceedings of those who thus professed to be more skilled than the apostles in enunciating and expounding a text. "Dominus enim ostendens semetipsum discipulis, quoniam ipse est verbum, qui agnitionem Patris facit, et exprobrans Judæis putantibus se habere Deum, quum et frustrentur verbum ejus, per quem cognoscitur Deus, dicebat, *Nemo cognoscit filium nisi Pater, neque Patrem quis cognoscit nisi Filius, et cui voluerit Filius revelare.* Sic et Matthæus posuit et Lucas similiter et Marcus idem ipsum[1]: Joannes enim præteriit locum hunc. Hi autem qui *peritiores apostolis* volunt esse sic describunt: *Nemo cognovit Patrem nisi Filius nec Filium nisi Pater, et cui voluerit Filius revelare:* et interpretantur, quasi a nullo cognitus sit verus Deus ante Domini nostri adventum; et eum Deum qui a prophetis sit annuntiatus, dicunt non esse Patrem Christi."

Clement of Alexandria, after citing a passage from the Gospels (Matt. v. 10.), mentions how it had been *metaphrased* by some: μακάριοι, φησίν, οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκεν δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ υἱοὶ θεοῦ κληθήσονται· ἤ, ὥς τινες τῶν μετατιθέντων τὰ Εὐαγγέλια, Μακάριοι, φησίν, οἱ δεδιῶγμένοι ὑπὸ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ὅτι αὐτοὶ ἔσονται τέλειοι· καί, μακάριοι οἱ δεδιωγμένοι ἕνεκα ἐμοῦ, ὅτι ἕξουσι τόπον ὅπου οὐ διωχθήσονται (Strom. iv. 6. ed. Potter, p. 582.). In this, however, it is by no means clear that Clement speaks of a change introduced into the text: it seems rather like a play on the twofold meaning of δεδιωγμένοι: "those *persecuted* for righteousness' sake" are "*followed after* by righteousness." But still the actual text in its unchanged words received attention.[2]

In this manner, at all events, the way was prepared for introducing corruption into the *text itself;* and those fathers who drew attention to this might have been aware of the tendency of copyists of all works to make insertions.

[1] If the words "et Marcus idem ipsum" are really those of Irenæus, and not of his Latin translator, or of some copyist, he must have himself made a remarkable mis-statement.

[2] It is curious to observe that Clement himself here subjoins the close of Matt. v. 9. to the beginning of verse 10. It is difficult to suppose that he could blame the metaphrasts when *his own* use of Scripture and his mode of quotation is so often of precisely the same kind. Indeed, the notion of a μετάθεσις must often be employed as explaining *how* Clement can cite as he does. Thus, he says (Strom. ii. 5.; Potter, p. 440.), πιστέον οὖν πολλῷ μᾶλλον τῇ γραφῇ, λεγούσῃ, Θάττον κάμηλον διὰ τρυπήματος βελόνης διελεύσεσθαι, ἢ πλούσιον φιλοσοφεῖν: a surprising and perverted use to be made of our Lord's teaching in Matt. xix. It seems to assume, that to be a philosopher, and to enter into the kingdom of heaven, are convertible terms.

Thus in the latter part of the second century the Christian writers were very fully alive to the danger which there was of the admission of designedly false readings. And it may be safely concluded, that whatever may have been the variations *even then* introduced into the text from accidents of transcription, the text was free from any general corruption or designed falsification.

The second century was also the period of the execution of a work, which had more effect apparently on the text of the Gospels in use throughout the Church than all the designed falsifications of Marcion and every scion of the Gnostic brood. Tatian formed his *Dia Tessarōn* from the narratives of the four Evangelists combined; and this appears to have led to a confusion and intermingling on the part of transcribers of the words and expressions of one Gospel with that which was found in some other.

Something may be learned of the state of the text by examining the quotations found in the writings of each father separately; for, although this *may* possibly only show what was in some one private copy, and though the ancients (just like the moderns) often quoted loosely and (as it is called) from memory, and though transcribers may have adapted the passages in a father to that to which they were themselves accustomed;—yet, when we find in a father a definite citation of a passage in a form (differing perhaps from the common text), such as is also found in other very ancient authorities, we then need not doubt that we have the actual reading of the Greek text as read by such a father. And just as we find a father consistent in his citations *when express*, even though in mere *allusions* the words are given very loosely, so do we learn to have increased confidence in the general character of the quotations in his works as they have come down to us. And when the quotations are habitual and not merely of detached sentences, but of large passages, we feel all the more definiteness of thought as to the use which we make of them.

The early versions would supply us with good evidence on this branch of the subject, if we were really *certain* of the date of any prior to the Gothic of Ulphilas. But as it is, though they do not furnish us with any precise point of chronology, they have their use even here; for they show the *character of text* from which they were respectively taken, and in some cases we may feel pretty sure that we are not far wrong in our estimate of their actual dates. It is not too much to assume in this place that the old Latin and a Syriac version of the Gospels, that which was brought to light by the Rev. W. Cureton[1], were products of the second century. If their readings are examined, they will be found to exhibit certain points of resemblance, and also some of diversity. There is enough to show that very great weight attaches to their readings (that is, to the Greek text from which they were respectively taken) when they accord.

[1] In one of the MSS. from the Nitrian monasteries, now in the British Museum. It is well for sacred criticism that the difference between this text and that commonly printed was so soon discovered by Mr. Cureton, who was then in the MS. department of the Museum library.

Their diversities are a significant hint of the divergences of text of regions so separated as the East and West.

The Egyptian versions — Memphitic and Thebaic — are also of such antiquity, that their readings are of importance in any inquiry into the state of the text in early times; and if we find these versions agreeing with those already specified, there is a strong case in favour of such documents as contain the same readings. But it is with *diversities* that we have now principally to do; and diversities there are which would be sufficiently attested by the ancient *versions*, even if all existing MSS. of the Greek New Testament belonged (as is the case with the Hebrew copies of Old Testament) to one general *class* or family.

The history, then, of the text must, if pursued minutely, resolve itself into statements relating to the copies in use in different regions; for in each distinct country the causes of variation would operate distinctly; and thus, unless there were some *critical revision* (such as that of the LXX. undertaken by Origen), there would be no reunion of readings, but divergences would be always liable to increase. Hence the importance of using such testimonies as take us back to the time of the earlier divergences; for from these the later must always have sprung, and the nearer we are brought to the actual autographs, the more surely can we say that the limits of doubt and uncertainty must be within such and such definite boundaries.

Great as were the complaints made of the alteration of copies, the old versions executed in diverse regions show within what limits this must have been confined; and the alterations, too, except when they had a Marcionite character, were no doubt far oftener the results of inadvertence than of design. Those who mention the variations were themselves, it is probable, but little aware of the causes of error which are *natural* to copyists.

In the former half of the third century a writer appeared amongst the Christians whose works were both far more extensive, and in some respects more important, than those of any who had preceded him. In this place, however, ORIGEN deserves especial mention from the information which he gives as to the state of the Greek text in his day; and also for the materials which his writings afford in evidence as to the kind of MSS. which he used. He laments the diversities of the copies which were then in circulation, and he traces these variations to certain causes. Νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥᾳθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων. Com. in Matt. tom. xv. (Ed. De la Rue iii. 671.) "It is now manifest that the diversity of the copies has become great, whether from the carelessness of certain scribes, or from the rashness of some who make corrupt emendations, or also from those who in emendation add or take away what they think fit." The latter words seem to refer to the occupation of those whose business it was to *revise* a transcript with its exemplar (much as is done by a modern press-corrector), and he appears to say that they revise according to their own judg-

ment instead of simply following their *copy* throughout. These correctors would be very liable to alter a transcript before them so as to adapt it to what was in their minds and memories; and thus in parallel passages they would be apt to bring them into *verbal* agreement by the addition or omission of words; and so too, if any portion of a narrative were *passed by* in church reading, they would be likely to *obelize* it in a transcript before them, if they were correcting without consulting their copy: and in passages in different parts which were publicly read together, they would feel no small inclination to *add*, either in the margin or the text, such portions as would be thus brought familiarly before their minds. Those whose *rashness* is reprehended, seem to be such scribes as acted the critic themselves, and introduced such emendations as we know did actually find their way at an early period into the text; such would be peculiarly liable to remove difficulties and to alter what they could not understand: while the first class to which Origen refers would be those whose inadvertence has always produced so many variations in the copies of early writings.

But Origen did not consider that the text *in general* had been rendered uncertain; in such of his numerous writings as are still extant in Greek, he quotes and uses a very large portion of the New Testament; and he thus supplies more important evidence than any other early father as to the readings which were current in his own day. It is true that he sometimes cites passages differently, and that he must at different times have used copies which did not read alike; but this does not affect the general testimony of his citations farther than to show that such varieties existed in the copies which this critical writer and reader thought worthy of use. He may not himself have been aware of the variety of reading in his citations; for his works were written during a great number of years, and some of them in Palestine and some in Egypt; so that it can hardly be thought surprising if his memory and attention did not serve to detect verbal variations.[1] Besides the habitual quotations from the New Testament which Origen introduces, he also at times *expressly* states that such a reading was that found in such a place. Thus on Matt. xv. 35., he says *ἐνθάδε οὐ κελεύει, ἀλλὰ παραγγέλλει*: showing that his copies read, not *καὶ ἐκέλευσεν*, but *παραγγείλας*, which is actually found in some of our best copies. He says on Matt. xv. 8. that the Evangelist gave the citation from Isaiah, not in the very words, *οὐκ αὐταῖς λέξεσιν*, and he cites it from St. Matthew *without* *ἐγγίζει μοι* and *ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν*, and in this form the passage stands in the most ancient MSS. and versions. Occasionally he says that passages are read differently in different copies; as an instance of this Matt. xvi. 20. may be taken, where he says that some copies had *διεστείλατο*, and others *ἐπετίμησεν*. Origen in his Commentaries sometimes expressed an opinion on a reading, suggesting what he thought should be in the text, though, perhaps, without citing any

[1] These remarks are wholly irrespective of the manner in which transcribers may have remodelled the Scripture passages in the fathers. There is enough, which is free from all suspicion, to meet the present argument amply and fully.

copy for his supposition. In such cases it has been thought that the influence of his authority as a critic led transcribers to insert what he had approved. A case in point is found in the reading ἐν Βηθαβαρᾷ, John i. 28., where the most ancient copies have in general ἐν Βηθανίᾳ, a reading which Origen did not believe to be genuine.

The writings of Origen are thus of great importance with regard to the *history* of the text: from them we learn much as to the third century, and we are able to ascertain the fact, which is of great value for our present purpose, *that the oldest* MSS. *and versions which we have, contain just the same variety of text as existed in the third century.* How far we possess evidence for forming any classification of the readings current in documents of that time will be considered in another place. All that will now be laid down is that the general tone of the citations of Origen, the most ancient versions, and certain MSS. (of more recent date themselves) present the readings which belong to a text or texts demonstrably thus ancient.

In the fourth century Eusebius of Cæsarea was the most critical of the Greek fathers: his labour in connection with the text of the Gospels, in introducing his tabular canons, has been already noticed: it is probable that copies into which he introduced these references, exercised an influence over the many exemplars in which the same divisions and tables were employed. Eusebius was commissioned by the emperor Constantine to procure copies of the Gospels [1] for public use in the churches of Constantinople: this shows that there was no opposition to the reception of copies which came from that quarter, and that there was as yet, at least, no thought or supposition that any particular country or district possessed *a class of text* peculiarly its own. It seems to have been assumed by some that Eusebius was directed to procure these copies from Alexandria, which was the great centre in that day of Greek literature. But it is pretty certain that for some years Cæsarea had been a place of importance in connection with the transcription and circulation of Christian writings; and thus from Cæsarea itself it is probable that Eusebius was intended to obtain these fifty copies. In either case their text would in all probability be just the same; namely, that which Eusebius himself used, and which was in general accordance with that of Origen in the previous century. And thus, after the edict of the emperor had been complied with, it is pretty evident that Constantinople must then at least have accorded with Alexandria in its text of the Gospels, though in after ages the two cities have been regarded as the special seats of two rival families of text.

To the latter part of the fourth century belong the critical labours of Jerome. Those only which relate to the text of the New Testament need observation here. When Jerome was at Rome, in the

[1] Πρέπον γὰρ κατεφάνη τὸ δηλῶσαι τῇ σῇ συνέσει, ὅπως ἂν πεντήκοντα σωμάτια (*i. e.* exemplaria, codices,) ἐν διφθέραις ἐγκατασκεύοις, εὐανάγνωστά τε καὶ πρὸς τὴν χρῆσιν εὐμετακόμιστα, ὑπὸ τεχνιτῶν καλλιγράφων καὶ ἀκριβῶς τὴν τέχνην ἐπισταμένων, γραφῆναι κελεύσειας, τῶν θείων δηλαδὴ γράφων, ὧν μάλιστα τήν τ' ἐπισκευὴν καὶ τὴν χρῆσιν, τῷ τῆς ἐκκλησίας λόγῳ ἀναγκαίαν εἶναι γινώσκεις. (Eus. de Vita Const. iv. 36., ed. Heinichen, p. 287.) In the beginning of the edict the Emperor had said that the want of the churches should be supplied κατὰ τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἡμῖν πόλιν.

time of Damasus, bishop of that city, at his request he undertook the revision of the Latin Gospels which were then current. This part of the New Testament he had completed A. D. 384; and in the introductory epistle, he shows what his judgment was of the then condition of the MSS., not merely the Latin, but also the Greek. He deemed it needful to use a comparison of ancient MSS. in that language as the ground for his Latin revision. In this he showed that he thought that many of the MSS. which were then the more recent were not to be trusted as fully as the older. It should be observed that the MSS. which he employed were evidently such as were in use in the *West*, such as he supposed might have been the exemplars from which that version had at first been made, which he had occupied himself in revising. Many of his complaints would apply alike to Greek and to Latin copies. Parallel passages had been brought into verbal conformity to each other; portions which belonged to one Gospel had been inserted in others; and thus the confusion to be remedied was not slight. Some allowance must be made, however, in all these remarks for the *strong colouring* which Jerome was accustomed to use in expressing his opinions.

But, besides the Latin Vulgate which thus proceeded from Jerome's critical studies, we find in this century monuments of a different kind. The Gothic version of Ulphilas varies considerably in its text from the earlier of the ancient translations; many passages are in a different form, and the *tone* of the text when minute comparison is instituted is discrepant. We find, also, that the Latin version which had been previously in use was in this century subjected to many revisions. One of these, which may have originated in this period, is found in the Codex Brixianus, differing considerably from this old version as unrevised; it agrees even less with the Vulgate of Jerome. It is certain that, in some manner, there was a considerable influence brought to bear on the text of the New Testament in the fourth century. And yet Eusebius, who of all the Greek fathers of that age was the most learned and critical, and whose writings are very copious, did not, in the general character of his citations, differ at all materially from Origen. But Eusebius belonged to the *former part* of the fourth century, and the text, in a transition state, pertains rather to the middle of that age and onward.

The attempt to account for phænomena apart from direct historical testimony, can never go beyond a statement of probabilities; and thus we should be cautious in not inventing rash theories. It may, however, be remarked that, in the fourth century, there were certain causes in operation which might affect the text. After the persecution, in the reign of Diocletian, during which the copies of the New Testament books were so relentlessly destroyed, it was requisite to take steps to repair the loss for the use of the churches. This must have given to the *publishers* of those days a new impetus to supply the demand. Soon after this, the adoption of the profession of Christianity by Constantine caused a vast extension in the demand for the Christian Scriptures. Not only at that time was Christianity freed from actual suffering and penalty, but it was so fostered by

the Roman ruling power, that its profession became respectable in the eyes of men, and it involved in itself no reproach; and thus the number of nominal Christians and of Christian assemblies became, within a very short space of time, very much greater. And simultaneously with this extension of the name of Christianity, the new features in the *sacred text itself* began to be manifest. This almost suggests that there was a connection between the two facts. Each of them, apart from all theory, is a known truth. It has been thought that the influence of Constantinople, the new imperial city of the East, had to do with the diffusion of a text pretty early adopted there, and differing much from that which had previously emanated from Alexandria, the centre, in those days, of Greek literature in a mercantile point of view. But the difficulty which lies in the way of this theory is the fact (to which notice has been already directed) that Constantine caused the copies of the Gospels which were intended for church use in the newly-founded eastern capital, to be procured by Eusebius; and thus it is in vain to look to Constantinople in the fourth century as the source of a non-Eusebian, and therefore so far non-Alexandrian text. It might be more in accordance with facts if *Antioch* were suggested, and if it were supposed that the kind of text which at length, in the East, so much superseded that employed by Origen, had been diffused from thence. This is proposed as a subject for inquiry: evidence may be drawn from the quotations in the writings of John Chrysostom, who belonged to Antioch by birth, education, and residence, up to the time of his elevation to the insecure height of the patriarchate of Constantinople. It would not be difficult to show that he repeatedly uses the Scripture in such forms as were expressly stated by Origen not to be found, that is, in the copies *then* current; and it may also be proved that the points in which the Latin Codex Brixianus and the Gothic version differ from the older authorities, are just such as would be supported by Chrysostom. If this *transition text* did originate at Antioch in the fourth century, it might become easily diffused through the East, where the demand for the books of the New Testament, and the Gospels in particular, was now so great. And thus the influence of the Church copies sent by Eusebius to Constantinople might be more than counteracted, especially during the long period in which the latter city was in the hands of the Arians, who associated every thing Alexandrian (as they might such copies) with Athanasius, and with the Nicene symbol which they so utterly repudiated.

Let these theories be taken for what they are worth (they may at least serve as a check to the reception of untenable explanations), and then it is not difficult to explain how this *transition text* might originate. It pretty thoroughly meets the description given by Jerome, and before him by Origen, of the procedure of those copyists who confused the text by blending the phraseology of the different Gospels together, and by making insertions and alterations. I advisedly call this a *transition text*, and take as *proofs* against it the same testimonies which were used by Jerome for similar purposes: he

appealed to the translations previously made in many languages, as evidences against what he esteemed to be innovations; so may we; and surely the old Latin, the Curetonian Syriac, and the two Egyptian versions are amply sufficient to prove this point.

But the older texts were not yet superseded: they continued in use long after, as may be seen by the citation of Alexandrian fathers, and by the versions afterwards executed, such as the Armenian and Æthiopic; in both of which the readings which have been called Alexandrian are of such frequent occurrence that they might in a general sense be said to belong to that *class.* Indeed, with regard to versions, it is not till we get to the later Syriac, executed in the beginning of the sixth century, but which we only have as *again revised* at the beginning of the *seventh*, that we find in this form readings which may be placed by the side of the *transition text* of the fourth century. But against these the *revision* of the later Syriac also witnesses; for it contains readings from Greek MSS. belonging to that class of text whose anterior existence has been already stated.

In the course of centuries, the general use of a text containing readings greatly differing from those of the early versions and Origen, sufficiently authorises our regarding that of which we have been speaking as deserving the name which I have ascribed to it, of a *transition text.* We find no evidence of revisions of the *text* having taken place: there is no trace that all was not left to the copyists who simply did the work that was assigned them. We do find, however, particular copies revised in later ages; and the earlier readings which have been altered to others subsequently current are so far land-marks in the history of the text.

Occasionally even among the comparatively recent copies there are some which in their general readings agree with the most ancient authorities; this probably was the result of some scribe meeting with an older copy of this kind and using it as his exemplar. He may have done this at times from being possessed of some critical knowledge: but it is more probable that this more frequently arose from his taking the exemplar without being really aware of the differences of copies from one another. But as the mass of the Greek MSS. now existing present a text which has passed beyond the *transition* state, it shows that there must have been some apprehension of differences enough to cause copies of a particular character to be preferred. It must not be supposed that there is a precise agreement or even a general uniformity in the mass of the later copies; for they, too, have discrepancies of their own, and many new phases of variety of reading: but it is as to *characteristic readings* that there is in the later MSS., such a *general* agreement in opposition to the older, that the variation may be so far called generic. To draw the line of distinction may not always be easy, and thus many important documents must be considered as belonging at least in measure to the *transition state.*

It is only by observing surrounding objects or known land-marks that the distance can be appreciated which we have voyaged or travelled: and so too here; the steps in the history of the text may be

in general such as can hardly be noticed; but if we take the beginning of the third century and compare it with the twelfth, the change of position is at once visible; and thus those who might have doubted that documents in the transition state must have existed, or that any are still extant, may have a standard, by which they may be sure that such a change has taken place.

It seems probable (if not absolutely demonstrable) that the text which was the more recent in its characteristic features, was at first adopted in *certain countries* (apparently the regions connected with Constantinople and Antioch), and that Alexandria retained the more ancient form; but, after the Mahometan conquest of Egypt, the influence of that literary metropolis ceased; for it was no longer the place from which transcripts of Greek works emanated through all the regions in which Greek was known. Much, indeed, of this ancient traffic had before that time passed from Alexandria to various monasteries, and to Constantinople itself,—the city which, after the Mahometan power had crushed Syria and Egypt, was supreme as the centre of eastern Christianity.

When the attention is especially directed to the diversities of any objects, and when the points of difference are stated in minuteness of detail, they may easily seem to be essentially unlike; and yet if the similarities alone are brought forward prominently, it may seem as if there existed an almost absolute identity. And thus is it with the different classes of text in the Greek New Testament. The general accordance of copies may be so rested on as to obscure all thought of the points of divergence. The differences may be made so prominent that those before whom the subject is presented expect to find hardly any resemblance in the copies themselves. Both of these opposing judgments are erroneous. The variations are neither few nor unimportant; but still they form but a small portion of the text itself: by far the greater part of the sentences and words remain wholly unaffected in all the different classes into which critics may have divided the copies.

The reader is requested to bear this in mind, in order thereby that misconceptions may be avoided: let it then be distinctly understood that in speaking of the essential or generic difference of copies, the reference is confined to those passages and parts in which variety of reading exists. Thus, to say that two documents differ in the whole tone and complexion of their text, means simply that this is the case with regard to the *characteristic readings* in which variations are habitual.

The result of what has been stated as to the internal history of the text is, that the modern MSS. in general contain a text differing considerably from that in use in the beginning of the third century, so that these later documents may be regarded as another class; and that, in the third century and before, considerable varieties also existed: and thus it may be questioned whether locality or any other peculiar point could be taken as enabling us to subdivide the more ancient documents of every sort amongst themselves.

The minute examination of this point must be a subject for after

consideration: *here* it must suffice to say, that in the actual monuments of the ancient text, there exists just such variety as might be expected from the early testimonies: such versions as the old Latin and Memphitic *unite* in opposing the more recent documents, but amongst themselves they seem to exhibit the marks of specific difference.

CHAP. VI.

ON THE VARIOUS READINGS.

VARIOUS readings are the differences between any copies of an ancient work. When first written none existed; for they can only arise in the course of transcription. The fact of certain characteristic, various readings being found in certain MSS., while others have some different word or phrase, or some insertion or omission, constitutes the reality of those classes of the text, whose existence has been mentioned in the preceding section. It will now be needful to treat in more detail concerning them, in order to give the student a clear view of these variations in the origin, causes, and classes, so far as they are at all capable of being thus described.

It is no longer needful to maintain that the acknowledgment of the fact that various readings exist in copies of the Holy Scriptures, involves no want of reverence, and casts no reflection on the providential care which God has taken of his own inspired word. It must be admitted as a fact, that Holy Scripture has been subject to the same casualties in copying as other books, and that the same consequence has resulted: for as copyists are not infallible, they have made mistakes in transcribing Holy Scripture, just as they might when engaged in copying any secular writings. Of course God might, if it had been in accordance with his wise purposes, have made copyists infallible, and thus have preserved Holy Scripture from the usual accidents of transcription: but, he has no more seen fit to do this, than he has either to prevent compositors from making mistakes when engaged in setting the types of a sheet of scripture, or to hinder translators of the word of God from ever missing the meaning of the text before them.

And thus the New Testament shares the common lot of all Greek works: the transcribers made mistakes, but not the same in all copies; and now the business of critical study is to investigate these differences. Indeed, there are few, if any, ancient writings, in the copies of which so many various readings have been found: this arises partly from the frequency with which the New Testament was transcribed, and partly from the great number of copies which have come down to us.

Some of the sources of various readings must be obvious to every one who has had any practical connection with the operations of printing. When a piece of MS. is placed in the hands of a compositor,

it is probable in a very high degree that he will make some mistakes in setting it up in type. Here and there he might read the copy wrongly, or he might omit a word or words; or he might transpose words or sentences, or repeat something; or if there were references to foot-notes, and the copy were not very clear, it might be thought that the intention was, that they should be inserted in the text, or if there were a mark indicating that something should be inserted, it is not impossible that the piece so to be introduced might be brought in, not in the place intended: and besides all these mistakes, there might be not a few errors in punctuation and orthography. If it left the compositor's hands in this state, it would require a good deal of revision before it accurately represented the copy of the author.

But if, instead of being corrected, the page or sheet were at once printed off as it stood, errors and all, and if the copies so printed were put into the hands of other compositors, then of course new variations would arise. Some of the compositors might notice unquestionable mistakes, and they might endeavour to correct them; in doing this, they would be very likely to depart still further than before from the copy, and each perhaps in a different way;—they might also in some instances *correct* what did not need correction; and their tendency to do this would be all the greater from their finding undoubted errata in what had been put into their hands. And besides this, they would be also subject to the same causes of error, as was the first compositor, and this too in a still greater degree, from their having something still more defective to work upon. Let the same operation go on a few times more, and then we should have copies of the same page or sheet, the general texture of which would remain the same, but with variations, and some of them considerable in particular parts.

Now, if the MS. of the author, which had been originally used, was lost, so that it could not be applied to the revision of the incorrect copies, the only way would be, to take these, such as they are, and, by examining them with one another, to restore if possible the original readings. To this end the page or sheet as set up by the first compositor (if it could be procured or distinguished), would be the most helpful, and it would assuredly be nearest to the MS.: if possible, it would therefore be important to trace the *genealogy* of the printed copies. If the same piece of the author's MS. had been put into the hands of more than one compositor, the printed pages set up by each of these, would be a separate and important witness: the united testimony of such pages might lead to something like *certainty* as to the original reading. At all events it would be known beyond what limits there can be no reasonable ground for doubt.

This illustrates both the *causes* of various readings, and the importance of their being investigated in the hope of discovering the true text.

Besides the chances of error which now exist in copying a document, we must also bear in mind the manner in which Greek MSS. were written in early times. The whole of the text being written in capital letters, without any break or division between the words,

the difficulty of copying correctly was greatly increased. The abbreviation of certain words of frequent occurrence might also cause the confusion to be still greater; and the copyist writing out his new exemplar in the same undivided manner must have been a hinderance to his seeing whether he had transcribed accurately: and just as this makes it the more difficult for modern collators to collect with certainty the readings of the uncial MSS. so would it hinder in ancient times the exact revision of copies, on which as much depended then as there does on the correction of proof sheets now.

But, besides the copies which scribes made by the eye, it is very clear that some of them must have written from *dictation;* and thus, mistakes were introduced partly by the wrong or indistinct reading, and partly by the defective hearing of the *two,* who were thus concerned in their introduction.

Besides the various readings, properly so called, there must be noticed the *changes of vowels,* which are common in even the oldest MSS., though in them they are not so habitual as in those of subsequent centuries. The term *Itacism* has been applied to the interchange of vowel sounds, which was prevalent in the early centuries of our era; but this name seems probably to belong only to the interchange in writing, or the confusion in enunciating the two vowels *Eta* and *Iota;* the power of *Iota* being incorrectly given to *Eta.* But, this is by no means the most frequent vowel interchange in the New Testament MSS.: the confusions of vowels and diphthongs which are most habitual are, *ει* and *ι*, *αι* and *ε*; others too may be met with, the sounds of which, as Greek was then pronounced, were similar or perhaps identical. And at a later period, when the mode of pronunciation employed by the modern Greeks was becoming common, new interchanges of vowels are found in MSS.

These *in themselves* can never be considered as "various readings;" we might just as well reckon under such a head the mere differences of orthography in an English book, — points as to which we know that copies vary according to what is customary at any given time: so that we do not commonly reprint a work of the last century in the orthography then in use. But if the Greek vowel changes should happen to produce an actually different word (not a mere variation in spelling the same), then they may demand the notice of a critical editor. At times also they may suggest a question as to the orthography in use at the time when the New Testament was written. We *know,* for instance, that some of the Greeks preferred the spelling TMEIN to TMIN as we have it in common use; and this mode of writing the word is found in copies not a few. But such peculiarities may in general be left with the mere statement of the fact.

The interchanges of vowels may be sufficiently illustrated by a few examples: *εἶδον* and *ἴδον*; *εἶδε* and *ἴδε*; *γείνομαι* and *γίνομαι*; *δύναμις* and *δυνάμεις* (in which word it is only by the connection that we can know, certainly, whether the singular or the plural is intended); *ἤλειφα* for *εἴληφα*; *Ἀντείπας* for *Αντίπας*; *λείαν*, *χυρός*,

μίζων, ἀλαζωνία, ἐπαγγελεία; ἔσται and ἔστε; αἰχθρός; τες ἡμερες for ταῖς ἡμεραῖς; ἀνάπεσαι and ἀνάπεσε; ἀναπήρους and ἀναπείρους; τὰ ἥμισυ for τἄ ἡμίση (υ and η being sometimes confounded).

Such interchanges as these are frequent even in the oldest MSS. extant; and their occurrence belongs rather to the head of orthography than to that of *various readings* in the proper sense of the term. In general they may and ought to pass unnoticed; but when they happen to form an actual word it may require some consideration to determine *what* was the word intended. ΛΑΜΒΑΝΕΤΑΙ as spelled may be equally the 2nd pers. pl. act., or the 3rd pers. sing. pass.; the *letters* in such a case determine as little as they would whether τύπτουσιν is the 3rd pers. pl. of the ind. pres., or the dat. pl. of the participle. The sense and meaning must determine; for the spelling has no authority at all between ἔσται and ἔστε, ἔχετε and ἔχεται, and similar words. Even if every MS. should agree in one spelling, there would be no liberty taken by any who read the other; since these vowels and diphthongs were used indiscriminately.

In later MSS. other changes are introduced; and in some of these the confusion between *o* and ω is frequent. This, however, is not any particular inconvenience; because we always have the older copies to follow, and they were written before *this* confusion of pronunciation had been introduced. In them the rare interchange of *o* and ω is rather to be attributed to a mistake of eye, or peculiarity of flexion of particular words adopted by the scribe, than to the habitual nondiscrimination of sound afterwards prevailing.[1]

The noninsertion of the subscribed or postscribed Iota belongs in part to this head. This letter which had originally been postscribed with the long vowels AI, HI, ΩI, as may still be seen in inscriptions, was dropped first, apparently, in pronunciation, and afterwards was omitted in writing. In the copies of the Greek New Testament which have come down to us, this noninsertion is fully introduced. In classical MSS. the usage is inconstant; and thus the same page will be inconsistent in reading ΑΤΤΩΙ, ΕΚΕΙΝΩΙ, and also ΤΟΙΟΥΤΩ. At a later period, when cursive letters were employed for Biblical documents, this Iota again appears: its usage, however, is not regular; its insertion, or the contrary, must have seemed wholly indifferent to the scribes. A new mode of writing it was also introduced; and thus we find not only the old forms αι, ηι, ωι, in cursive letters, but the subscribed Iota, ᾳ, ῃ, ῳ, is also in use; and this continued until the latter mode was fully adopted.

The relation of this Iota to the subject of various readings and their distinction from mere orthographical peculiarities is this:—though the older documents do not exhibit this Iota, they seem to have a trace of it; and thus ΑΩ and ΑΟΙ, ΓΝΩ and ΓΝΟΙ, and the like, seem to be employed almost *ad libitum*. In the termination -ΟΙ, the Iota seems to have been the postscribed letter; and this, if retained at all, is joined to the short vowel instead of the long; while

[1] The confusion of *o* and ω, in later MSS., must not be overstated; for except in a few documents, it is only quite occasionally that this mistake is made. The use could not be described as indiscriminate in the MSS. in general.

if the Ω is retained the postscribed letter entirely disappears. Thus ΔΩ and ΔΟΙ seem equally to represent ΔΩΙ of the older and better orthography, or δῳ of the later. Thus we cannot be certain whether or not terminations which are written -ΟΙ really represent that diphthong as we now use it, or whether they express what we now write -ῳ: in all doubtful cases *authority* should of course be followed, provided it be previously laid down definitely that the *sense* must determine which we *read;* and that our doing this irrespective of the mere combination of letters involves no licence of conjecture. This is the only interchange or confusion of vowels which has been satisfactorily demonstrated to be connected in the oldest MSS. with the partial or peculiar use of the postscribed Iota. The interchange of ει and ηι (or η as we now write it) belongs to a later period; the sounds of ε and η were not so similar as those of ο and ω.

These vowel-interchanges, though not constituting various readings, might help to cause them to be formed; because they so far rendered the mind and eye of the scribe uncertain.

The various readings, properly so called, may, for convenience, be ranged under three general heads: — substitutions; additions; omissions. It may be seen by the instances that are given, that occasionally it may be doubtful whether, when a various reading is much longer or shorter than the original text for which it has been put, it ought to stand under the first head, or under one of the others: this will be practically of little or no importance; and it will suffice to have mentioned it thus once for all.

SUBSTITUTIONS. — The general notion of all various readings by substitution is that of a word or words being exchanged for what might have been thought equivalent,— what might have been wrongly copied from oversight.

Thus, words of just the same force and signification, and only differing in some point of form, are continually placed one for another; as νῦν and νυνί; ευθέως and εὐθύς. Synonymous words were put one for another; as μιμηταί for ζηλωταί (1 Pet. iii. 13): ὑπὲρ and περὶ are interchanged frequently; so too θεὸς and κύριος in all their cases: this partly arose from these words being written contractedly Θ̄C̄, K̄C̄; and thus the change was all the less from there being but *one letter* in each case to determine the point to the eye: οὔπω and οὐδέπω; ἐνώπιον and ἐναντίον; θεασάμενος and ἰδών; ὁρῶ and θεωρῶ. Different parts of the same verb were often put one for another; as ἐπετίθεσαν and ἐπετίθουν (Acts viii. 17.); εὐηγγελίσαντο and -ζοντο (ver. 17.); ὑπέστρεψαν and ὑπέστρεφον (ibid.); ἐξήρχετο and ἐξήρχοντο (ver. 7.); ἐθεραπεύθησαν and ἐθεραπεύοντο (ibid.); πορεύου and πορεύθητι (ver. 26.); ἐπορεύθη and ἐπορεύετο (ver. 27.). It is needless to multiply examples, for every part of the New Testament furnishes them; they may have originated partly from error of the eye, and partly from the mind having wrongly apprehended the sentence: sometimes the substitution of one tense for another, such as an imperfect for an aorist, gave a vividness of expression to a narrative, and *this* might suggest it to a copyist.

The order of words was frequently altered: for instance, ἐν

ὁράματι ὁ κύριος and ὁ κύριος ἐν ὁράματι (Acts ix. 10.). ὡς ἔτεσιν τετρακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα. καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἔδωκεν; so the most ancient copies in general; the common text has, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ὡς ἔτεσι τετρακοσίοις καὶ πεντήκοντα ἔδωκε (Acts xiii. 20.); πρεσβυτέρους κατ' ἐκκλησίαν and κατ' ἐκκ. πρεσβ. (Acts xiv. 23.); ἀνάθεμα εἶναι αὐτὸς ἐγώ and αὐτὸς ἐγὼ ἀνάθεμα εἶναι (Rom. ix. 3.); εὑρηκέναι Ἀβραὰμ τὸν πατέρα (or προπατόρα) ἡμῶν, and Ἀβρ. τὸν πατ. ἡμῶν εὑρηκ. (Rom. iv. 1.) When transpositions are merely verbal, as is often the case (*e. g.* τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος or τοῦ πν. τοῦ ἁγ.; τοῦ θεοῦ πρόθεσις and πρόθεσις τ. θεοῦ; χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς and Ἰησοῦς χριστός), the difference occasioned may be hardly appreciable; while in other variations of this sort, such as Acts xiii. 20., the whole meaning of the sentence is affected.

Sometimes a different word is formed by a change of one or two letters; as ἐτροποφόρησεν (of the common text) for ἐτροφοφόρησεν (Acts xiii. 18.); κατεκληροδότησεν for -νόμησεν (ver. 19.): thus parts of the verbs ἀπαγγέλλω and ἀναγγέλλω are frequently confounded. To this head might be referred the reading οἰκοδομίαν in 1 Tim. i. 4., for οἰκονομίαν, were it not that the former though common in printed editions seems to be wholly destitute of MS. authority.

Similarity of *sound* seems to have sometimes led to substitutions; thus προκεκηρυγμένον for προκεχειρισμένον (Acts iii. 20.); ὃ μισῶ for ὁμοίως (Rev. ii. 15.); ἃ ἔμελλες ἀποβάλλειν for ἃ ἔμελλον ἀποθανεῖν (Rev. iii. 2.); οἱ ποιοῦντες τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ for οἱ πλύνοντες τὰς στολὰς αὐτῶν (Rev. xxii. 14.); σὺ οὖν κακοπάθησον of the common text, 2 Tim. ii. 3., is only συγκακοπάθησον in the ancient copies.

Sometimes the *words* in which copies differ have no resemblance; as τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἤδη μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης ἦν and τὸ δὲ πλ. ἤδη σταδίους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπεῖχεν (Matt. xiv. 24); καὶ ἐπεθύμει γεμίσαι τὴν κοιλίαν αὐτοῦ, and καὶ ἐπεθ. χορτασθῆναι (Luke xv. 16.).

A very large portion of the variations consist merely of such changes as καὶ instead of δέ, or *vice versâ*; thus λέγων δέ, or καὶ λέγων, and in other points so minute that it is difficult, if not impossible, to exhibit them in a translation.

Sometimes a compound word and a simple form are interchanged; as συγκοινωνὸς and κοινωνός, στρατιώτης and συνστρατιώτης (thus written), ἐκζήτων and ζήτων; sometimes a verb is compounded with one preposition in certain copies and with another in others; thus ἀνέβη and ἐνέβη (Matt. xv. 39.).

Transcribers had a tendency to assimilate the final syllables of words when occurring near together: thus for τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ τῷ δούλῳ αὐτοῦ, there is found τοῦ ἀγγέλου αὐτοῦ τοῦ δούλου αὐτοῦ (Rev. i. 1.); for λεγόντων Ἰουδαίους, λεγόντων Ἰουδαίων (Rev. ii. 9.); for ἐν Φιλαδελφείᾳ ἐκκλησίας, ἐν Φιλαδελφείας ἐκκλησίας (Rev. iii. 7.); for ἐδόθη αὐτῷ, ἐδόθη αὐτῇ (Rev. xiii. 15.). To this cause may perhaps be attributed ὑμᾶς ὡς κλέπτας in some copies, for ὑμᾶς ὡς κλέπτης (1 Thess. v. 4.).

Readings which are found in the same place often appear to have no relation to each other, and thus their origin must be ascribed to

the tendency to error which copyists have ever shown. Sometimes, however, readings which *look* at first as if they had no connection may be traced to some mistake of the eye or judgment, when the old manner of writing is taken into account. Rev. xv. 3. appears to exhibit an instance of this: the common text has there *ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν ἁγίων*; but for *ἁγίων* the copies in general have *ἐθνῶν*, while other good authorities have *αἰώνων*: between these two words, therefore, the choice lies. How could one of these spring out of the other? ΕΘΝΩΝ in the old writing by confusion of vowels would be liable to be written ΑΙΘΝΩΝ; then the Θ might easily be mistaken for O, and the word by *correction* would thus become ΑΙΩΝΩΝ.

The contracted words were not only interchanged amongst themselves (as is noticed above); but from the contracted forms other various readings sometimes sprung. Thus the readings *οὐρανοῦ* and *θρόνου* are found in the same place; this would be likely to spring from the general resemblance to the eye of $\overline{\text{ΟΥΝΟΥ}}$ and ΘΡΟΝΟΥ: it might thus act either way. Another variation which arose from contractions wrongly seen or understood, is found in the word *σωτηρίαν* introduced instead of *σωτῆρα Ἰησοῦν* (as in Acts xiii. 23.). The former contraction was written $\overline{\text{CPAIN}}$, the latter $\overline{\text{CPIAN}}$; the mere transposition of two letters would make the alteration.

Difficulties of all kinds were at times removed by copyists, who might do this almost *unconscious* that they were introducing changes, especially when some grammatical form seemed to involve a solecism; thus, *τὴν γυναῖκα Ἰεζάβελ ἡ λέγουσα* (Rev. ii. 20.) was changed by some into *τὴν γυν. Ἰεζ. τὴν λέγδυσαν*, and by others into *τ. γ. Ἰεζ. ἡ λέγει*: in *ἵνα ἥξουσιν καὶ προσκυνήσουσιν* (Rev. iii. 9.) the terminations of the verbs have been altered into *-ωσι*: after *τῆς καινῆς Ἱερουσαλήμ* (Rev. iii. 12.) *ἡ καταβαίνουσα* has become *ἡ καταβαίνει*: *οὐδὲν χρείαν* has been altered into *οὐδενὸς χρείαν* (ver. 17.). In Rev. iv. 1. *λέγουσα* has been substituted for *λέγων* after *φωνή*. In Rev. v. 10. *αὐτούς* and *βασιλεύουσιν* have been changed into *ἡμᾶς* and *βασιλεύσομεν* to suit the first person of the preceding verse. These grammatical amendments abound in the whole of the Apocalypse; but they are not confined to that book: nor are the *corrections* always merely grammatical; for not unfrequently they sought to amend the sense; *e. g.* in 2 Tim. iv. 1. *τοῦ μέλλοντος κρίνειν ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ*, the *second καὶ* has been changed into *κατά*, as it stands in the common text. In Heb. iv. 2. *συγκεκρασμένους*, in conformity to a supposed meaning of the sentence, has had its termination altered into *-μένος*. It is very likely that the introducers of these changes only thought that they were correcting some casual mistake in the copy before them, and that nothing was really farther from their thoughts than *corrupting* any part of Holy Scripture.

But of all substitutions that can be classified and explained, none are so frequent as those in which parallel passages have been brought into verbal conformity. Thus St. Paul in a doxology, Rom. xvi. 27., used the phrase *μόνῳ σοφῷ θεῷ*; hence in 1 Tim.

i. 17., and in Jude 25. the word σοφῷ has been introduced in a similar connection, so as to produce verbal agreement. But no part of the New Testament has suffered so much from this cause as have the parallel narrations in the Gospels; for there the alteration was systematic: transcribers thought that the same facts ought to be stated in the same words; and to this arbitrary canon of criticism they make the sacred records conform. Thus in Matt. xvii. 2. λευκὰ ὡς τὸ φῶς has in some copies been changed into λευκὰ ὡς χιών, from Mark ix. 3. Matt. ix. 17. ἀπόλλυνται has become ἀπολοῦνται from Luke v. 37. ver. 24. ἔλεγεν became λέγει αὐτοῖς, from Mark v. 39. Matt. x. 4. ὁ καὶ παραδοὺς in some copies is altered into ὃς καὶ παρέδωκεν out of Mark. iii. 19. ver. 10. ἄξιος . . . τῆς τροφῆς is changed in some MSS. into ἄξιος . . . . τοῦ μισθοῦ from Luke x. 7. ver. 13. for πρὸς ὑμᾶς is also found ἐφ' ὑμᾶς from the parallel place, Luke x. 5. ver. 28. μὴ φοβηθῆτε for μὴ φοβεῖσθε, is from Luke xii. 4. Matt. xi. 26. ἐγένετο εὐδοκία transposed in some copies to suit Luke x. 21. Matt. xii. 44. ἐπιστρέψω transposed *after* εἰς τὸν οἶκον μου out of Luke xi. 24; also ὑποστρέψω in some copies from the same place. Matt. xiv. 26. καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταί: in some MSS. for this we read οἱ δὲ μαθ. ἰδ. αὐτ. from Mark vi. 49. So too the transposition of περιπατοῦντα, in the same verse. Matt. xvi. 8. ἄρτους οὐκ ἔλαβετε changed into ἄρτ. οὐκ ἔχετε from Mark viii. 17.

Such instances might be greatly multiplied if there were any occasion. Sometimes, too, a parallel *expression* in *similar* narrations had led to alterations; hence the interchange in different places of τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ and μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας.

The narration contained in Matt. xix. 16—22. as read in the common text, affords a good specimen of the mode in which the Gospels were brought into verbal accordance.

Ver. 16. ἀγαθέ, inserted from Mark x. or Luke xviii. (In the same verse some copies, instead of ἵνα ἔχω [or σχῶ] ζωὴν αἰώνιον, have ἵνα ζω. αἰ. κληρονομήσω from Mark.)

Ver. 17. τί με ἐρωτᾷς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, changed into τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; and, εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός into οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ εἷς; and then ὁ θεός added.

Ver. 20. ἐφύλαξα altered to ἐφυλαξάμην, and ἐκ νεότητός μου added.

In this passage we have the advantage of possessing distinct ancient testimony, anterior to the alteration of text found in most MSS.; and this early evidence is confirmed to us by some MSS. still extant, and the best of the ancient versions; thus, we can speak with confidence of the manner in which this passage has been affected by that adaptation of one Gospel to another of which Jerome complained.

Insertions.—It can hardly be too fully borne in mind that copyists have always been found far more disposed to *add* than to *omit*; and though mere inadvertence may lead to omission, yet the common infirmities of scribes led them far oftener to *amplify*; and if there was anything which they could be supposed to have a shadow of a reason for inserting into the text, it was almost sure to find its way.

And thus, the effect produced by parallel passages (in the Gospels especially) has been shown in the habitual *additions* made in one portion of the New Testament of something found elsewhere in a similar connection.

Thus in Matt. v. 44. the words *ἀγαπᾶτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ὑμῶν* have led to the *addition* of *εὐλογεῖτε τοὺς καταρωμένους ὑμᾶς*, and then of *καλῶς ποιεῖτε τοῖς μισοῦσιν* (common text *τοὺς μισοῦντας*) *ὑμᾶς* from the parallel passage in Luke vi. 27, 28. where these clauses are found, though in inverse order. Then in the same verse in Matthew, *καὶ προσεύχεσθε ὑπὲρ τῶν διωκόντων ὑμᾶς* has been amplified by introducing (after *τῶν*) the words *ἐπηρεαζόντων ὑμᾶς καί*, so as to have *all* that is found in Luke. In Matt. ix. 13. (and also Mark ii. 17.), after *ἀλλὰ ἁμαρτωλούς*, the words *εἰς μετάνοιαν* have been added from Luke v. 32. In Matt. x. 12. after *ἀσπάσασθε αὐτήν*, some copies add *λέγοντες, Εἰρήνη τῷ οἴκῳ τούτῳ*, from Luke x. 5. In Matt. xi. 21. *καθήμενοι* or *καθήμεναι* has been prefixed in MSS. to *μετενόησαν*, from Luke x. 13. In Matt. xiii. 4. *τοῦ οὐρανοῦ* has been added in MSS. to *τὰ πετεινά*, out of Luke viii. 5. In Matt. xv. 38. *ὡς* is added between *ἦσαν* and the numeral in some authorities, according to the analogy of chap. xiv. 21., Mark viii. 9., Luke ix. 14., and John vi. 10. In Matt. xvi. 4. *τοῦ προφήτου* has been joined to *Ἰωνᾶ*, as found in chap. xii. 39.

We *know* from the distinct statement of Origen, *περὶ εὐχῆς*, the differences in the form of the Lord's Prayer as found in Luke xi. from that in Matt. vi. as existing in the former part of the third century. But the shorter form in St. Luke is now in the common copies amplified, and this has been, it is evident, out of St. Matthew, originally (in ver. 2.) *πάτερ, without ἡμῶν, ὁ ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς: ἐλθ. ἡ βᾶσ. σου, without γενηθήτω τὸ θέλημά σου ὡς ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.* In ver. 4. *καὶ μὴ εἰσενέγκῃς ἡμᾶς εἰς τὸν πειρασμόν, without ἀλλὰ ῥῦσαι ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πονηροῦ.* This then is a good example of the tendency of copyists to produce verbal conformity.

This mode of amplification is by no means confined to the Gospels, although there, as might be expected, it is the more frequent; it was habitual, wherever narrations or sentences were, or appeared to be parallel. Thus in Acts xxvi. 14. after *διώκεις* there occur the words *σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν*; and in the two other accounts of the conversion of St. Paul, the same sentence has been *added.* In Acts ix. 5. these words (with a further amplification) are in the common text; and in ch. xxii. they are added in some copies. Also in the account of the institution of the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor. xi. insertions have been made from the Gospels, such as *λάβετε, φάγετε* before *τοῦτό μου ἐστὶν τὸ σῶμα*, in ver. 24. In Col. i. 14. between *τὴν ἀπολύτρωσιν* and *τὴν ἄφεσιν* the words *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος αὐτοῦ* have been introduced from Eph. i. 7., where they stand in similar connection. In Rev. i. 11. *ταῖς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ* has been added after *ἐκκλησίαις*, as found in chap. i. 4. In Rev. xix. 5. the epithet *δίστομος* is given in some copies after *ῥομφαία* from i. 16. In Rev. xx. 2. *ὁ πλανῶν τὴν οἰκουμένην ὅλην* has been subjoined to *Σατανᾶς* out of chap. xii. 9.

The citations from the Old Testament have been continually ex-

panded by copyists, who have given more of the context than was actually cited by the sacred writers: thus in Rom. xiii. 9. after *οὐ κλέψεις*, we find the insertion *οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις*. In the citation from the eighth psalm in Heb. ii. 7. the words, *καὶ κατέστησας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τῶν χειρῶν σου*, have been inserted from the Old Testament, between *ἐστεφάνωσας αὐτον* and *πάντα ὑπέταξας*. Heb. xii. 20. the words *ἢ βολίδι κατατοξευθήσεται* have been added after *λιθοβοληθήσεται* out of Exod. xix. 13. Matt. xv. 8.: Isaiah xxix. 13. is here cited compendiously, *ὁ λαὸς οὗτος τοῖς χείλεσίν με τιμᾷ*; but the common text prefixes *ἐγγίζει μοι*, and adds after *οὗτος*, *τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν καί*; thus producing conformity to the passage in the LXX. of the Old Testament. So too passages in which there were some words similar to those found in the Old Testament have been occasionally amplified by an addition: thus in Luke iii. 22. *σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου* has been amplified by the addition from Psal. ii. of *ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*, as read in the Codex Bezæ (D.): how early such an insertion had found its way into some of the copies in the narrative of our Lord's baptism, may be seen from Justin Martyr (Dial. c. Tryph. § 103.), who thus cites the passage.

It has been noticed that in all ancient works, copyists have always had a tendency to insert in the *text* itself whatever may have been written in the margin of the exemplar from which they transcribed: and this is considered to be quite sufficient to account for interpolations. This cause of amplification would, therefore, be naturally expected to be found in the Greek New Testament; and to its operation various insertions may be confidently attributed. How simple this tendency is, may be shown by the reading of 2 Cor. viii. 3. in the Codex Corsendoncensis (a recent copy, 3 of Wetstein), *δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς ἐν πολλοῖς τῶν ἀντιγράφων οὕτως εὕρηται καὶ οὐ καθὼς ἠλπίσαμεν*[1], where a marginal *scholion* relative to the words *δέξασθαι ἡμᾶς* (omitted by the best authorities) has been introduced into the text; — and by Heb. vii. 3. in the Complutensian text, *μενει ἱερευς εις το διηνεκες, εν ᾧ ὁτι και του Ἀβρααμ προετιμηθη· θεωρειτε*, where the text and the *title* of the section have been confusedly blended.

This is a species of amplification which has apparently effected more change in the writings of ancient profane authors than all other kinds of transcriptural error; and if in the Scriptures it has not had so prominent a place it must arise from there being so many *other* causes of error in writings copied so often, and from the copies or texts used in one locality having been a check on those employed in other places. Thus additions of this kind have had, generally speaking, only a *partial* circulation: all versions, however, have been liable to this species of mistake as well as the original texts; and it is in *versions* that some of the more remarkable glosses introduced into the text are now found.

The possessor of a MS. in ancient times probably (or certainly) added in the margin historical or other circumstances relating to the passage before him: a later copyist thought that the additional matter

[1] See Alter's Gr. Test. ii. 594.

was of too much value to be omitted, or he may honestly have supposed that what was written in the margin was something which the *corrector* (*ὁ διαβάλλων*, a person whose services were as much required in ancient times as now[1]) had added as having been omitted by the scribe: of course with this persuasion all was introduced into the text. No MS. has received so many insertions of this kind as D. of the Gospels and Acts (Cod. Bezæ). In this MS. it seems as if very many of the points of which early writers complained, are found combined; so that if this one copy had not come down to us, we should hardly have known how to appreciate ancient strictures on copyists. In Luke vi. this MS. transposes ver. 5. after ver. 10. (so as to follow *all* that is said about the works of mercy performed by our Lord on the Sabbath), and instead of it there stands, *τῇ αὐτῇ ἡμέρᾳ θεασάμενός τινα ἐργαζόμενον τῷ σαββάτῳ, εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Ἄνθρωπε, εἰ μὲν οἶδας τί ποιεῖς, μακάριος εἶ· εἰ δὲ μὴ οἶδας, ἐπικατάρατος εἶ καὶ παραβάτης εἶ τοῦ νόμου.* But it is in the book of Acts that these historical additions abound the most in this MS.; they are sometimes only a few words introduced into a sentence, sometimes the addition is that of part of a narration.

In Acts xii. 1. after *ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας*, D. adds *ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ* (with Syr. Hcl.*). Ver. 2. after *ἀρεστόν ἐστιν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις*, D. adds *ἡ ἐπιχείρησις αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς πιστούς*. Ver. 10. after *ἐξελθόντες*, D. adds *κατέβησαν τοὺς ἑπτὰ βαθμούς, καί*. Ver. 20. after *ὁμοθυμαδὸν δὲ*, D. adds *ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τῶν πόλεων* (with Syr. Hcl.). Ver. 21. after *ἐδημηγόρει πρὸς αὐτούς*, D. adds *καταλλαγέντος δὲ αὐτοῦ τοῖς Τυρίοις* (with Syr. Hcl.). Ver. 23. before *γενόμενος*, D. has *καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος*; and after *σκωληκόβρωτος*, D. adds *ἔτι ζῶν, καὶ οὕτως*. Chap. xix. is thus introduced in D.: *Θέλοντος δὲ τοῦ Παύλου κατὰ τὴν ἰδίαν βουλὴν πορεύεσθαι εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα, εἶπεν αὐτῷ τὸ πνεῦμα ὑποστρέφειν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν· διελθὼν δὲ τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη, ἔρχεται εἰς Ἔφεσον* (so too Syr. Hcl. marg.)

The number of additions of this kind in Codex D. amount, it is said, to 600; and on account of these peculiarities some have decried the text contained in it as too corrupt to be worthy of much attention. This, however, is a hasty and ill-informed judgment: for the basis of the text itself can be separated as definitely from the demonstrable accretions, as the foot-notes in a modern book can from the body of the page. This might be done even if in some editions text and foot-notes had been blended into continuous paragraphs.

There are in the book of Acts (as well as other parts) many explanatory amplifications in other copies besides D. Chap. xv. 24. after *τὰς ψυχὰς ὑμῶν* has been added *λέγοντες περιτέμνεσθαι καὶ τηρεῖν τὸν νόμον*. Ver. 34. of the common text is wholly an addition, *ἔδοξεν δὲ τῷ Σίλᾳ ἐπιμεῖναι αὐτοῦ*: to this D. further subjoins, *μόνος δὲ Ἰούδας ἐπορεύθη*. Chap. xxviii. 16. after *εἰς Ῥώμην*, the common text adds *ὁ ἑκατόνταρχος παρέδωκεν τοὺς δεσμίους τῷ στρατοπεδάρχῃ*. Ver. 29. *καὶ ταῦτα αὐτοῦ εἰπόντος κ. τ. λ.*, appears to be a similar

[1] But whose labours were often dispensed with; for as *each transcript* made *required* the attention of a corrector, ancient publishers often saved themselves the expense and trouble.

insertion. So also chap. xviii. 21. δεῖ με πάντως . . . . Ἱεροσόλυμα: chap. xxiv. 6. καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον . . . . ἤρχεσθαι ἐπί σε (ver. 8.); and chap. viii. ver. 37., which appears to contain an account which was early current of what had passed between Philip and the Ethiopian, after the latter had asked what hindered him to be baptized. The *truth* or the contrary of these intruded glosses is a point wholly independent of the question whether they are parts of Holy Scripture. No doubt that the additions to the narration were placed in the margin because they were believed to be *true*, and we may well suppose that sometimes this may be the case.

The liturgical use of the New Testament caused additions to be placed in the margin to be combined with the text in public reading by way of introduction or conclusion. Thus lessons from the Gospels were at times prefaced with εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ, or something of the kind; and those from the Epistles were introduced with ἀδελφοί, λέγω ὑμῖν ἀδελφοί, γνωρίζω ὑμῖν ἀδελφοί, τέκνον Τιμόθεε, &c. Words from these liturgical formulæ have here and there found their way into copies in the text. So too the words ὁ ἔχων ὦτα ἀκούειν ἀκουέτω, which were at times used to conclude a section from the Gospels. To liturgical use should be attributed the doxology appended to the Lord's Prayer, in Matt. vi. ὅτι σοῦ ἐστιν ἡ βασιλεία καὶ ἡ δύναμις καὶ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν; which as a matter of known evidence was not originally part of the *prayer* in Scripture, but was the liturgical response *very early* used in the Christian congregations. With this head may be connected the addition of ἀμὴν after certain doxologies, to which it appears not to have originally belonged, and also at the end of many of the books of the New Testament, where it is not only omitted in the ancient authorities, but it is in itself inapt.

Some of the insertions may be called *common additions;* such as Ἰησοῦς before or after χριστός and *vice versa;* αὐτῷ, αὐτοῖς or some other pronoun after λέγει, εἶπεν or other similar verbs; αὐτοῦ after μαθηταί and other nouns of the same kind; μου, σου, &c., after πατήρ, μητήρ, and other words which imply relation: all these additions would be suggested by the nature of the case; and to *avoid* their introduction would require no small effort of attention.

One of the means by which amplifications have been introduced has been the inadvertent repetition of words or letters: this has sometimes apparently given rise to the formation of whole clauses, from the endeavour to give some definite meaning to the words doubled through mistake. After αὐτοῖς in the Gospels there is frequently to be met with the addition of ὁ Ἰησοῦς in some documents: this might be supposed to belong to the head of *common additions*, were it not that it seems rather to spring from repetition. Thus ΑΥΤΟΙC might easily lead a copyist to double the three last letters ΑΥΤΟΙCΟΙC, for he might retain them in his eye as being the contraction for ὁ Ἰησοῦς, ΟΙC, differing only in respect to the line of contraction, which is often very faint.

Similar in character to mere repetition is the insertion of the same clause *twice* in pretty close sequence: thus in Matt. ii. 13., the Va-

tican MS. B. adds after *ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ αὐτῶν,* the words *εἰς τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν,* which immediately precede. In Matt. xxviii. 8. the words occur *ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ,* and then the common text continues in ver. 9. *ὡς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ*; a clause which is omitted by such an array of authorities, MSS., versions, and citations of fathers, that it seems probable that it arose simply from a repetition and an attempt to introduce a proper and intelligible connection.

Conflate or *double* readings are those which, in places in which there is some variety in copies, contain both combined, blended, or merely placed in juxtaposition. Thus in Rom. vii. 12. some ancient copies have *εἰς τὸ ὑπακούειν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτοῦ,* while others have *εἰς τ. ὑπακ. αὐτῇ,* while the mass of the recent copies combine both readings (as given in the common text), *εἰς τ. ὑπακ. αὐτῇ ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθ. αὐτ.*; the preposition being introduced to form the sentence. In 1 Pet. iii. 8. after *εὔσπλαγχνοι,* the best authorities read *ταπεινόφρονες,* while the common text has *φιλόφρονες*: some copies however combine both words in a conflate reading *φιλόφρονες ταπεινόφρονες,* and others blend both words into one compound *φιλοταπεινόφρονες.* In Matt. xvii. 27. some copies read *εἰπόντος δέ, Ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων,* and others (such as the common text) have *λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος, Ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων.* And thus in some copies we read *both; λέγει αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος, Ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτριων· εἰπόντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, Ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων.* This is the manner in which the words stand in C., and with the omission of *αὐτοῦ* in L. In such a case it is probable that the differing reading had been noted in the margin by a reviser or possessor of an ancient copy, and that then the uncritical transcriber, in order that he might omit nothing, combined *both.*

Some additions arose from the different circumstances of the mind of the copyist from that of the writer: hence the insertion of the article before words which had become definite from their appropriated use, but which could not have been treated thus by the author himself. The transcriber unconsciously regarded what he was copying from his own point of view. Also the introduction of such words, and of connecting particles, may often have arisen from the familiarity of the narrative to the mind of early transcribers: they unconsciously filled up what seemed like hiatus.

Omissions.— Although omissions are by no means as frequent as additions, they must be attributed to just the same kind of causes, so far at least as they will apply. Thus parallel passages at times seem to have occasioned an omission; so in Matt. xvi. 2., all the words from *ὀψίας γενομένης* to the end of ver. 3. are omitted in some good documents, so as precisely to suit the parallel passage chap. xii. 39. In Matt. xiv. 24., *ἤδη* is omitted by some in accordance with Mark vi. 47. And the same *tendency* to produce verbal conformity may often be noticed.

But of all causes of omission, there is none which has been so fruitful in results as the eye of the copyist passing from the termination of a word, line, or sentence to a similar termination which might occur soon after: in this manner all the intermediate words

were left out of the transcript; such omissions are styled δι' ὁμοιοτέλευτον. Thus in Matt. v. 19, 20., after ἐλάχιστος κληθήσεται ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ τῶν οὐρανῶν, the following words are omitted in D. and other MSS., to the end of ver. 20., where the same termination again occurs. In John vi. 39., this cause explains how some copies omitted the whole verse, ending as it does with τῇ ἐσχάτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, like that which follows it (here, however, it would have been more natural to have expected the omission of the latter than the former): in ver. 39. also some copies omit τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν τὸ θέλημα τοῦ πέμψαντός με, as ending with the same words as the preceding sentence. In Rev. xiii. 15. after εἰκόνι τοῦ θηρίου the Codex Ephraemi (C.) omits ἵνα καὶ λαλ. ἡ εἰκὼν τ. θηρίου καὶ ποι. ἵνα ὁσ. ἐ. μὴ προσκυν. τὴν εἰκ. τοῦ θηριόυ; the eye having passed from the first to the third occurrence of the words τοῦ θηρίου. Rev. v. 4. is entirely omitted in Cod. Alex. from ending like the preceding with βλέπειν αὐτό. In Rev. xiv. 1. of the common text after τὸ ὄνομα almost all authorities of every kind add αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὄνομα; so that these words must have been omitted δι' ὁμοιοτέλευτον.

Sometimes in a similar manner, but more rarely, words or sentences are omitted from the *beginning*, being the same as that of something which follows: thus Matt. x. 41. is omitted in D. as beginning like ver. 40. with ὁ δεχόμενος.

When a word is *repeated*, its omission may fall under either of the heads just mentioned: an instance of this is seen in γενεά, Luke xi. 29., where the common text has it but once; the best authorities twice.

Some omissions may be attributed to the custom in church lessons of *passing by* portions of a narrative, so their noninsertion by some copyists was only what might have been expected. To this cause not improbably may be ascribed the omission in copies of Luke xxii. 43, 44.; for these verses were customarily *read* in a lesson comprising Matt. xxvi. 2. to xxvii. 2., with the insertion of John xiii. 3—17. after ver. 20; and these two verses after ver. 39. The consequence has been (as might have been expected) that there are copies which insert both of these passages in Matt. xxvi.; and this too may occasion the omission of the two verses in Luke xxii. There appears from a passage in Epiphanius to have been a dogmatic reason which afterwards had weight with the orthodox, leading them *not to insert* a passage which brings into such prominence the humiliation of our Lord, and the character of his agony in the garden.

The arrangement of the various readings, as classified by Michaelis, may be here stated before concluding the subject:—

"The various readings in our manuscripts of the New Testament have been occasioned by one of the five following causes:—

"1. The omission, addition, or exchange of letters, syllables, or words, from the mere carelessness of the transcribers.

"2. Mistakes of the transcribers in regard to the true text of the original.

"3. Errors or imperfections in the ancient manuscript from which the transcriber copied.

"4. Critical conjecture, or intended improvements of the original text.

"5. Wilful corruptions to serve the purposes of a party, whether orthodox or heterodox.

"To the last cause alone I apply the word corruption; for though every text that deviates from original purity may so far be said to be corrupted, yet as the term is somewhat invidious, it is unjust to apply it to innocent or accidental alterations."[1]

The general account which has been given sufficiently illustrates the three former of Michaelis's classes; the last would comprehend all such corruptions as those which were introduced by Marcion, and such omissions as that of Luke xxii. 43, 44. if done of set purpose, and not through misapprehension. Accusations of this kind require very definite proofs to establish them; and if variations were observed between the copies used by different parties, there would always be the tendency to ascribe such differences to improper motives. Some of the orthodox seem to have accused the Arians of being the introducers of the clause *οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός*, in Mark xiii. 32., a charge from which the all but uniform consent of MSS. and versions acquits them; perhaps, indeed, this accusation against the Arians in its original form related to the *addition* of these words to the parallel passage in Matt. xxiv.; but this need not lead to the supposition of *design;* for the common modes of amplification would suffice to account for it. It is remarkable that some of the same most ancient authorities which exhibit (what was deemed) the *orthodox* omission of Luke xxii. 43, 44, *also* contain the insertion in Matt. xxiv. 36. of *οὐδὲ ὁ υἱός*, which was regarded as *heterodox* (though most ignorantly, as the very words, though out of place in Matthew, belong *undoubtedly* to Mark xiii.). It cannot be shown that any ancient authority which has been transmitted to us, had its text formed or adapted to suit any party or sect whatever.

The *correction* by a copyist of supposed mistakes in the exemplar before him, though very injurious to the purity of the text, must not be classed with wilful corruption, for to that head it does not belong.[2] Some instances of correction have been noticed above

[1] Marsh's Michaelis, i. p. 270. The whole dissertation on various readings (pp. 270—333.) is well worthy of attentive examination by the student, with the exception of the remarks in favour of critical conjecture as that which may be now employed.

[2] Editors, translators, and others still exhibit this tendency, and thus illustrate the influence which it must have exerted in ancient times, when *every single* copy passed through the hands of one who was tantamount to a modern editor. It is *even now* not easy always to get a peculiarity in phrase or word before the public precisely as it was written.

Hug, in his Einleitung, § 50., in describing the Codex Vaticanus, speaks thus of the titles of the books as contained in that MS.: "Sie sind äusserst einfach und laufen an der Höhe jedes Blattes bis zum Ende eines Buches fort: *κατα μαθθαιον*, (sic) *κατα μαρκον*," &c. This, in Fosdick's American translation of Hug, is given thus: "They are extremely simple, and are found at the top of each page throughout the MS.: *κατὰ Ματθαῖον*, (sic) *κατὰ Μάρκον*," &c. Fosdick undertook to add the *accents* to the Greek throughout his translation; and this labour, though in general useful, is in this case just the contrary; but this seems to have led him to *correct* the very peculiarity to which Hug had drawn attention; and thus *μαθθαιον* became *Ματθαῖον*, while Hug's "*sic*," being retained, became positively misleading.

No one can have had twenty years' experience in press-correcting without learning how

under the head of *substitutions*, and more might be specified. Here belong changes of orthography into forms which were more common; such as τεσσαράκοντα for τεσσεράκοντα; ἦλθον for ἦλθαν; λήψομαι for λήμψομαι: also the alteration of proper names, such as Ἀμώς, Ἀσάφ, into Ἀμών, Ἀσά, to suit the Hebrew form; Μαθθαῖος, Μαθθάν, into Ματθαῖος, Ματθάν, so as to be more Greek in the nature of the doubled consonants; Καφαρναούμ into Καπερναούμ, as being a more modern orthography apparently; Βηθανία (John i. 28.) into Βηθαβαρά, in accordance with a conjecture of Origen (which, however, he did not intrude into the text), and as being the name by which the supposed locality was known at a later age. The common form Δαβὶδ hardly belongs here; as in MSS. this name is generally contracted ΔᾹΔ̄, Δᾱδ; while in the older copies in which it is expressed at length, it is given ΔΑΤΕΙΔ, and in those later, Δανίδ. The insertion, however, of Δαβίδ in the common text as printed, may be compared with the adoption of more recent forms in MSS.: this orthography belongs so completely to the latest period of Greek pronunciation, &c., that it would only have been adopted when it conveyed just the same sound as Δανίδ. The form Δαβίδ (which may be justly termed barbarous) owes its adoption to its introduction by Erasmus (or Froben his printer), in his first edition. The Complutensian editors both in the New Testament and the LXX. gave Δανίδ; and this form has been commonly adopted in that version as printed, except in the Aldine text.

Though these changes for the removal of difficulties are of very slight importance (since the sense is unaffected), yet they require observation, as being parts of that habit of correcting whatever was peculiar or difficult, which has in other circumstances more serious import. Of this a few instances may be given. In Mark i. 2. Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ was felt to be a difficulty, as the citation is from Malachi and Isaiah; hence the introduction of ἐν τοῖς προφήταις. So too, the computation of the generations in Matt. i. 17.; and in the supposition, doubtless, that a generation had been inadvertently omitted between David and the captivity, the insertion arose in ver. 11. of τὸν Ἰωακεὶμ· Ἰωακεὶμ δὲ ἐγέννησεν, before the words τὸν Ἰεχονίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ. The genealogies of our Lord as contained in Matthew and Luke, contain several points of difficulty, and it may be that to avoid them the Codex Bezæ gives in Luke iii. the names from Jesus back to David, mostly taken from Matt. i., but with the three omitted kings between Ἰωρὰμ and Ὀζίας added, and with the names of Ἐλιακεὶμ and Ἰωακεὶμ *both* between Ἰωσείας

naturally a compositor now (just like a copyist in ancient times) removes difficulties without a thought that this procedure can be productive of injury.

In one case, at least, an accidental erratum in a printed edition has led to an undesigned change of reading in the text as commonly used. In Matt. xiv. 14. the reading in the Erasmian and Complutensian texts both is ἐπ' αὐτοῖς; this, too, is retained in the editions of Stephens of 1546 and 1549. In the folio edition of 1550, however, this is altered by accident into ἐπ' αὐτοὺς (the termination, being expressed by a ligature, differs *very slightly* from -οῖς). Then Stephens, in his edition of 1551, *corrected* the *accent* (which suited the *right* word) instead of correcting the *letter*, and thus we have from that edition ἐπ' αὐτοὺς, in the Elzevir text, in that of Mill, and in those printed from them.

and Ἰεχονίας. A peculiar collocation of words was naturally rejected for that which was smooth and easy: thus in Acts iv. 25. the reading, *ὁ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου στόματος Δαυεὶδ παιδός σου εἰπών*, has given rise not only to the common text, but also to many other variations. In Acts xiii. 32. *ἡμεῖς ὑμᾶς εὐαγγελιζόμεθα τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας ἐπαγγελίαν γενομένην ὅτι ταύτην ὁ θεὸς ἐκπεπλήρωκεν τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν*, has suggested the reading *τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν ἡμῖν* to remove a supposed difficulty. In the following verse nothing can be more definite than the testimony in favour of the reading *πρώτῳ* in early times, while the MSS. in general now on the contrary read *δευτέρῳ*: how can the change be explained? Is it not evident that *δευτέρῳ* is a correction to adapt the passage to the notation of the book of Psalms as now found? The older reading in Acts xxvi. 28. is *ἐν ὀλίγῳ με πείθεις χριστιανὸν ποιῆσαι*, from which has sprung the reading of the common text with *γένεσθαι*, and also (as should be noticed) the variation of Cod. Alex. which has *πειθη* for *πειθεις*. This is one of the many passages in which the true reading should have been *first* investigated; after that the business of the expositor may rightly begin.

These tacit corrections of supposed mistakes might be arranged under the *three general heads* above mentioned (under the *first* of which some have been noticed), namely, *substitutions*, *insertions*, and *omissions*.

It must not be supposed that all the various readings which occur can be classified and explained. There are many, the appearance of which admits of as little investigation as do any *sporadic* phænomena in matters of physical science, or idiosyncrasies in the moral world. These *sporadic* variations of reading require to be considered separately, by weighing the evidence for and against in each case. Nor must it be thought, because some reading might be accounted for on some of the principles of classification which have been stated, that therefore it is of necessity false: so far from this being the case, *evidence* must be sought to enable us to determine whether what *might* have originated in such or such a manner actually *did* so or not.

Of what use then (it may be asked) is any classification of various readings, any statement of the manner in which any of them originated? The answer is simple: in cases of *conflicting evidence* of external witnesses, the known principles on which various readings often came into existence are of the greatest value; for thus we have a strong ground of *probability* which may often turn the scale for or against a conflicting lection. And even when the evidence *in itself* is by no means evenly balanced, there are cases in which a reading would be rejected, from its origin being *evident* to the mind of one who is familiar with the kind of variations which copyists introduced. Hence those springing from assimilation of parallel passages, amplifications of the common kind, &c. would be recognised as being certainly such, even though the *direct* evidence might seem to be *numerically* slight.

It facilitates the labours of a press-corrector if he be familiarly acquainted with the kind of mistakes into which compositors are

liable to fall: experience will thus aid him in detecting mistakes, the origin of which he understands; and for this he will be all the more competent, if, besides being a press-corrector, he has had practical experience *himself* of the work of a *compositor*, and can thus understand how errors of particular kinds are liable to be introduced. This may illustrate one practical value which even an imperfect classification of various readings and their origin possesses: another importance which it has in Biblical studies is the aid which it affords towards an exact acquaintance with the ancient documents by which the text of Holy Scripture has been transmitted.

"It is remarkable that, after all has been done that appears practicable in classifying various readings, those of which early writers so much complain hardly come into consideration at all. Our existing documents cannot be rightly accused of intentional corruption. And thus we may see how little influence any of those must have possessed, who introduced wilful or extensive changes. And farther, the *character* of the variations (even though, as Lachmann says, not a syllable in the New Testament is of small importance) is such that in a vast variety of cases the change *could* not be expressed intelligibly in a translation. And although all assimilation of a passage to that which was or was supposed to be parallel to it, must so far obscure the *definiteness* of the statements of Scripture, and the *precise* object of the inspired writers, yet this injury is not so great as would have been produced by the introduction of amplifications from *other* sources."

And thus while it must be owned that the sacred books have been exposed to casualties from which Christians *ought* in a great measure to have preserved them, and while the danger of change was great from their practical guardians having been mere copyists, it must be thankfully acknowledged that the real injury has not been greater, and that the channels of transmission have been such as to afford us independent lines of evidence to use for the rectification of the damage of time, inadvertence, and unintelligent endeavours at *improvement*.

It may well be asked whether Christian scholars in general have deemed it of importance to *use* the materials so preserved to them; and whether they have not rather shown an uninquiring acquiescence in what has been commonly received, even though they *might* have most easily *known* the true condition of facts, and thus have used the evidence which has been transmitted.

To say that the change in copies caused by various readings is not so great as to cast uncertainty over the whole text, is quite a different thing from saying that it is not of importance for us to investigate in every case the evidence as to the true reading.

CHAP. VII.

ON THE SYSTEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF DOCUMENTS.— BENGEL'S, GRIESBACH'S, AND HUG'S THEORIES OF RECENSIONS.

IT has been already noticed that similarities as to characteristic readings are found to pervade certain MSS. and versions; that the text may have in certain documents the same general complexion throughout; and that thus a kind of affinity might be maintained. Hence has arisen the endeavour to classify and arrange the MSS. in certain *families* or *recensions*, and to point out what versions and what fathers accord with each of the classes so laid down, the existence of which was regarded as proved.

It is not unnatural that such attempts should have been made; for the observed facts were repeatedly pointing out traces of resemblance between particular MSS., and hence, as documents were more accurately studied and their readings noted with exactness, the more was there brought to light which seemed to carry the relationships farther, and to give the hope that all copies might be thus classified. Nor was the hope unreasonable; for in the case of some classical authors, we are able to trace all existing MSS. to some few exemplars, which must have been adopted in particular localities; and thus whatever minor differences have been introduced into the *families* of the text of such works, the distinction of origin remains the same. In the case of such classical authors many a reading may be dismissed from all consideration, as being one which originated later than the original divergence of families; the proof of this being found in the united testimony of good documents of *both* the separate classes. It should, however, be remembered that the works of profane authors have come down to us in far fewer MSS. than has the Greek New Testament; and thus all copies that we possess of classical works might be expected to have emanated from but a few exemplars used by copyists at Rome, Alexandria, or Constantinople This may hinder the analogy from holding good in its full extent when sacred MSS. are under consideration.

And when the idea was fully adopted that the existence of families or recensions was so certain that the documents in general might be definitely distributed amongst them, this was considered to be of great importance in forming a judgment of the respective value of opposing readings: for then it was thought that the question lay not between MSS. to be valued according to their mere numerical array, but between *classes*, which carried with them their own importance, apart from all consideration of the *numbers* of existing copies pertaining to each. Such was the weight which was attached to the *recension systems* in their most developed forms. And though the history of these systems may seem to be but a history of *theories*, which have supplanted one another in the minds of critics and others, but without making good their own permanent standing, the subject continues to be of importance, since the discussion of these systems

led to a more close examination of facts, and, like the alchemy of the middle ages, to the incidental development of much that was valuable. The object sought and the object gained might be far from identical, and yet the pursuit might be by no means fruitless.

The first *definite* enunciation of a distribution of the authorities into *families* was given by Bengel. Mill, indeed, had been his predecessor in attaching great importance to the combined testimony of the Codex Alexandrinus and the Latin texts; and Bentley had pointed out the *three* channels through which authorities as to the Greek text had come down to us, as "Egypt, Asia, and the Western Churches," and had also begun to act on the combined testimony of the oldest authorities of Alexandria and the West; but neither of these critics had laid down in the definite manner that was done by Bengel an actual distribution into *families* as a fact supported by actual phænomena.

Bengel thus speaks: "Amongst the various readings which have been extracted, such as they are, we must see what codices especially accord amongst themselves, by twos, threes, fours, and more, in larger or smaller *syzygiæ* (for thus we shall call them). For in this manner will a way be opened to decide; that is, to cut off the superfluous variations; by which means the genuine reading can do no other than remain."[1] By this he intends to indicate that a peculiarity possessed by some one copy, and not by a body of related MSS., may be safely dismissed from consideration as having no *primâ facie* claim.

Bengel then lays down points in which the affinity of MSS. is shown, at first in connection with their *external* resemblances; he then shows the general relation which the *Codices Græco-Latini* have to each other, especially in readings derived from parallel passages, additions, explanatory glosses, &c. To these remarks he adds that this class of MSS. add no little weight to the readings exhibited in what he terms "justi codices" when they do agree.

He next states that the origin of various readings, by means of individual codices, pairs of MSS., greater or smaller *syzygiæ*, their families, tribes, and nations, might be investigated and set forth; and that thence the approximations and divergences of MSS. might be reduced to a kind of diagram, and that concordances of these diagrams might be made; so that the whole subject might be represented to the eye in a kind of genealogical table, in which every more important various reading with the troop of the codices which support it, might so appear as to convince even the most slow-minded doubters. He then proceeds to show what readings would, on his principles, possess considerable weight as being supported by *different classes* of testimony, and what may be left almost or

[1] "Omnium testium qui præsto sunt, quædam quasi comitia debent haberi, hac lege, ut *universi codices ipsi sint norma singulorum*: quæ lex opinor, ipsa rerum natura nititur. Itaque ipsis varietatibus, ut sunt, excussis, videndum, quinam codices potissimum inter se, bini, terni, quaterni et amplius, per minores majoresque *syzygias* (sic enim appellabimus) in utramque partem congruant, nam sic via patefiet ad decidendum, id est, ad varietates, quæ supercreverant, resecandas, quo facto genuina lectio non poterit non superare."—Introductio in Crisin N. T. § xxvi. p. 385. (*ad fin.* N. T. Gr. 1734).

wholly out of consideration as not being so confirmed, applying to this end principles which he lays down previously as to his *syzygiæ*. These principles relate mostly to the value attaching to the united testimony of different codices amongst which there is an affinity, and on what grounds different copies should be considered as belonging to the same class. He then lays down a rule which is good and useful as he intended it to be taken, though not precisely as he *stated* it: "Codices in which a reading is found, which is confirmed by no ancient Greek copies, no versions, no fathers, are recent." This may be said of a *text* which abounds in such readings, or it may truly be said that a reading found in modern copies and possessed of no ancient support is worthy of no consideration.

Bengel afterwards proceeds to maintain that the history of the text can only be rightly apprehended by its being clearly seen that "the Greek copyists had separated into certain (as it were) nations or families before the versions (of which he had next to speak) had been made; and that when once the differences had come into existence, divergences on divergences from various causes had from time to time accumulated. That also from the codices so differing others were propagated by a kind of eclectic care of copyists; but so, however, that each nation or family retained certain marks of its origin. How then shall we discriminate amid so great and so confused a mass of materials? That will be done if first there be also superadded the heap of versions and fathers." (Intr. in Cr. § xxxi.)

In discussing these sources of criticism Bengel uses especially the Codex Alexandrinus and the Latin as standards of comparison; showing that in some points these two authorities have an affinity to one another, while in others they diverge widely; but that other ancient authorities repeatedly agree with one or the other of these two. And of these he afterwards speaks as the two *nations* into which in very early times codices had been divided; and thus he compares what rests on their united authority to a weight supported on *both* sides, and, therefore, all the more stable than would have been the case with tenfold support on one side only.[1] The point, then, at which Bengel had arrived in arranging authorities into *families* when he published his Greek Testament in 1734, was this: —the Codex Alexandrinus and documents agreeing in general with it on the one hand, and the Codices Græco-Latini, the Latin version, and all that agree with these on the other hand, formed the two ancient nations; and besides these were the many more recent MSS. containing a text of a different kind. It can hardly be denied by

[1] Unius generis codices, quamlibet multi, sæpe aberrant: duæ vero nationes illæ, in quas primo quoque tempore discessere codices, firmitudine summa gaudent; perinde ut moles ex utroque latere uni alterique fulcro idoneo incumbens perstat melius, quam si ex uno tantum latere haberet decuplo plura. Non jam qualiscunque species codicum antiquorum, bonorum, multorum in censum venit: valet vero *Diversitas* testium, qui a fonte a prima manu, quam proxime absunt; et inter se quam longissime distant; adeoque suo consensu genuinam lectionem ostendunt, suoque comitatu semper et antiquitatem, et bonitatem, et, exceptis singularibus quibusdam causis, pluralitatem complectuntur: vel ubi pluralitas deficit, defectum supplent, ipsisque codicibus recentioribus et inconstantioribus robur addunt."—Introd. in Crisin N. T. § xxxii. obs. xxxi. p. 430. 1734, p. 65. ed. 1763 (of the Apparatus separately).

any, however opposed to Bengel's *system*, that he showed remarkable discernment in thus appreciating the documents which were then accessible. He most certainly used with singular acumen the data which he was able to employ.

This then was the first theory of families which was at all definitely propounded; and we shall find that as to points of great importance it recognises facts, the full proof of which has been exhibited through the labours of those later collectors who have enlarged the critical field by bringing forward so much from the oldest authorities, most of which were unknown to Bengel.

But Bengel did not stop at this division into two ancient nations and a number of more recent codices. His more matured judgment in his *defence* of his Greek Testament (1737) was this:—"The host of MSS. which in the later ages were written at Constantinople and its neighbourhood is of but little importance, although they have been disseminated throughout Europe, and even beyond. The whole of the documents, out of which various readings are collected and judged, is divided as it were *into two nations, the Asiatic and the African.* If the ancient Greek exemplars from Africa had not been so few, which are surpassed by the Asiatic herd in *numbers* only, we might rightly rely rather more on the multiplicity of MSS."[1]

It will be well to give in Bengel's own words his latest judgment on the subject of *families* of critical documents.

"1. Codices, versions, and fathers, divide themselves into two familes, the Asiatic and African.

"2. Of the African family is the Codex Alexandrinus almost alone (because the African codices have been almost all destroyed); but it is, however, equal to many: to this family belong the Æthiopic, Coptic, and Latin versions. The other witnesses are mostly of the Asiatic family. The *Codices Græco-Latini* and *Latinizantes* rank as following the Latin version.

"3. A reading of the African family is always ancient, but, however, it is not always genuine; especially in cases in which mistake was easy.

"4. The Asiatic MSS., many as they are, have often but little weight; especially when supported and countenanced by no ancient version.

"5. The African reading very often corrects the amplification of the Asiatic; the Asiatic reading sometimes remedies the defect of the African.

"6. The consent of the majority, or at least of the leading witnesses of both families, is a great criterion of the genuine reading."[2]

[1] "Caterva codicum, qui citioribus seculis Constantinopoli ac in illa vicinia scripti sunt, minus valet, etiamsi in omnem Europam et ultra fuerint disseminati. Totum genus documentorum, ex quibus variæ lectiones colliguntur et deciduntur, in duas quasi nationes distrahitur, Asiaticam et Africanam. Nisi tam pauca essent exemplaria Græca vetusta ex Africa, quorum excellentiam vulgus Asiaticum solo numero longe vincit, aliquanto plus niti liceret codicum pluralitate."—See Bengel's Apparatus, ed. 2. 1763. Appendix, p. iv. No. iv. § 31. p. 669. (The *Defensio Novi Testamenti Græci*, which had appeared at Leyden in 1737, was there reprinted.)

[2] "1. Codices versiones et patres in duas discedunt familias, Asiaticam et Africanam.

"2. Ex Africana est Cod. Al. pæne solus (quia codices Africani fere deleti sunt), at

Thus, then, Bengel *finally* classed together the earlier documents as forming one general *family*. No doubt that he found from time to time increased difficulties in laying down a definite line of demarcation.

Probably in Bengel's own time his views were but imperfectly understood, from his having brought them forward in works which, from their size and character, had but a temporary circulation. His Greek Testament was criticised, and the principles on which it was edited were assailed; and in consequence he published various short pamphlets in defence, of an occasional character, in which he more clearly explained his views, and defended the grounds on which they rested. To the enlarged edition of his *Apparatus Criticus*, which appeared after his death, many of these pamphlets (if not all) were appended; and this portion of that edition becomes the storehouse for those who wish to learn the groundwork of *recension theories*, and how these became gradually systematised. In the additional note (from which an extract has just been given) he states, however, his views with more clearness and brevity than in any other one place; and this note does not seem to have been published prior to the posthumous edition of the *Apparatus Criticus* in 1763.

Almost immediately after the critical writings of Bengel had thus appeared in a collected form, his principles begun to commend themselves to the approval of competent Biblical scholars.

The term *recension*, as applied to a particular class of MSS., seems to have originated with Semler.[1] The objection to the word is, that it properly belongs only to a class which has proceeded from some critical *revision*, and thus it is inapt to apply it to one which has sprung up from the ordinary accidents of transcription. It is needful, however, at times to use it, though not in a strictly accurate sense, as it has been almost technically appropriated in speaking of this subject.

Semler *fully* adopted the theory of *recensions*, although he was

quamlibet multis par; cum versione Æth. Copt. Lat. Ex Asiatica ceteri fere testes. Latinæ versioni subordinantur cod. græcolatini et latinizantes.

"3. Lectio familiæ Africanæ semper antiqua est, sed tamen non semper genuina: præsertim ubi aberratio in proclivi erat.

"4. Codices Asiatici, quamvis multi, exiguum sæpe pondus habent: nulla præsertim antiqua verione stipati.

"5. Africana lectio sæpius excessum Asiaticum redarguit; Asiaticæ lectio interdum medetur hiatui Africano.

"6. Consensus plurium vel certe præcipuorum testium ex utraque familia magnum est genuinæ lectionis criterium." (Bengelii Apparatus, ed. 2. 1763, p. 425." Annot. in Jac. i. 19.)

Bengel then goes on to give his reasons for valuing so highly the Codex Alexandrinus and the Latin version. It is needless to quote these, partly because they do not relate to the classification of MSS., and partly because the critical apparatus is *now* so much more widely extended, that the special grounds for preferring these witnesses would not apply in the same manner. The argument, however, of Bengel was so far valuable as a contribution to *Comparative Criticism*. (See Tregelles's Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, p. 132.)

[1] "The term *recensio* was first applied to the MSS. of the Greek text by Semler, in the third volume of his *Hermeneutische Vorbereitung*, published in 1765, and his *Apparatus ad Liberalem* N. T. *Interpretationem*, published in 1767, and adopted by Griesbach, in his *Synopsis Evangeliorum*, and in his Greek Testament and *Symbolæ Criticæ*."—Bp. Marsh (notes to Michaelis, ii. 643.)

not strictly uniform in his use and application of the term: he seems to have followed Bengel, but without always discriminating between what that great critic had stated at an earlier period, and what he had given afterwards as his matured opinion. And thus, Semler, almost in the same sentence, speaks of Bengel's *two ancient nations* as being "the more ancient recension" (contrasting it with *the other*, which afterwards was used at Antioch and throughout the East), and *also* of the Egyptian and the western as two different recensions. However little there was of defined apprehension of the subject, Semler undoubtedly was the cause of the wide diffusion of the theory propounded by Bengel.[1]

But it was through the systematic form which this theory received in the hands and from the investigations of Griesbach, that the actual existence of different recensions, and their value in determining the genuine text, became subjects of earnest discussion. That critical scholar had before him, not merely the comparatively scanty materials which Bengel had used, but also the wealth which Wetstein had accumulated,—wealth, which he had employed so parsimoniously himself, but bequeathed so lavishly on his successors; and thus he had far more extended data from which he might form theories or establish facts. His own *recension-system* was propounded at a comparatively early period; it is illustrated and defended in several of his works, and it was used extensively in the critical editions of the Greek Testament which he published.

The first work in which Griesbach stated a theory of recensions was his *Dissertatio Critica de Codicibus quatuor Evangeliorum Origenianis*, which appeared in 1771: in it he used the term *recension* in just the same twofold manner as Semler had done; sometimes to denote a *general class* as opposed to some other *general class*, and sometimes as meaning *sub-classes* distinguished from one another. Thus he speaks of the codices C. D. L. 1. 13. 33., as belonging to one recension in contrast to 2, 3, 4, &c., pertaining to another.[2] But as yet his *system* was but partly formed, and his investigations had relation especially to the text as existing in the *third* century. At this time he thought that perhaps *three* or *four* recensions of the New Testament might be distinguished.[3]

Griesbach's occupation in editing (1774–7) first a Greek sy-

[1] Between the publication of the Hermeneutische Vorbereitung in 1765 and the Apparatus, &c. in 1767, Semler had edited (in 1766) "Joh. Jac. Wetstenii Libelli ad Crisin atque Interpretationem Novi Testamenti." To this he had appended (pp. 167—206.) "Spicilegium Observationum de Variantibus Novi Testamenti Lectionibus, in quo præcipua etiam ex Joh. Alb. Bengelii Introductione in Crisin Novi Testamenti recensentur." This Appendix and the "Apparatus ad lib.", &c. (p. 45. *seq.*) are worthy of special attention as developing Semler's views of recensions, and as applying Bengel's principles to the wider range of critical authorities, which had been made known through Wetstein.

[2] In the passage in which this occurs he is maintaining that there is no proof that Origen had formed a new recension of the New Testament: — "Certe non ea significatione, quæ alias in re critica sacra obtinet, v. c. ubi de recensione Lucianea aut Hesychiana loquimur, *aut ubi codices*, C. D. L. 1. 13. 33. etc. *aliam recensionem exhibere dicimus, quam codices* 2, 3, 4, etc."—Opuscula Academica, ed. Gabler, i. 237.

[3] "Recensiones sacri textus (v. c. Evangeliorum) agnosco non nisi paucas (sunt forte *tres* aut *quatuor*), quæ omnes N. T. codices in totidem classes sejungunt."— Opp. Acadd. i. 239.

nopsis of the three first Gospels, and afterwards the whole of the New Testament, with a critically revised text, led him of necessity to examine the relation of MSS. and versions still more closely: and in 1777, the year in which his first edition of the New Testament was completed, he gave in his *Historia Textus Græci Epistolarum Paulinarum*[1], and in the preface to the Gospels, a description of his formed theory: this theory itself must be judged of according to the *facts* of the case, irrespective of the probability or the contrary of the supposed *historical* grounds on which the author sought to account for the observed phænomena.

The groundwork of the theory was, that at the beginning of the third century at least, there existed *two* recensions of the Gospels, and to these special attention should be paid, however many other recensions may have been formed. Of these ancient recensions, the one was "the *Alexandrian*, the readings of which are gathered from the codices of the Gospels C. L., and also K. 1. 13. 33. 69. 106. 118., from the Evangelistaria 18, 19., from the Coptic [*i. e.* Memphitic], Æthiopic, Armenian, and later Syriac versions (including the marginal notes of this last mentioned), and from the citations of Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria, and Isidorus of Pelusium: the other, *the western*, the readings of which may be gathered from Codex D., and in part from the Codices 1. 13. 69., from the Latin version, specially from the Antehieronymian, which is commonly called the *Itala*, and from the more ancient Latin fathers; sometimes also from the Syriac and Arabic versions. The Codex A. follows, in the Gospels, a recension differing alike from the Alexandrian and the western, perhaps Constantinopolitan, more recent, compiled from other recensions."[2] He also states why he cannot commend the Syriac version so much as some had done, regarding it as rewrought, and moulded in many parts to more modern readings;—a judgment which had been previously formed by Bengel, and which has been surprisingly confirmed by later discoveries.

Nearly twenty years after this was written, appeared the first volume of Griesbach's second (enlarged) critical edition. The materials to which he had the opportunity of applying his theories were far greater than they had been when his critical studies commenced, and now, therefore, he was able to give his *recension-system* its full development. It is important to observe that he now casts aside *historical theories*[3] which had once pleased his more youthful

[1] Opuscula Academica, ii. 1—135.

[2] Nov. Test. Griesbach, ed. 1777, Præf. p. xiv.

[3] Some who have opposed Griesbach and his views, such as the late American Professor Norton, have entirely ignored this; and they have brought, therefore, into juxtaposition sentences and passages written by Griesbach at different times during *forty years* of critical study, as if at one and the same time he had held, or professed to hold, the opinions, which they show to be in several respects dissonant. Such writers have also manifested an entire want of apprehension of the wide distinction between the *facts* to which Griesbach drew attention, and the *theories* (partially propounded before) which he connected with those facts. Had such censors *studied* the text of the Greek New Testament, as Griesbach did for half a century, they would have learned to speak of him and his labours in a very different tone from that in which they have so often indulged.

and imaginative mind, and contents himself with the statement of what he believed to be *proved facts*. He says,—

"The origin of the various recensions of the text of the New Testament, in the absence of documents and testimonies of sufficient antiquity, cannot be historically evinced; nor is this the place to patch up that defect with conjectures. But that at the beginning of the third century at least there existed already two recensions becomes manifest from the comparison of the passages of the New Testament cited in Greek by Origen, with the quotations of Tertullian and Cyprian. These latter quotations imply that there must have been a Greek text differing in its whole conformation and entire colouring[1] from that which Origen used, and before him Clement of Alexandria. That text [the one used by Tertullian and Cyprian] is accustomed to agree with the Codices Græco-Latini, with the copies of the Antehieronymian Latin version, and (in the Gospel of St. Matthew) with the most ancient Codex Vaticanus, B., also with the MSS. 1. 13. 69. 118. 124. 131. 157., and with the Sahidic [*i. e.* Thebaic] and Jerusalem Syriac versions; the other accords with the Codices of the Gospels C. L. 33. 102. 106., and (in the latter chapters of St. Matthew, St. Mark, St. Luke, and St. John) with the Vatican B., with the Coptic (Memphitic), Æthiopic, Armenian, Philoxenian Syriac versions, and with the citations of Eusebius, Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, Isidorus of Pelusium, and others.

"This latter-mentioned text, which after the time of Clement and Origen the Alexandrians and Egyptians especially used and disseminated, may be not unsuitably termed *Alexandrian*. The other, used from the time of Tertullian, by the Africans, Italians, Gauls, and other westerns, may be not unfitly distinguished by the

Griesbach's mind continually grew in its apprehension of *facts*, and just in the same proportion became emancipated from *mere theories*.

[1] Those opponents of Griesbach who substituted ridicule for argument have taken exception at this strong language. Thus, Professor Andrews Norton cites a passage from Griesbach's Symbolæ Criticæ, vol. i. p. cxxxviii. (1785), in which he is speaking of St. Paul's Epistles only as given in one Western MS. (the Codex Claromontanus). Norton cites thus:—"The Western recension, as far as we are acquainted with it from this MS., was nearly allied to the Alexandrine." It is but fair to give Griesbach's own words, and not this *partial* citation and defective rendering. *Griesbach* says: "[Videtur] recensionem occidentalem, quatenus e codice D. noscitur, cum Alexandrina satis propinqua cognatione conjunctam fuisse; h. e. codices eos, e quibus manavit occidentalis recensio, quamvis sæpenumero corruptos et interpolatos, tamen permultis in locis easdem servasse lectiones vetustas, quas in Alexandrina recensione deprehendimus, a quibus vero codices Asiatici, Constantinopolitani, aliique recensiones dissonant."

Professor Norton, after his partial citation, continues,—"We may compare this with the language used in his Prolegomena [the passage above to which the reference is made]; and in order to show more clearly the extravagance of the latter, we may blend the words of both sentences into one. *The Western recension, so far as we are acquainted with it from this MS., was nearly allied to the Alexandrine, although it differed from it in its whole conformation and colouring.*"—Genuineness of the Gospels, note A. (i. 171. English edition).

If this mode of marshalling evidence be legitimate, we may join any parts of sentences out of different works, and not wholly on the same subject, and so make a writer say whatever we please. But after all, has the German critic been shown by the American professor to have expressed opinions of necessity absurd? Might not the Transatlantic censor be reminded that the *white* and the *negro* are allied as being of one blood, and that they are alike equally MAN; and that in spite of all differences of *treatment*, conformation, and colouring?

name of *Western;* not, however, that it was limited to the bounds of the Western Empire, as may be clearly seen from the agreement (frequent but not constant) of the Jerusalem Syriac, and Sahidic [Thebaic] versions.

"From both of these recensions in the Gospels (of which alone I here speak), does the text of Codex A. differ; sometimes it agrees with the Alexandrian authorities, sometimes with the Westerns, then again it accords with both, but very often also it differs from both, and approaches nearer to our common text. Cognate to this MS. are the Codices E. F. G. H. S., but deformed with many more modern readings, and far more nearly related to the common text than is the case with A. All of these (A. E. F. G. H. S.) appear in the Gospels to agree mostly with those fathers (so far as may be gathered from the imperfect collations which have been made of their writings) who at the close of the fourth century, and in the fifth and sixth, flourished in Greece, Asia Minor, and the neighbouring provinces; and this recension, which we may here call *Constantinopolitan,* was especially diffused in the patriarchate of Constantinople, and by means of many copyists was disseminated far and wide, and was transfused into the Sclavonic version (the copies of which, however, differ not unfrequently amongst themselves). The [Peshito] Syriac version, as printed, resembles none of these recensions, nor yet is it wholly dissimilar. In many things it agrees with the Alexandrian recension, in more with the Western, in some also with the Constantinopolitan; but so, however, that it commonly repudiates the things which have been brought into it in the latter ages. It seems, therefore, to have been again and again revised at different times with Greek MSS., quite diverse."

Griesbach then speaks of the mixed text found in Chrysostom, and continues:—"Besides the MSS. which present one of the ancient recensions, there are also some the text of which is blended from the readings of two or three recensions; of this kind are the fragments of the Codices P. Q. T., which accord sometimes with the Alexandrian, sometimes with the Western copies. Perhaps there should also be referred to this class, the MSS. which from their prevailing character have been reckoned above as Alexandrian or Western; 1. 13. 33. 69. 106. 118. 124. 131. 157. with the Æthiopic, Armenian, Sahidic [Thebaic], Jerusalem Syriac, and the margin of the Philoxenian Syriac versions. For in all these Alexandrian readings are intermixed with Western, and *vice versâ.* There are also some MSS., in which, if the whole conformation of the text be regarded, Constantinopolitan readings prevail; intermixed however, more or less, with Alexandrian or Western readings. To this head may be referred codices which, although not carrying all of them equal authority, may be separated from the general herd: K. M. 10. 11. 17. 22. 28. 36. 40. 57. 61. 63. 64. 72. 91. 108. 127. 142. 209. 229. 235., and the Evangelistaria 18. 19. 24. 36."[1]

Such then were the steps by which Griesbach's recension system

[1] Nov. Test. i. 1796. Prol. Sect. iii. (pp. lxxiv—lxxvi.)

was completed. The comparison of the enumeration given in 1777 with that in 1796, shows that from taking the Codices Græco-Latini as the MS. representatives of the *Western* recension, he had gradually brought under the same head other copies which in many respects agreed with them: but still the difficulty of drawing a line of demarcation between the Alexandrian and Western classes was not only felt but stated, and this difficulty made the place of 1. 13. 33. 69., and other copies, so very doubtful and uncertain. Also the fact of P. Q. T. holding a middle place was very contradictory to the notion that these classes were really quite distinct. It is true that the Codex Bezæ D. and the Latin versions on the one hand, and C. L. and the Memphitic on the other, *look* like very different classes; but the whole interval is filled up with documents more or less allied to the two extreme points, so that at length we cannot say of those which hold a medial place that they are related to one extreme more than to the other.

At the time when this system of Griesbach was first formed, the readings of that important document, the Codex Vaticanus B., were not yet available; and thus he had to use other MSS. as his exemplars of the Alexandrian text: indeed at the time when the above remarks were written, he had not seen any collation of more than the Gospels in that MS. And thus he had to use as the MS. *types* of the Alexandrian family documents of a later date and more modern colouring: had it been otherwise, it is probable that he would not have so formed his classes as to put B. partly in one and partly in another; its text would have suggested to him either that the Alexandrian family in its best form coincided, in much of St. Matthew's Gospel, with that which he called Western, and this might have been confirmed by the character of Origen's quotations in that book; — *or* it might have led him to regard as hopeless, an actual distinction between the Alexandrian and Western texts. As it was, his classification was made when in possession of but partial data, and this was still maintained when his Greek New Testament appeared.[1]

Griesbach thus specifies the characteristics of the recensions which he recognised: —

"The Western recension is accustomed to preserve the harsher genuine readings, when they are opposed to the genius of the Greek language, Hebraising, involving solecism, unpleasant to the ear, — inasmuch as all these things were less offensive to western readers. The Alexandrian recension, on the other hand, sought to avoid and change whatever might be offensive to Greek ears. The Western recension endeavours to render the sense more clear and less involved by means of explanations, circumlocutions, additions, gathered from every side, and by transpositions of words and sentences; but the Alexandrian sought to illustrate words and phrases, rather than the

[1] One great object which Griesbach had in view, was to vindicate the Greek MSS. from the charge of *Latinising*. This accusation had been used in such a manner as almost to invalidate the authority of all the Codices Græco-Latini; but Wetstein, about the middle of the last century, extended it to *all* the more ancient documents. This led Griesbach to endeavour to discriminate with care the text which they actually contained.

sense. The Western recension prefers the readings which are more full and verbose, and also supplements taken from parallel passages: it also sometimes omits what may make the sense obscure, or might seem repugnant to the context or to parallel passages; in all which respects the Alexandrian is purer. In one word, the Alexandrian critic has acted the part of a grammarian, the Western of an interpreter . . . . . In all these points the Constantinopolitan recension commonly accords with the Alexandrian, but with this difference, that it is yet more studious of Greek propriety, it admits more glosses into the text, and throughout it intermingles readings, either Western which are discrepant from the Alexandrian, or else compounded of Alexandrian and Western."[1] To these remarks on the distinction of recensions, he adds however, "No recension in any codex still extant is found uninjured, such as it was originally;" an admission which, of itself, goes far to efface the lines of boundary by which he sought to define each recension.

The use which Griesbach made of his system is thus stated by De Wette.

"1. All the witnesses which belong to one recension, and which unite in their evidence, are to be reckoned as but *one witness*. 2. That reading which is supported by all the old recensions is to be held for genuine. 3. Where the Alexandrian and Western are in accordance against the Constantinopolitan, the most ancient reading is attested. 4. Where the Alexandrian recension is in accordance with the Constantinopolitan against the Western, it must be inquired whether the reading of the latter belongs to its peculiar kinds of error. Also similarly, if the Western recension accords with the Constantinopolitan against the Alexandrian. 5. If all the three recensions give different testimonies, the number of the witnesses is not to decide, but the preponderance of internal grounds of evidence."[2]

The system propounded by Griesbach led to discussions and modifications. MATTHÆI opposed with violence of language and vehemence of invective, not only the critical principles of Griesbach, but even all the more ancient documents on which his classification rested in part: and as the citations of fathers had been relied on as demonstrating the readings of the third century, Matthæi with earnest zeal opposed this mode of investigation, and tried to cast uncertainty upon all patristic citations. He used to this end the writings of Griesbach, in which he had shown what *kinds* of quotations are found in Origen and others, and when they may be relied on as sufficiently exact, and when they are wholly loose, or modified by transcribers. All this Matthæi turned against Griesbach, unmindful of the distinction which he had established, and of all that had been done by Mill, Bentley, Bengel, and Wetstein to *sift* such quotations. From his own study Matthæi added to what others had collected; and then he passed unsparing ridicule on all who could

[1] N. Test. 1796. Prol. Sect. iii. pp. lxxvii. lxxviii.
[2] Einleitung in N. Test. 5th ed. 1848, § 58. p. 82.

rely in the smallest degree upon such contradictory, confused, and indefinite allegations of Scripture passages. Matthæi had, in fact, no knowledge of the subject prior to his taking it up for controversial purposes; and thus it is not surprising that he only regarded it in a manner peculiarly one-sided. Origen's quotations did indeed stand in his way; but these he accounted for by the supposition that Origen had *corrupted* the text in some places, and that in others the use which he had made of passages had led some Alexandrian copyists to *adapt* what they wrote to the explanations, &c. of that father. Matthæi also repeated the charges of Wetstein against the most ancient MSS. *when he became really acquainted with his Greek Testament;* for so slenderly equipped was Matthæi when he entered into the field of New Testament criticism, that he was still unconscious of those collations and opinions which had made themselves known in all the literary world of Europe. Matthæi, in his Russian solitude, seemed to hear only an occasional echo of the voices which resounded in the ears of Biblical scholars; and thus his answering cry of contradiction came forth without his truly knowing how or why the utterance had been given which had grated so harshly on his untutored ears.

The conclusion at which Matthæi arrived was simply the *rejection* of all the authorities belonging to either the Alexandrian or Western recensions of Griesbach, and the adherence to Constantinopolitan authorities only. "To the class of MSS. to which the Codex Bezæ, the Codex Claromontanus, and others of high antiquity, belong, he gave, in the preface to his edition of St. John's Gospel, the appellation of *editio scurrilis*, nor did he apply softer epithets to those who ventured to defend such MSS." (Rev. T. H. Horne.)

Had Matthæi's knowledge of *facts* connected with New Testament criticism at all equalled the diligence with which he occupied himself in collating those MSS. which fell in his way during his abode at Moscow, and had he known how to avoid virulent and repulsive language, he might have been a useful check on the theorising spirit which actuated Semler and Griesbach: but, as it was, such opposition as his, such misstatements, such recklessness in imputing *motives*, only had the effect of causing the recension-system propounded to be received as resting upon at least a groundwork of important truth.

Other scholars made some additions or modifications of the three recensions proposed. Thus Michaelis upheld another *recension* as that form of the Greek text from which the Peshito Syriac version had been made: he also divided the Constantinopolitan (as others subsequently did also) into earlier and later — a distinction which so far holds good, that more recent readings were from time to time introduced into the text contained in those documents; but if on such grounds new classes were to be introduced, there would be no limit to the divisions which critics might lay down; and also, in *such* a classification the *later* form of any text deserves no place; for let it once be shown that a text or a reading is really recent, and it is thereby excluded from the place assigned to ancient recensions.

The fact that such a division was suggested is thus far important that it shows that it was felt that recent copies contain in general a recent form of text.

Hug, a Roman Catholic Professor at the University of Freiburg in the Breisgau, brought forward another system, commended by much learning and ingenuity, in the year 1808, in the first edition of his *Einleitung*.

The *basis* of his system is the condition into which the text of the New Testament had sunk during the second century. To show this, he carefully collected the various testimonies and complaints of early writers, to which allusion has been made above (see pp. 39—41.). To the text in that condition he gave the name of *κοινὴ ἔκδοσις, common edition*, a term borrowed from that which the Alexandrian critics had used in speaking of the text or readings of Homer as unrevised. The *κοινὴ* of the New Testament, according to Hug, came into existence during the second century, an age in which he considered that alterations (from the causes assigned above in speaking of various readings) were introduced with no sparing hand into the text of the Gospels and Acts, with less frequency into the Epistles, and with still less into the Apocalypse.

The next position taken by Hug—a position on the correctness of which or the contrary turns the whole question as to his system—is that about the middle of the third century *three* actual *recensions* of the text took place:—that the evils which resulted from the condition of the common text were seen, and independently of one another Hesychius, Lucian, and Origen revised the text; and that from the forms of text thus revised proceeded the copies which were diffused in that age.

The proof that Hesychius and Lucian undertook such recensions is sought for in certain passages of Jerome's writings[1], in which he

[1] These passages are here cited *with the context*, by which alone their meaning can be seen. The parts *not quoted* by Hug are enclosed between brackets:—

["Si Septuaginta interpretum, pura et ut ab eis in Græcum versa est, editio permaneret, superflue me, mi Chromati, episcoporum sanctissime atque doctissime, impelleres, ut tibi Hebræa volumina Latino sermone transferrem. Quod enim semel aures hominum occupaverat, et nascentis Ecclesiæ roboraverat fidem, justum erat etiam nostro silentio comprobari. Nunc vero cum pro varietate regionum diversa feruntur exemplaria, et germana illa antiquaque translatio corrupta sit atque violata, nostri arbitrii putas, aut ex pluribus judicare quid verum sit, aut novum opus in veteri opere cudere, illudentibusque Judæis, cornicum ut dicitur oculis configere]. Alexandria et Ægyptus [in Septuaginta suis] Hesychium laudat auctorem. ‖Constantinopolis usque ad Antiochiam, Luciani martyris exemplaria probat.‖ Mediæ inter has provinciæ Palæstinos codices legunt, quos ab Origine elaboratos [Eusebius et Pamphilus vulgaverunt:] totusque orbis hac inter se trifaria varietate compugnat."—Præf. in Lib. Paralipomenon et Contra Ruffinum ii. 27. (ed. Vallarsi, ii. 521, 522.) Jerome then goes on to speak of the Greek versions from the Hebrew, which Origen compared in his Hexapla.

The latter part of this, containing the names of Hesychius, Lucian, and Origen, is cited by Hug *in separate portions;* but instead of "Alexandria et Ægyptus *in Septuaginta suis* Hesychium laudat auctorem," he gives, by some oversight or various reading, "Alexandria et Ægyptus ejus opus amplexi sunt." (Einleit. § 36. p. 169. ed. 1847.)

To show how widely the recension spread which he ascribed to Lucian, he quotes a passage from Jerome's Epistle ad Sunniam et Fretelam, which, *with the context*, is seen to relate to the Greek Psalter, and not to the New Testament at all. "In opere Psalterii juxta digestionem schedulæ vestræ, ubicumque inter Latinos Græcosque contentio est, quid magis Hebræis conveniat, significem. In quo (*Hug begins*) illud breviter admoneo,

speaks of the text of Hesychius being used in Egypt, and that of Lucian the martyr from Antioch to Constantinople, while Palestine was said to use the copies of Origen. Those passages do indeed speak of the LXX.; but Hug ingeniously applied them to the New Testament, by showing that Jerome had *also* spoken of those codices of the New Testament which took their names from Hesychius and Lucian, and that he had on a few passages in the same part of Scripture appealed to the codices of Origen.

But the supposed historical ground is most slender: it is certain that when Jerome says that the Christian world divided itself (in the Greek-speaking countries) into three portions, following the copies of Hesychius, Lucian, and Origen, he is treating of the LXX., and of LXX. only; and when he mentions "copies of the New Testament bearing the names of Lucian and Hesychius, upheld by the perverse contention of some men," he cannot mean copies diffused through most of the East, as their recensions of the LXX. actually were, nor can he speak of those MSS. with approbation, adding as he does, that "the Scripture previously translated into the languages of many nations teaches that what has been added is false." Thus the Hesychian and Lucianean exemplars of the New Testament, whatever they may have been, and however they got to bear the names of those men, were *not* in general use, were upheld by but a few, and, so far from having the character of revision and accuracy, they were marked by *addition.* It is probable that the mention of such copies by Jerome, and not their actually known existence and circulation, led to the condemnation by Pope Gelasius, "The Gospels which Lucian falsified, apocrypha; the Gospels which Hesychius falsified, apocrypha."[1]

Thus when the historical grounds of external testimony in favour of Hug's system are reduced to their true limits, by the removal of all that really belongs to a different subject, it is clear that the basis was most narrow and precarious on which he sought to rear so vast and extensive a superstructure. Indeed the only evidence that is really applicable, when standing alone, tells *against* any system which makes the exemplars of Lucian and Hesychius an integral part, and which seeks to connect them with what was extensively read and used in the third and fourth centuries.

ut sciatis aliam esse editionem, quam Origines, et Cæsariensis Eusebius, omnesque Græciæ tractatores Κοινήν, id est *communem* appellant, atque *vulgatam*, et a plerisque nunc Λουκιανός dicitur (*Hug ends here*); aliam Septuaginta interpretum quæ in Ἑξαπλοῖς codicibus reperitur," &c. (Ep. cvi. ed. Vallarsi. i. 636.)

In looking at these imperfect and incorrect citations applied to a subject wholly different from that to which the context limits them, it seems pretty evident that the passages must have been extracted by Hug *for some other purpose*, and that afterwards, *by some mistake*, they were applied to the New Testament.

[1] The following are the *only* authorities for supposing recensions of Hesychius and Lucian in the *New* Testament:—

"Prætermitto eos codices, quos a Luciano et Hesychio nuncupatos paucorum hominum asserit perversa contentio: quibus utique nec in toto (*this word not in the best copies*) Veteri Instrumente post Septuaginta interpretes emendare quid licuit, nec in Novo profuit emendasse: cum multarum gentium linguis Scriptura ante translata doceat falsa esse quæ addita sunt."—Hieronymi Præfatio in quatuor Evangelia ad Damasum.

"Evangelia quæ falsavit Lucianus Apocrypha; Evangelia quæ falsavit Hesychius Apocrypha."—Decretum Gelasii.

It is believed that the Hesychius who put forth a revision of the LXX. was the Egyptian bishop of that name who was put to death in the persecution of Diocletian: Lucian is described as a martyr who suffered in the early part of the fourth century.

But even though the historical grounds assumed by Hug and the nomenclature thence derived be untenable, it does not follow as a matter of course that the classes or recensions which he sought to establish were equally void of real existence. It is therefore needful to examine the classification itself apart from the theory as to how it originated.

First, then, the unrevised text or κοινή: this Hug considered to be found in the *Gospels* in the MSS. D. 1. 13. 69. 124.; in the Epistles of St. Paul in D. E. F. G., and in the Acts in D. E., also in the old Latin and Thebaic versions; these he considered as presenting the form which the text had assumed in the early part of the third century: he also assigned the Peshito Syriac to the same *class* of text, though in a *form* somewhat different, and he claimed the citations of Clement of Alexandria and Origen as belonging to it.

To the recension of Hesychius he assigned B. C. L. of the Gospels, A. B. C. 17. 46. in St. Paul's Epistles, A. B. C. 40. in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, and A. C. 38. in the Revelation; the Memphitic version; and the citations found in Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, Marcus and Macarius the monks, and Cosmas Indicopleustes.

The recension of Lucian he found in E. F. G. H. S. V., and the Moscow Lectionaries b. and h. (of Matthæi's notation), as well as in the modern MSS. in general; in the Epistles in the Codex g. (of Matthæi), and others at Moscow; and in the Revelation in several of the more recent documents; in the Gothic and Sclavonic versions, and in the citations of Theophylact.

To the recension of Origen, in the Gospels Hug ascribed A. K. M. 42. 106. 114. 116. and Matthæi's no. 10.; the Philoxenian Syriac version; and the quotations of Theodoret and Chrysostom. Beyond the Gospels he considered that he could find no MS. proofs of the existence of this recension; though he thought that the later Syriac version might be a guide in discovering such copies; but in this he owned his want of success.

In defining the characteristics of these several classes, the κοινή, or unrevised, has been sufficiently described; if, however, a text could be assumed as being that of which the account given would hold good, it could be found in no one document or class of documents; for as the changes introduced could not be supposed to be confined to any one locality, its form must have been as varied as the exemplars in which it was contained. And, except in including the Peshito Syriac under the same head as the Codex Bezæ, Hug's system allows no room for this varied development. This class of text, the supposed κοινή, answers very nearly to Griesbach's *Western recension;* including, besides, the Peshito Syriac, and the citations of Clement and Origen.

Griesbach, in examining the hypothesis of Hug, admitted that there was a measure of truth in his opinion as to the text of the Peshito; that is to say, he considered that that ancient version had

got into the condition in which it has been transmitted to us, very much in the same manner as the Western recension had sprung up; and thus, without an identity of text, there was something analogous in the two. But earnestly did he oppose the notion that the citations of Origen should be referred to the same class, and he gave good and valid reasons in contradiction to such a view even on Hug's own principles of arrangement. For the greater part of the readings of Origen *in characteristic passages* accord not with D. or the Latin texts, but with what Hug called the recension of Hesychius. But, on the other hand, Hug showed that certain citations in Clement and in Origen do accord with what Griesbach had termed Western readings. This led to some important results; for Griesbach, by an examination of many passages, made it appear distinctly that Origen had at different times used MSS. which differed from each other as to text; and thus in his Commentaries on St. John he employed an Alexandrian text, while in those on St. Matthew, in the later part of his life, he used one containing Western readings; and in other places he varies in his citations, and occasionally mentions the variations of his copies.

As Origen had been originally a kind of index on Griesbach's system for pointing out the Alexandrian text, these admissions or reconsiderations were very injurious to that defined scheme; for they did much to remove the land-marks which he had himself erected to denote the extent of each. But Hug himself was also led in considering Griesbach's remarks to express an opinion which would be equally injurious to *his* arrangement; for he quotes the judgment of Griesbach respecting Origen: — "A very distinguished scholar has remarked, that on the whole he approaches very near to the text of the MS. L. For if we take away from D. its greatest aberrations there stands out to view a text very like that of Cod. L."[1]

The Hesychian recension of Hug is almost, if not quite, identical with the Alexandrian of Griesbach; the difference that he appears, however, to make is that which the removal from it of so many of the citations of Origen would produce. But it was needful to Hug's system to distinguish between those quotations and this recension; for as Hesychius suffered in the earlier years of the *fourth* century, it would have been inconsistent with all that he was endeavouring to establish if he were to admit that his recension had been employed eighty years before. And this was a strong point with Griesbach in his remarks on the subject; for *this* alone overset the supposed historical basis which Hug had laid. This *text* was certainly used in Egypt: but an *Hesychian* text was that adopted in that country; this then must be the Hesychian text, *if* the historical notes related to the New Testament at all. But as this text was in fact used in Egypt before the birth of Hesychius, the links in the chain of hypothesis become snapped asunder.

[1] "Ein sehr angesehener Gelehrter beobachtet hat, das er sich im Ganzen mehr der Handschrift L annähere. Denn wenn wir die grössern Abweichungen aus D entfernen, so tritt ein Text hervor der jenem des Codex L sehr ähnlich ist." — Hug, Einleitung, § 36. p. 172.

Hug considered this text to be a kind of thorough revision, undertaken by a critical scholar; but whether he made alterations in the text from a comparison of copies, or from his own judgment, he leaves undetermined: if the former, then it would follow that, in spite of the supposed confusion of the *κοινὴ ἔκδοσις*, some copies contained a better text; if the latter, then it would only be a conjectural procedure, injuring still more what was already injured. It may be that Hesychius and the other revisers are, upon this theory, supposed to have introduced into general use readings from copies which they considered to be more correct than those commonly employed. If we must assume *actual recensions* in early times, the best theory probably would be that which represented critics as selecting the most accurate copies which they could find of the text that was current in their own country. They might be conscious of no alterations except those which were springing up in their own days from the blunders of copyists; and these they might correct with care, and then their own exemplars might be used by others, from the known pains which had been taken in eliminating transcriptural error. It is doubtful in the extreme whether we can suppose more than this to have been ever accomplished; and there are no grounds whatever for ascribing the Alexandrian text to the labours of Hesychius, or of any other one critic who ever lived. Had such extensive revision ever been undertaken, and had its results been received, more definite traces would have been left in the history of the text: it would not have been only recorded in two doubtful and depreciatory sentences.

Hug's recension of Lucian is nearly identical with the Constantinopolitan of Griesbach, at least by assuming the latter in the form which it seems to have acquired in after times. Hug laid down that the basis of this recension was the *κοινὴ ἔκδοσις* as it existed in Syria, and on *this* ground (which he thought that he had proved) he maintained that the text *must* be that of Lucian. This involves no impossibility on any ground of chronology; but the *proof* is wanting. The relation between this form of text, and the country to which he assigned it, he maintained from a comparison of passages in which the Peshito Syriac agrees with this *recension* in opposition to Alexandrian copies: thus, by assuming that the Peshito represents the *κοινὴ* as read in Syria, he thought that he could account for the formation of this recension as a revision of it. Hug describes the *supposed* procedure of Lucian just as if he had seen the whole; and by admitting that readings not in the Peshito, nor yet in the other old recensions, are found in this, he shows that it could not be accounted for strictly in this manner. He may be quite correct in supposing that Antioch was the place where it sprung up; but to attribute its formation to any thing more than the common procedings of copyists, is a refinement not sustained by proofs or by the probabilities of the case. Griesbach, after weighing Hug's arguments, thought that the Constantinopolitan form of text had sprung up from a combination of the readings used in different parts and by different persons. He accounted for the many resemblances between

this text and the Peshito Syriac by supposing that that version had been revised by the aid of Greek MSS. of this kind. And all the researches of Hug, when properly used, went to show that this was the real character of the Constantinopolitan text; it might be said to bear the same relation to the more ancient readings that the *common dialect*, *κοινή*, of the Greeks did to the previously existing modes of speech.

Hitherto Hug had done no more than re-arrange the previously recognised families or classes of text; but in his fourth class or third recension, the Origenian, he devised a something not easy to be defined. We know what is *meant* when we hear of a MS. of the Alexandrian, Western, or Constantinopolitan recensions of Griesbach, or of the *κοινή*, the Hesychian or Lucianean of Hug; but it is not so easy to define the Origenian text or readings of this latter-mentioned critic.

It is granted that the citations of Origen do not accord with this assumed recension; but for this Hug accounts by the supposition that it was the undertaking of his latter days, after his works had been completed. How then can a text be found which can be ascribed to Origen as its author? Hug appeals to what Jerome had written *concerning the LXX.*, stating that the countries between Egypt and Antioch use the Palestinian MSS., elaborated by Origen. This (as before) he transfers to the New Testament, and then seeks for MSS. which will in his opinion answer the description: as being intermediate *in text* between the readings of Antioch and Egypt, they were what he expected would be found in the region locally interposed. And as the later Syriac seemed to be related to the version of the Old Testament in that language made from the Hexaplar text of Origen, this version (he thought) afforded a criterion of the text used by that father.

But here we have ingenuity vainly employed; for all that could be said of the very few MSS. which he ascribes to this recension, is that they present features belonging apparently to a *transition* state; so that if they rightly form a class or a recension, several of those which he has placed either under the *κοινὴ* or the Hesychian should also occupy a similar place. Again, some of the *Hesychian* contain mixtures of the readings which he termed Lucianean; why then do not they take their places as a distinct family? Also, it may well be asked, how it is that the ancients, who tell us so much of the Biblical labours of Origen, say not one word about the wearisome undertaking with which he is supposed to have been occupied in his latter days? And if Origen did indeed crown his years of toil and study by thus recording the result of his researches into the true text of the New Testament, would it not be at least remarkable that he should have given forth a text very little resembling that which he had used in any part of his life? and even in some places *contradicting* the readings which he *expressly mentions*, in some even of his *later* works, as being that of the Greek copies? These remarks and inquiries are equally applicable *whichever* of the documents said to contain this text may be assumed as its genuine form;

for so vague is the whole theory respecting it, that there is no particular parity or mutual resemblance between the MSS. which Hug brings together as constituting this one class. Most of them belong just as much to the Constantinopolitan family (or that of Lucian) as those which Hug names under that head.

But it was necessary to Hug's position to find a Palestinian recension, as one of the three classes of revised text; and therefore he found it here. One strong point in opposition to the notion that these documents contain a text of Palestine, given forth (according to Hug's supposition) by Pierius and Pamphilus from Origen's MSS., is found in the character of the citations of Eusebius, who uses a text generally Alexandrian.

Twice, indeed, Jerome appeals to the exemplars of Origen; but this expression does not prove that any such *recension* existed, but merely that there were copies which Origen had used: in one place he joins the name of Pierius with that of Origen.

These probabilities are strong against the hypothesis of an Origenian recension; but these are not all; for Origen himself in one of his later works disclaims such an undertaking as one that *could* not be carried out[1]; he *knew* that copies differed, he stated the fact, but how to apply a critical remedy was utterly unknown to him. This statement from himself might have sufficed to hinder such a work being attributed to him; and if he had really formed such a recension, in the text of which he contradicted all that he had definitely stated for forty years to be the reading of Holy Scripture (as would have been the case on the supposition before us), it would infer either that his judgment in this close of his life was impaired, or else that he had acted the critic, by using an unwarrantable licence of conjecture.

Thus the theories of Hug possess rather a negative than a positive value. They led to a re-examination of the whole subject by Griesbach, who entered on it in a spirit of rare candour: the result is given in the *Meletemata* prefixed to his latest work (Commentarius criticus, part ii.) in 1811. He there refuted some of the positions of Hug, expressed his dissent from others, and at the same time admitted that his own system required certain modifications. He utterly

[1] In his Commentary on St. Matthew, he questions, on internal probabilities, whether the words in chap. xix. 19., ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν, are really part of the genuine text (a thing which, on grounds of critical evidence, need not be doubted); and then he speaks of the diversities of copies: καὶ εἰ μὲν μὴ καὶ περὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν διαφωνία ἦν πρὸς ἄλληλα τῶν ἀντιγράφων ὥστε πάντα τὰ κατὰ Ματθαῖον μὴ συνᾴδειν ἀλλήλοις, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ εὐαγγέλια, κἂν ἀσεβής τις ἔδοξεν εἶναι ὁ ὑπονοῶν ἐνταῦθα προσερρῖφθαι, οὐκ εἰρημένην ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος πρὸς τὸν πλούσιον τὴν "ἀγαπήσεις τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν" ἐντολήν· νυνὶ δὲ δηλονότι πολλὴ γέγονεν ἡ τῶν ἀντιγράφων διαφορά, εἴτε ἀπὸ ῥαθυμίας τινῶν γραφέων, εἴτε ἀπὸ τόλμης τινῶν μοχθηρᾶς τῆς διορθώσεως τῶν γραφομένων, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν τὰ ἑαυτοῖς δοκοῦντα ἐν τῇ διορθώσει προστιθέντων ἢ ἀφαιρούντων. τὴν μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἀντιγράφοις τῆς παλαιᾶς διαθήκης διαφωνίαν, θεοῦ διδόντος, εὕρομεν ἱάσασθαι, κριτηρίῳ χρησάμενοι ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐκδόσεσιν. κ.τ.λ.—(iii. 671. De la Rue). This implies pretty plainly that no such method had been devised, at least by Origen himself, for forming a recension of the text of the New Testament. The old Latin translator of Origen has here, "In exemplaribus autem Novi Testamenti, hoc ipsum me posse facere sine periculo non putavi." Even if this be not a genuine clause, which has been lost in the Greek, it is an apt commentary; and it shows that the ancients were wholly unconscious of any *such* work having been undertaken by Origen. Indeed, it is marvellous that any modern writers should have adopted such a theory with regard to Origen.

doubted the historical basis and nomenclature assumed by Hug; he disproved the notion of any recension by Origen, especially such a one as Hug had defined. And, although he still considered that the establishment of recensions, as such, was essential to drawing true results from textual criticism, he now thought that, except perhaps his own Alexandrian class, there was none to which that *name* would in strictness apply.

And this leads to the inquiry how far such a thing can be shown as actual textual revision of the Greek New Testament in early days. Is there any real evidence of such procedures on the part of Christian scholars? Of course it is admitted that after a MS. had been written it passed (or ought to have done so) into the hands of him who was called *ὁ ἀντιβάλλων*. And the business of such properly was to revise what had been written so as to make it according to the copy (just as a modern press-corrector does). This name or occupation, as well as that of a *διορθωτής*, occurs in the subscriptions yet found in Biblical MSS.: as to these, however, it should be observed that the existing subscriptions are often, if not always, *copies* from that which had been originally appended to a MS.; so that though it *seems* occasionally that some particular copy had been revised or examined by some known individual, the attestation *properly* belongs to some more ancient MS. from which what we possess has been derived.

The subscription of a MS. (itself of the eleventh century) from which Zacagni published the divisions and summaries employed by Euthalius, at the end of the Catholic Epistles, runs thus: — *ἀντεβλήθη δὲ τῶν πράξεων καὶ καθολικῶν ἐπιστολῶν τὸ βιβλίον πρὸς τὰ ἀκριβῆ ἀντίγραφα τῆς ἐν Καισαρείᾳ βιβλιοθήκης Εὐσεβίου τοῦ Παμφίλου.*[1] And the subscription of the ancient Coislin fragments (H. of St. Paul's Epistles) is of a similar kind; *ἀντεβλήθη δὲ ἡ βίβλος πρὸς τὸ ἐν Καισαρίᾳ ἀντίγραφον τῆς βιβλιοθήκης τοῦ ἁγίου Παμφίλου χειρὶ γεγραμμένον.*

In other MSS. the work of the *διορθωτής* is also mentioned, and that in such a manner as to indicate some difference. The following are subscriptions appended to portions of the LXX. version: from the end of Esther copied from *παλαιώτατον λίαν ἀντίγραφον* in the Codex Friderico-Augustanus (of the fourth or fifth century) added by a later hand (of the sixth or seventh century), *μετελήμφθη καὶ διορθώθη πρὸς τὰ Ἑξαπλᾶ Ὠριγένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διωρθώμενα. Ἀντωνίνος ὁμολογητὴς ἀντέβαλεν, Πάμφιλος διόρθωσα τὸ τεῦχος ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ.* At the end of Ezekiel in the Codex Marechallianus is found, *μετελήφθη ἀπὸ ἀντιγράφου τοῦ Ἀββᾶ Ἀπολλιναρίου τοῦ κοινοβιάρχου. ἐν ᾧ καθυποκεῖται ταῦτα, μετελήφθη ἀπὸ τῶν κατὰ τὰς ἐκδόσεις ἑξαπλῶν, καὶ διωρθώθη ἀπὸ τῶν Ὠριγένους αὐτοῦ τετραπλῶν, ἅτινα καὶ αὐτοῦ χειρὶ διώρθωτο, καὶ ἐσχολιογράφητο. ὁ Εὐσέβιος ἐγὼ σχόλια παρέθηκα. Πάμφιλος καὶ Εὐσέβιος ἐδιωρθώσαντο.*

The work of a *διορθωτὴς* may apparently be regarded as more critical than that of the mere *ἀντιβάλλων*; the latter answering

[1] Zacagni Collectanea Monumentorum Veterum. Rome, 1698, p. 513.

rather to one who read by copy, the former to him who used a critical judgment; and thus from him might arise naturally such results as would be introduced by a comparison of various copies: a transcript made from some exemplar, when corrected by means of another, would produce a modified text And this may account for the alterations made in various MSS.: when first written the *comparer* would examine it with the copy, so as to exclude mere clerical errors: but when at any time it passed into the hands of a *corrector*, the alterations would be of a different kind; for then readings would be changed to suit what might be found in the text or margin of another exemplar. And this process may be noticed in many MSS., where the corrections show that many successive hands have occupied themselves with it.

But we have no proof that any διορθωτὴς ever made a formal revision of the Greek New Testament, such as were executed by several with regard to the LXX.; the utmost that can be proved is, that MSS. were transcribed from some well-known exemplar, such as that in the library of Cæsarea, or else were compared with it. It can hardly be doubted that this exemplar of Pamphilus the martyr was one containing such a text as had been used by Origen, even if it were not a copy which had belonged to that laborious critic: no doubt it was supposed to be free from the interpolations and additions of which so much complaint had been made; but that it was strictly a *recension* cannot be shown, and if it had any connection with Origen, the contrary may be regarded as very certain. It was probably to such a copy at Cæsarea that Jerome appealed when he spoke of the exemplars of Origen and Pierius.

If any theory were admissible on which to rest a conjectural *recension*, it is remarkable that the name of *Pamphilus* has been passed by; for copies are again and again stated to be taken from his, and we know that he prepared many codices, and was diligent in circulating copies of the Scriptures[1],—no doubt such as he considered to be correct; but it has been rightly seen that his having transcribed a copy with his own hand is wholly different from his having made a recension of the text. Hug, indeed, does suppose that the *recension* of Origen was thus *published* by Pamphilus; but this conjecture does not hold well with another part of his theory, in which he maintains that the recension of Origen never had any wide or general circulation; for it is clear that this Cæsarean exemplar was used by many, and from the connection of Eusebius with Pamphilus in his Biblical studies and labours, and his residence at Cæsarea, it is difficult for any to advance that the copies which he sent to the churches at Constantinople contained a text which he supposed to be different.

[1] The following is part of an extract given by Jerome from the third book of Eusebius's Life of Pamphilus:—"Quis studiosorum amicus non fuit Pamphili? Si quos videbat ad victum necessarium indigere, præbebat large quæ poterat. Scripturas quoque sanctas non ad legendum tantum, sed et ad habendum, tribuebat promptissime. Nec solum viris, sed et feminis, quas vidisset lectioni deditas. Unde et multos codices præparabat, ut quum necessitas poposcisset volentibus largiretur."—Contra Ruffinum, lib. i. 9. (ed. Vallarsi, ii. 465.)

Up to the middle, then, of the third century, we find, from the testimony of Origen, that there was *no revised* text of the New Testament; in the beginning of the fourth, we meet with nothing more than particular exemplars used to copy other MSS. from, but nothing that looks like a standard of appeal; and at the end of the fourth century, it is certain that Jerome knew nothing of any such text: had known *recensions* existed, they would have afforded him no small aid in his revision of the Latin translation: it would have been also surprising, if he had known of such *recensions*, that he had said not one word on the subject, when noticing differences of reading in particular copies.

Thus we are without any historical grounds for maintaining that such recensions of the New Testament were made, as we know to have been executed of the LXX. One simple reason may be specified for this: in the LXX., the Hexapla of Origen afforded what some might regard as a standard of appeal, and what others might consider to be materials for critical correction; and thus revised texts were actually formed, in which, however, the real LXX. was more and more mixed with portions of the other Greek versions. It is well for the text of the New Testament, that there were *no* means of subjecting it to any such process, for if there had been, it would, no doubt, have suffered even more than it has from the proceedings of transcribers, and the attempts at local emendation and correction.

For a while the theories of Hug obtained a considerable reception amongst German Biblical scholars: Eichhorn, for instance, generally agreed with his classification, not, however, receiving as proved an Origenian recension. *His* arrangement was, an unrevised text in Asia, and with some differences in Africa; a recension of the first by Lucian, of the second by Hesychius, and a mixture of both texts. The admission, however, of a recension by Origen with the arrangement is needed if the *basis* of the system be at all firm; and thus Eichhorn's modification has still less to recommend it than the classification proposed by Hug.

From all the discussions there arose this benefit, that *facts* were more diligently sifted, and thus more firmly apprehended, and that all in early writers that *could* bear on the history of recensions, or of the state of the text at particular periods, was clearly brought forward. But this was not obtained without such a process of examination as showed how groundless are many theories, and how critics had pressed into the service of their views passages and statements which really applied to things that were very different. The general result was a doubt as to the tenability of Griesbach's system, but without any decided feeling as to what ought to take its place, or what modifications it should receive.

CHAP. VIII.

DISCUSSIONS ON RECENSIONS. — THEORIES SUBSEQUENT TO THOSE OF GRIESBACH AND HUG.

In this country, the subject of recensions was looked at in a rather peculiar point of view. The system of Griesbach had been promulgated amongst us through the translation of Michaelis's Introduction, with notes by Herbert Marsh (afterwards Bishop of Peterborough), and subsequently by his Lectures on Biblical Criticism. The results of Griesbach's critical revision of the text were diffused in this country, both by the extensive circulation of his own edition (a large portion of which on superior paper, provided by the Duke of Grafton, was prepared expressly for English use), by an early reprint, and by White's Synopsis Crisεως Griesbachianæ. But it was not to be supposed that anything which looked like *innovation* would be allowed to pass without discussion, and thus the work of Dr. Laurence (afterwards Archbishop of Cashel) in 1814, assailing the systematic classification of MSS. adopted by Griesbach, was what might have been *naturally* expected to be called forth. And this work has long been considered in this country as the especial refutation of Griesbach's system. It will, therefore, be of importance to give a brief account of its plan, contents, and mode of argumentation.

In the former part Dr. Laurence speaks of Griesbach's edition, the hopes which Unitarians had formed respecting it[1], and how those hopes had been disappointed, from his not rejecting or marking as doubtful a single passage which bears on the divinity of Christ, which had not been similarly noted before Griesbach was born. As to such passages (he says) "they have merely acquired the additional support of another individual; of one whom they hold in equal admiration and contempt, — admiration for his critical, and contempt for his theological talents." (p. 5.) But as the classification of Griesbach, and the mode of estimating readings in accordance with it, were liable to such misconception and misapplication, and were "so readily convertible to party purposes," Dr. Laurence set himself to work in good earnest to examine and to refute the system itself. Dogmatic grounds thus lay at the root of Laurence's refutation; and the bias thence derived may be discerned in some parts of the work thus introduced. He gives a history of the origin of such classifications, tracing them through Bengel and Semler, to Griesbach's earlier publications. On arriving at the point of his maintaining *three* recensions, he states his primary exception to the system: how do we *know* that there were *three?* if the variety had been greater (so that *five* or *six* had been proposed), would not this

[1] This was supposed to be the reason why it was so much patronised by the Duke of Grafton, whose sentiments were well known. It is strange, however, that the explicit declarations of Griesbach on the subject should have been either overlooked or forgotten.

limitation necessarily lead in application to false results? He goes, indeed, rather too far in saying that Griesbach "admitted that there exist more than three principal texts, perhaps five or six;" for this was but a statement introduced into the progress of an inquiry, and his conclusion had been, that but three such classes could be definitely established from existing documents. But on the lines of demarcation laid down, and their want of historical certainty, Laurence argues well and forcibly, entering, as he says, his "protest against the substitution of absolute decision for conjectural probability." (p. 25.) In another part of the work he says, "I have remarked that the very existence of the Alexandrian text is at best but problematical; and so I apprehend it must continue to be, until the contrary position be proved by a characteristical collection of Alexandrian readings, contradistinguished from those, not only of the Byzantine, but also of the Western text. When Griesbach undertook the arduous task of preparing a critical edition, and even a corrected text, of the New Testament, upon a novel hypothesis, he ought surely to have placed its accuracy beyond the possibility of objection, before he attempted its reduction to practice as an unerring rule of textual criticism: not to have proceeded upon the bare probability of conjecture, but to have previously grounded himself upon sure demonstration. The Alexandrian text constitutes the main pin, which holds together the complicated machinery of his system. This, therefore, he should have first incontrovertibly established; but the position still remains exposed to many great and serious objections." (p. 124.)

This is well stated with regard to his *system;* but Dr. Laurence does not draw, as might have been done, a distinction between the *facts* which Griesbach maintained, and the *deductions* which he based on them; for unless this difference be fairly stated, it is impossible to contemplate the subject aright. To demonstrate the impossibility of laying down a line of known and marked distinction between texts called Alexandrian and Western, is not the same thing as disproving that there is an habitual variety of reading between documents which generally agree with the Memphitic version, and those which accord with the Latin translations. The sailor does not confound the British Channel with St. George's, although in the waste of waters there is no sea-mark off the western extremity of Cornwall, to portion out what *precisely* belongs to each. And Griesbach, three years before Dr. Laurence's volume appeared[1], had himself shown far more convincingly than was done by the latter writer, that the characteristics of the Alexandrian and Western texts could not be so absolutely separated as they had been done in his earlier works. Griesbach showed this by giving distinct proofs; whereas Laurence was content with combating the *mode of proof* previously adopted. Such argumentations might *silence,* but in themselves they never could *convince;* for all know that an opinion may be true, though the reason assigned by an advocate may be

[1] Prefixed to the second part of his Commentarius Criticus, published in 1811.

fallacious. Laurence did not propound a distinct theory of his own; he contented himself with throwing out hints: thus he calls the Western text, "that mighty rod of Aaron, ever ready to swallow the feebler rods of Egypt." (p. 90.) And, in speaking of the points which Griesbach had indicated, in which the Western text accorded with the Alexandrian readings, he says "Should we not rather contend that they are more probably *Western?* They are certainly common to both classes, and seem likely to have been adopted by one of them from the other: but as the existence of an Alexandrian class has not been proved, and as the stream of evidence is far greater on the side of the Western, it appears, I apprehend, not unreasonable to conclude, that the latter exhibits the original, and the former the adopted readings. The respect paid to the Western text was always considerable, and the sphere of its action extensive; rather therefore should we conceive, that, instead of gravitating towards another, it attracted every thing within its own influence towards its own centre." (p. 128.)

As far, then, as can be gathered from the suggestions thrown out, it appears that Laurence thought that all the more ancient documents had been subjected to a *Western* influence. A theory, like that of Wetstein, that they had *all* of them been altered to conform them to the *Latin readings*[1], is the only one which would accord with Laurence's mistrustful hints.

A considerable portion of Laurence's work is occupied with a refutation of the *mode* of classification adopted by Griesbach: he endeavours to show that the conclusions of that critic might be reversed, if the "received text" were adopted (as of course it was *not* by Griesbach) as the standard of comparison. He seeks to prove that each monument of the Alexandrian text, if compared with that text itself, and also with that commonly received, will be found more closely to resemble the latter than the former; and thus Laurence concludes that, on Griesbach's principles of classification, it *ought* to be referred to the Byzantine family. But in Laurence's argument there are two fallacies: first, he *here* assumes (what elsewhere he rightly says that Griesbach denies) that any one document can be considered to present the Alexandrian text pure and unmixed; and secondly (what is of far more importance), the truth of the case does not depend on the calculations of agreements of readings, as given in Griesbach's "Symbolæ Criticæ," being correct or otherwise: phænomena continue to be true even though they may have been explained on wrong principles.

But the inaccuracy of the *mode* of investigation adopted by Laurence is sufficiently shown by its *results.* No process of legitimate induction could lead to the conclusion that such MSS. as A. C. 17. in St. Paul's epistles contain a Byzantine text. No number of agreements in reading of these MSS., or of the citations of Origen, with the later copies in general *in places of small importance* (such as orthography of words, minor coincidences, common errors of

[1] The subject of the so-called *Latinising* of Greek MSS. will be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

copyists &c.), could be put in the scale so as to preponderate against the marked difference when *characteristic readings* are under consideration. In fact, the argument was evidently intended to *silence* opponents whom it never could *thus* confute. This is about the weakest part of Laurence's work. That its real object was to defend the common text as such is pretty clear, especially from the remarks on the three readings *θεός*, *ὅς*, and *ὅ*, in 1 Tim. iii. 16; in which he seeks to invalidate the authorities of every kind which read (as is the case with all the more ancient versions [1]) a *relative* instead of a *substantive*. And thus, in spite of the dispassionate statements with which he set out, he soon becomes an advocate, and a warm and partial advocate, for such readings as he considered available in the defence of that orthodox form of belief which is essential to real Christianity. But true doctrine may be upheld on *certain* grounds without our having recourse to those which are fallacious. "The ancient weapons, however, of the [Unitarian] party, have at least received a sharper edge," was one of his introductory statements; and, therefore, to turn aside that edge was the *indirect* object of his work. How much more might have been accomplished by showing that, while Griesbach had invalidated no text bearing on the question which was not previously known to be uncertain, the passages in general which set forth the Godhead and atonement of Jesus Christ were vindicated strongly by every result of criticism.

Although Laurence in counter-arguing Griesbach sometimes uses language that looks rather depreciatory, it is right to mention that he occasionally employs terms of commendation: thus, after speaking of the confidence placed "in the rectitude of his judgment, and in the accuracy of his statements," he says, "If I do not, however, mistake the character of the man from his writings, he is the last to claim infallibility in the one case or impeccability in the other." (p. 8.) "Few writers express themselves more dispassionately than Griesbach, or more remarkably unite modesty of statement with confidence of opinion." (p. 30.)

From the time of the publication of Laurence's "Remarks," it was customary with many in this country to suppose that Griesbach's critical labours and system were alike fruitless; and this opinion was inertly acquiesced in by not a few who had never seen the work itself, and who had never even heard of the principles on which it was written [2]: while even amongst those who were better informed it passed current that Laurence had disproved Griesbach's recension system; or (to use Mr. Scrivener's words) "at once and almost without an effort, laid his whole edifice in the dust," [3] just as if

[1] See, as to Laurence's mode of proof with regard to the reading of the versions in this passage, Davidson's Biblical Criticism, ii. 384, 385. He rightly says, "This is a curious way of *proving* a thing, by simply *asserting* the thing *to be proved*:" a remark which might often be applied to the archbishop's polemical arguments.

[2] The accuracy of this statement will be upheld by the many who, on critical subjects, have heard Archbishop Laurence's remarks referred to as authority by those who have never, at all events, *studied* the work, even if they have seen it. The points which he had been supposed to have proved were repeated, and that by those who certainly did not adopt the process of argumentation on which they were intended to rest.

[3] Scrivener's "Supplement to the Authorised English Version of the New Testament,'

Griesbach's own *Meletemata* had never been written. Certain parts of Laurence's work are valuable as showing that the Alexandrian and Western classes are in many respects one: but it is from Griesbach's previous work that we get the definite *facts* which bear on the question.

While Laurence's work was valued by those who considered it to be an important support to the common text as such, the same cause was upheld on principles diametrically opposite by Dr. Nolan in his "Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate." 1815. For Nolan relies absolutely, as to the truth of his system, on the same threefold division which had been maintained by Griesbach; let that be weakened or destroyed, and all that he sought to establish must at the same time fall. Nolan followed Hug in supposing that Jerome referred to the New Testament as well as the LXX. (if, indeed, he considered him to allude to the latter at all), when speaking of the texts in use in Egypt, Palestine, and Constantinople; and these he identified with Griesbach's three recensions, making that critic's *Western* the same as his own Egyptian; *Alexandrian*, his own Palestinian; while the *Byzantine* remained the same. These three classes he sought to identify and define by means of the Latin versions or revisions. He assumed an identity between his Palestinian text and the Vulgate of Jerome, and considered that the Codex Vercellensis contains a Latin text analogous to *his* Egyptian; while the Latin Codex Brixianus was regarded as representing the Byzantine Greek Codices of the Gospels. Then Nolan next assumed that this Brescia MS. contains the Latin version in its oldest form (giving to the MS. itself too high an antiquity), and then deduced that the Byzantine Greek text must be the most authentic, because of its resemblance to this particular Latin copy. But besides the fallacy of arguing on assumptions, it is certain that this particular MS. does not present the Latin text in its oldest form, and the frequent discrepancies between its readings and those of the earlier Latin copies prove it to be itself a revision: the connection of this copy, therefore, with the Byzantine Greek text tells *against* the antiquity of that family of MSS.

The Latin Codex Vercellensis contains a text which Nolan affirms to have been corrected by Eusebius of Vercelli, and he supposes that it was adapted to the text which that bishop brought with him

1845, p. 13. Mr. S. goes on to say, "this masterly production has finally settled the question respecting a triple recension of MSS.," thus claiming for it far more than the author even sought; for *he* was content with the refutation of Griesbach's *grounds* of classification, leaving the affirmative part of the question untouched. Does any scholar who is conversant with MSS. of the Greek New Testament suppose that in St. Paul's Epistles, A.C. 17. are (on Griesbach's classification) more Byzantine than Alexandrian? A latent defect in the chain of proof is often evinced by the result arrived at. He who shows that there is no such thing as motion, may consider his arguments sound and incontrovertible, and yet no one in his perfect mind receives the result. And yet if Laurence's method of proof be sound, these results must be acquiesced in; which are, however, actually received by none who consider themselves his followers. Indeed, if Laurence had so *proved* A.C. 17. to be *Byzantine* that this opinion were received, he would have inflicted a far severer wound on the common Greek text than any of those which it received from Griesbach. Even Mr. Scrivener says that such MSS. *are* Alexandrian.

from Egypt when he returned from the exile into which he had been sent by the Arians. Thus, he considered, was the Western text of Griesbach introduced into the West. The fallacy of the matter, however, is, that the same text was used in the West, and was circulated in Latin, long before Eusebius of Vercelli was born.

The Palestinian Greek text is attributed by Nolan to Eusebius of Cæsarea, and *this* he supposes was the text employed by Jerome; and on the ground of the revision or new version of Jerome having been made at the close of the fourth century, he assumes that *both* the Codex Brixianus and the Vercellensis must be more ancient, at least as to text. The resemblance of the Codex Vaticanus, which Nolan takes as his Greek example of the Palestinian class, to the Vulgate of Jerome, is, however, very imperfect. He considers that at the end of the fifth century it was introduced into Alexandria by Euthalius, and that hence it became used in that city and region; just as if this had not been the case long before, when the Memphitic version was made, and when Athanasius and Cyril wrote. This recension is stigmatised by Nolan as having been executed with a kind of dishonest criticism by Eusebius, whom he charges with altering or expunging passages to which he objected as opposed to Arian doctrine; an accusation never breathed by his worst enemies in ancient times, and brought forward without any evidence now.

Ingenuity of arrangement is the only praise which can rightly be accorded to Nolan's system: it was, however, approved by some whose value for Scripture as they were accustomed to read it, was greater than their skill in apprehending critical facts. An assent to his conclusions led some (not all) who upheld the Byzantine text to *assent* to the reasonings by which he had maintained its exclusive authority.[1]

[1] That this judgment is not too strong, as coming from opposers of his results, may be seen from the following remarks of Mr. Scrivener ("Supplement," p. 16. *note*): "I have not alluded to Dr. Nolan's 'Integrity of the Greek Vulgate,' 1815, because I have been compelled to arrive at the conclusion that his scheme of recensions is radically erroneous. Few things are perhaps more sad to the honest inquirer after truth than to see a learned and single-hearted man like Dr. Nolan, by assuming as certain what is barely possible, and setting ingenious conjecture in the room of historical fact, led on step by step to adopt a theory, which (to use the words of Dr. Turner, of New York) 'is sufficiently condemned by its own extravagance.'" It is well, however, to observe that no one can be surprised if Dr. Nolan should be censured severely, who considers how bold he has been in accusing others; *e.g.* charging Eusebius with altering and mutilating certain passages, without any reason but his own uncharitable conjecture; and accusing Origen of idolatrous compliances out of Cedrenus, a writer who lived some seven hundred years later. It is, indeed, strange, but it is instructive as showing how *partial* was the information on which Nolan formed his opinions on men and things, that he might have used Epiphanius as his authority for the calumnies against Origen, instead of resting on a writer so much more recent; but neither would have any weight with those who know how fully the charges have been examined, and how they have been shown to be a part of the virulent abuse with which Origen and his opinions were at one time assailed. However devious were the sentiments advanced by Origen in his earlier writings, and in those of a speculative character, his life and actions were not obnoxious to any such accusations as those which Nolan sought to revive. And these things may excite a prejudice against the citations of the New Testament in Origen *amongst those who are not acquainted with his writings*, but they can have no bearing on critical inquiries. They have caused some to regard Nolan's mode of conducting an examination by invalidating the opposing witnesses, as peculiarly repulsive and uncandid. Some of the assertions of Nolan were considered by the late Dr. Lee, in his Prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglott Bible. VI. § 1.

And thus, in this country, many were wholly inattentive to the subject of the arrangement of MSS.: some said that Laurence had satisfactorily destroyed Griesbach's system, while others pointed to Nolan's work as showing that Griesbach's Constantinopolitan class were alone of importance in establishing the true text; and some again vaguely in their own minds tried to combine the two thoughts. In result it can only be said that here a state of feeling somewhat akin to that of Matthæi became very common.

To continental scholars these two works were almost, if not entirely, unknown: and even if Laurence's "Remarks" had been circulated amongst the countrymen of Griesbach, they would not have found that they led inquiry at all beyond the point to which it was advanced in the "Meletemata" of that critic. And thus most Biblical scholars of Germany seem for some years to have either held Griesbach's views in a modified form, or else to have adopted the system of Hug or (what was nearly the same) of Eichhorn.

The late professor Scholz at first endeavoured to refine yet farther on the system of Hug, by proposing a scheme of *five* recensions; *two* African or Egyptian (answering to Griesbach's *Alexandrian* and *Western*), an Asiatic (answering mostly to the text of the Peshito Syriac), a Byzantine, and a Cyprian; the last being the text contained in the Codex Cyprius (K. of the Gospels). But if this sort of minute division be correct, we might make almost as many recensions as there are MSS. of the most ancient class. This scheme requires simply to be mentioned, not discussed; for its author soon afterwards rejected it wholly, and fell back on the *twofold* division as originally proposed by Bengel. He thus classed all MSS. as being either Alexandrian or Constantinopolitan, referring to the former the the Alexandrian and Western recensions of Griesbach. But of these Scholz gave the most unhesitating preference to the Constantinopolitan as being that which he found in the larger number of MSS.; many of which he was the first to *examine*, even though it was impossible for him to *collate* them accurately and fully. To this he attributed the great body of Greek MSS. written during the last eight centuries, and the later Syriac, Gothic, Georgian, and Sclavonic versions, and the citations in all or most of the fathers of Asia and eastern Europe: to the Alexandrian class he referred several of the uncial MSS. and a few of those that were later, and the Egyptian versions (Memphitic and Thebaic), the Latin and Æthiopic, and the fathers of Africa and Western Europe.[1] Besides these there were other documents of a mixed nature, which did not (he considered) exhibit such distinctive features as to have a right to be considered as a separate *class*.

The turning point in Scholz's mind was that of ecclesiastical jurisdiction; and *this* he considered was an explanation how a pure text was preserved within the patriarchate of Constantinople; the MSS. there executed were commonly for liturgical use, and this (he considered) was a guarantee for that accuracy and uniformity which (he assumed) was found in them. In speaking of Professor Scholz's

[1] Scholz, N. T. Prol. p. xv.

system, there are two things to be observed as distinct; the *classification* (which is simply Bengel's), and the *estimate of value;* the one may be proved or admitted without the other following at all as a matter of course. These two points must be borne in mind as separate, for Scholz did not so fully distinguish them; and thus he was ever ready to class as coinciding with him in opinion any scholars who acquiesced in Bengel's arrangement of documents; forgetful apparently of the different judgment which that critic had formed. The following may be taken as the heads of argument which have been adduced in defence and explanation of Scholz's system:—

1. "The conclusion to which Dr. Scholz has arrived, is, that the Constantinopolitan text is almost always faithful to the text now actually received, while the Alexandrian text varies from it in innumerable instances; and this conclusion he founds, not only upon the actual collation of parts of six hundred and seventy-four manuscripts, but also upon an induction of historical particulars."

The proof from MS. collations is simply a question of fact; it is no peculiarity of Professor Scholz's system that the mass of the later MSS. agree with the general conformation of the common text.

2. "The separation of the MSS. of the New Testament into two classes, in the manner just stated (Dr. Scholz argues), is so conformable to the real state of the text, that it is secure from every attack: there would, indeed, be very little ground for the objection, in order to combat this classification, that the text of the greatest number of manuscripts is not yet known, and consequently uncertain. This objection can only be repelled *à posteriori*. For this purpose, after having determined the text of a great number of manuscripts by actually collating a few chapters, Dr. Scholz proceeded to collate them nearly at length. When, therefore, eighty manuscripts exhibited, almost constantly, the same additions, the same omissions, and the same various readings, with the exception of a few obvious mistakes of the transcribers and some unimportant modifications; — when, further, after taking here and there fifteen or twenty chapters, he uniformly found in three or four hundred other manuscripts the same various readings as in the first eighty; — he considered himself authorised to conclude, that the remainder of the uncollated manuscripts would present the same results as in these fifteen or twenty chapters; and that like results would be presented by all the manuscripts written in the same place and under the same circumstances as these four hundred manuscripts were written: that is to say, that all the manuscripts which were written within the patriarchate of Constantinople, and were destined to be used in divine service, followed the text of the Constantinopolitan class."

This is not the place to discuss the accuracy or the contrary of Scholz's collations: we should, however, mistake greatly if we were to suppose that there does exist that absolute uniformity amongst the later MSS. which Scholz imagined to be the case; the more recent copies have their own kinds of variation, just, in fact, as might have been expected, for the propensities of copyists are sure to be the same; and if the variations are not so great in what might be called *characteristic* readings, nothing more is presented than an approximation to uniformity.

3. "It is by no means surprising that this classification should be thus clearly connected with ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The history

of the propagation of Christianity shows us with what strictness, especially within the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Constantinople, missionaries enjoined on their converts the minutest rites of the principal church, and also to what warm disputes the least deviation from them gave rise. These discussions always terminated in reducing them to the most entire conformity with the metropolis."

If the alleged point of ecclesiastical history had always been strictly true, instead of belonging as it does to the *leaden* period of Byzantine Ecclesiastico-Imperial rule, it would only prove that a kind of artificial uniformity was produced; so that the question underlying the whole subject would not be how fully was this uniformity attained? but, *what* was the Byzantine *standard text?* what its origin? what its character? It need hardly, however, be said that while in the Eastern Empire vital Christianity was almost entirely sacrificed to dogmatic disputes, there is but small trace of any attempt to revise copies of Scripture, so as to bring them to one standard. Indeed, in the only cases of the kind which are prominent in ecclesiastical history, the Byzantine MSS. so far from being revised or reduced to conformity to a common standard, *now* actually maintain the reading which was *then* condemned.[1]

4. "Further, from the fifth to the middle of the fifteenth century, a greater number of copies of the sacred books was made at Constantinople and Mount Athos than in all the rest of the patriarchate. Transcribed and collated in the same convents under the eyes of the superiors, then sold and resold by the monks and priests to distant churches, all these copies presented the same text, as well as the same characters and the same menologies (or calendars of Greek saints for every day in the month throughout the year), in all the provinces which were subject to the influence of the metropolitan church, of its literature, booksellers, and monks."

This argument from *precise uniformity* depends on *facts;* and even if it were strictly correct, it would not demonstrate that the text so multiplied was genuine; for it would only be like the mode in which modern printed works are multiplied: the uniformity of all the copies of the same edition proves nothing.

5. "When Islamism was diffused from India to the Atlantic Ocean; — when thousands of Christians were imprisoned, driven to apostasy, or sold as slaves; — when the flames had devoured a prodigious number of Greek manuscripts; — when the use of the Greek language was interdicted and the capital of Greek literature was overthrown, — THEN the influence of Constantinople extended, without a rival, over almost every thing that remained to the Christians who spoke Greek. The text of the Constantinopolitan church, and the manuscripts which contained it, were generally adopted. The text of the other class, on the contrary, which had till then been used for divine service within the limits of the patriarchate of Alexandria, and the manuscripts belonging to that class, disappeared almost entirely. The copyists ceased to transcribe them: the most ancient and valuable perished; and their text was preserved only in a few

[1] The passages to which this might apply are 1 Tim. iii. 16. and 1 John iv. 3. In the case of the former of these passages, Macedonius is said to have been deprived of the archiepiscopal see of Constantinople in the early part of the sixth century, for having altered ὃς ἐφανερώθη into θεὸς ἐφανερώθη. Whether the charge be true or false, it is evident that when this account first received currency, ὃς ἐφανερώθη was the prevalent Byzantine reading. As to 1 John iv. 3., Socrates Scholasticus says that the older reading at Constantinople was πᾶν πνεῦμα ὃ λύει Ἰησοῦν (the words ἐν σαρκὶ ἐληλυθότα are known to be *here* no part of the genuine text), whereas all the copies which have come down to us read not λύει, but μὴ ὁμολογεῖ.

libraries, or by a few lovers of literature, as curiosities, or as venerable relics of ancient and lost documents."

The former part of this consideration is quite sufficient to account for the *general* diffusion of a Byzantine text in later ages; indeed, it may seem remarkable that any other copies should exist at all; since for so long a period Christianity was crushed and the Greek language gradually lost, in the other patriarchates of the East. The acknowledgment that a non-Constantinopolitan text had been previously and up to that time used in the patriarchate of Alexandria, shows that this rival text was not suppressed by another being preferred as superior in accuracy and authenticity, but simply and entirely through the occupation of the country by the Mahomedans. This, then, supplies no argument in favour of a Constantinopolitan class; nay, it tells the other way, for it shows *how* the witnesses for the Alexandrian family are numerically the fewer. There is no proof that MSS. were transcribed simply as relics of a peculiar text; for copyists and book-buyers had far too *practical* a character for that to be the case; copyists wrote what would find the most ready sale.

6. "Although the Alexandrian text is sometimes found in liturgical books or in lectionaries, Dr. Scholz cannot believe that the manuscripts which contained it were ever destined for divine service: they have, in fact, been written with so much haste and incorrectness, that such could never have been their destination. The manuscripts of both families ordinarily have few corrections and no various readings in the margins: every thing, on the contrary, indicates that they are exact copies of ancient exemplars."

If the books with all the marks and divisions for church use were not intended for divine service, it is hard to say what their destination was. There is one point of value in this consideration of Professor Scholz: it is true that of several of the very ancient Alexandrian documents, all that is liturgical is an after addition; but this does not prove the point for which Scholz makes the remark; it only shows that they are anterior to the general use of such divisions. As to the charge of haste and incorrectness, it can only be discussed when the particular MSS. are named against which it is brought; but if it were strictly correct, it is certain that it would not prove or disprove the ecclesiastical destination of such copies, to whichever of the families they might belong. There are non-liturgic copies, it is true, especially those written in the West, where Greek was not vernacular. We may believe that the MSS. extant are fair representatives of the exemplars from which they were copied, but this will not authorise us to assume anything as to the antiquity of such exemplars apart from other considerations and proper evidence.

7. "That so few very ancient manuscripts of the Constantinopolitan text are now extant, is a circumstance which ought not to excite surprise. They must necessarily have been worn out, and have perished, in consequence of the daily use made of them for divine service. In the fourth century the text may be regarded as equally fixed with the canon of the New Testament; after which time the veneration of believers for the sacred books would not allow the introduction of any change. *Before* that period, therefore, the alterations must have taken place, which gave rise to the division of manuscripts into two classes. *Since* that period manuscripts have been collated and even corrected, but never arbitrarily, and always after ancient documents: besides, the corrections so made were of little importance, and had only a limited influence. Although different manuscripts may be of the same country, it does not necessarily result that their text exhibits an absolute identity, but only a general conformity in the greatest number of cases."

And yet it is remarkable that *no* Constantinopolitan MS. of the earlier ages has come down to us. to whatever casualties they were exposed, the Alexandrian copies were liable to the same in a far greater degree; and yet we have several such Alexandrian codices: and when from time to time very ancient palimpsests have been discovered, it would be very singular, on Scholz's theory, that not one of them is Byzantine in character. This endeavour to account for the disappearance of very ancient MSS. and their text, will not apply to palimpsests, for in them we have the worn-out copies, and we are able to resuscitate the buried writing. It is an assumption that in the fourth century the text of the New Testament was as much fixed as the canon; and the admission that at that time Alexandria and all the West had and used the Alexandrian text, shows that this fixing of the text (even if admitted) must be applied with local limitations. If then the Alexandrian text was fixed at that time, has it not as good a claim on our attention as the Constantinopolitan? And though it may be true that the alterations which divide MSS. into classes are anterior to the fourth century, yet we ought to own our ignorance as to the mode of collation adopted by subsequent copyists and collators.

8. "What then, it may be asked, was the origin of the Constantinopolitan text? Dr. Scholz is of opinion that it was the original text, nearly in all its purity, and derived directly from autographs. This he regards as certain as any critical fact can be: he maintains that history leads us to admit it; that external evidence confirms it; and that it is completely demonstrated by internal proofs."

This is the very point to be proved; and to do this there ought to be distinct grounds stated for rejecting the earlier Alexandrian text, and for supposing that at Constantinople, in the fourth century, the text which had been (on this theory) elsewhere corrupted emerged almost pure as from the hands of the apostles. It seems, indeed, as if Scholz had himself wavered as to his bold theory, for he does not in many places treat this Byzantine text as though it were apostolic in origin or authority.

9. "The greater part of the writings of the New Testament were destined for the churches in Greece and in Asia Minor, where the idea of forming a collection of them would originate, as is evident from Saint John's approbation of the collection of the three first Gospels. These writings were, from the beginning, read in the religious assemblies of the Christians; and when the originals were worn out or lost by use or by the calamities which befell many of the churches, apographs or correct transcripts from them were preserved in private libraries as well as in the libraries attached to the churches. These holy writings were further multiplied by numerous copyists for the use of private individuals. In transcribing the text, the Constantinopolitan scribes certainly did not imitate the audacity of the grammarians of Alexandria: this would be in the highest degree improbable, if the question related to profane authors; but it becomes utterly incredible as it regards the New Testament. On the contrary, these writings were cherished with increasing religious veneration. The long series of venerable bishops, who presided over the numerous churches in Asia, the Archipelago, and in Greece, transmitted to the faithful the instructions which they had received from the apostles. Far from altering in *any* degree that sacred deposit, they laboured with pious vigilance to preserve it pure and unmutilated. In this state they left it to their successors and to new churches; and, with the exception of a few errors of the copyists, the text remained without alteration until the reigns of Constantine

and of Constans. At that time, however, some Alexandrian MSS. were dispersed at Constantinople, whence alterations were introduced into many Byzantine manuscripts. This circumstance accounts for a tendency in the Constantinopolitan family to approximate nearer to the Alexandrian text than we should otherwise expect."

To this it may be said that the destination of the writings of the New Testament was for Christians in general; that we do not know enough on the subject of the early collection of the books to speak with certainty; but that if it was in Asia Minor, it must be at least owned that Irenæus, a native of that region, though living in the West, used a text at all events not Constantinopolitan. As to the practice of Constantinopolitan scribes, we must not imagine their existence in the three first centuries, so that we can say nothing about their mode of procedure then; that charges against the copyists of Alexandria require proof where anything is advanced that cannot be referred to the ordinary causes of various readings. Veneration for Scripture and holiness of bishops prove nothing as to accuracy of text; we might on such grounds maintain the literal correctness of the common Greek text used in this country (though hardly in any other). Some proof should have been given of the uninjured transmission of the deposit to the time of Constantine; then it should be said *where* this had continued; for Byzantium up to that time was ecclesiastically dependent on Heraclea; then it should be shown that this purity of Byzantine text was known to some, though certainly not to Constantine, who must be considered to have injured it by the admixture of the copies which he caused Eusebius of Cæsarea to procure and transmit to the new Imperial city of the East. If, then, we inquire historically what was the Greek text of Constantinople in the fourth century, we must answer that on the establishment of that city it was the same as was used by Eusebius,—a text which might be called Alexandrian. But during that century, that city was not the place to look for Christian purity, or the uncorrupted transmission of anything through hands that would inspire confidence. For more than forty years the Arians bore sway in that city, and it was about the last place in all the East which could be selected as likely to distinguish critically any subject connected with Holy Scripture. A vast population was speedily brought together in that place, and thus there was a great numerical display of professing Christians, and this gave the things connected with that city a preponderance in a certain sphere which they could not claim on any other ground. The point which it was incumbent on Scholz to prove, was, *where* was the text transmitted thus pure to the time of Constantine? and *how* did Byzantium obtain it? otherwise, encomiums on the pious vigilance, &c. of the bishops, as far as that place is concerned, are quite beside the mark. But for many years the Constantinopolitan bishops were *Arians;* then, neither the predecessor nor the successor of John Chrysostom have been considered very creditable; and before many years we find Nestorius, who, whatever be thought of his really holding the doctrines charged against him, was not likely to busy himself in caring for the text of Scripture; and how few of his successors were anything but time-serving adherents of the Eastern court. Whatever text was transmitted at Constantinople, we know *nothing* of any peculiar vigilance, or conscientious exactitude.

Thus Scholz's proof fails where most wanted. For the earlier centuries he appeals to other countries for collateral proof, seeking to bring in Syria and Palestine: for the former he appeals to the later Syriac, and with some reason; for in many respects this version (of the *sixth* century) does follow Byzantine readings: he also here brings forward the Peshito — a version which can do him no good; for it contradicts the Byzantine readings quite as often as it supports them. As to Palestine, he appeals to a few MSS., written in monasteries in that country in the later centuries, which are Constantinopolitan in character; but as they are more recent than the time when it is admitted that such readings were widely current,

they afford no evidence whatever as to the text of that country in the three first centuries; and that, as far as can be determined from the citations of Origen (who lived much in Palestine) and Eusebius, was *not* Byzantine.

Scholz appeals strenuously to the expressions of reverence for the text of Holy Scripture found in the writings of the early fathers; and all these testimonies he applies to support his Byzantine text. He also brings forward the statements which they make on the subject of rash correction and alteration; and then arbitrarily enough applies the accusations to the Alexandrian documents alone. This distinction demands evidence, and none is adduced. Also the very witnesses whom he brings forward, as showing that a pure text was maintained, used one very different from that in favour of which he applies their words. Of this Irenæus is a notable example: the Irenæan text of the second century is a decisive witness against the Constantinopolitan text of the fourth (in Scholz's computation). Strangely enough, Scholz supposes that Origen complained of the carelessness of copyists to condemn those very MSS. which he accepted and used. Not a few of the fathers whom Scholz cites as witnesses of the preservation and use of the supposed Byzantine text prove *nothing* for his cause: some give merely faint allusions to passages in the New Testament, and the rest show no such adherence to the supposed Byzantine standard as would be imagined by any one who merely saw the array of names brought forward.[1]

As specimens of the variations of the Alexandrian and Constantinopolitan families, Scholz gives the following table of readings from the 5th of Mark.

	CONSTANTINOPOLITAN.	ALEXANDRIAN.
1.	ἦλθον	ἦλθεν.
2.	ἐξελθόντι αὐτῷ	ἐξελθόντος αὐτοῦ.
	ἀπήντησεν	ὑπήντεσεν.
5.	ὄρεσι καὶ ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι	μνήμασι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι. Sch.
6.	ἀπὸ	ὑπὸ.
	εἶπε	λέγει.
9.	σοι ὄνομα	ὄνομά σοι.
	ἀπεκρίθη λέγων	λέγει αὐτῷ. Sch.
	λεγεὼν	λεγιὼν.
12.	πάντες οἱ δαίμονες	omitted (om. πάντες Sch.)
13.	εὐθέως	omitted.
	ὁ Ἰησοῦς	omitted.
14.	οἱ δὲ	καὶ οἱ.
	τοὺς χοίρους	αὐτοῦς. Sch.
	ἀνήγγειλαν	ἀπήγγειλαν. Sch.
	ἐξῆλθον	ἦλθον.
15.	καὶ ἱματισμένον	ἱματισμένον.
18.	ἐμβάντος	ἐμβαίνοντος.
	ἦ μετ' αὐτοῦ	μετ' αὐτοῦ ἦ.
19.	ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς	καὶ. Sch.
25.	γυνή τις	γυνὴ.

[1] See, as to this, the Prolegomena to Tischendorf's *first* edition of the Gr. Test., Leips. 1841, p. xvi. *seq.*

	CONSTANTINOPOLITAN.	ALEXANDRIAN.
33.	ἐπ' αὐτῇ	αὐτῇ.
34.	ὁ δὲ	ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς.
36.	εὐθέως	omitted.
38.	ἔρχεται	ἔρχονται.
	θόρυβον, κλαίοντας	θόρυβον καὶ κλαίοντας. Sch.
40.	ὁ δὲ	αὐτὸς δὲ.
	ἅπαντας	πάντας. Sch.
	ἀναικείμενον	omitted.
41.	κοῦμι	κοῦμ.

To this table Sch. has been added to those Alexandrian readings which that editor actually adopted in his text: it is thus seen that in *seven* places, and partly in an eighth, he rejected the readings of the family which he upheld, and that, too, in the very chapter which he had himself selected as exhibiting the characteristic differences. These seven or eight places are just about a fourth part of those which he makes prominent in this chapter as showing the characteristic difference of his Constantinopolitan and Alexandrian families. Others might have chosen portions which would make the variations of the families far more distinct and certain, and others might not have divided those in this chapter as Scholz has done; but on his own showing, he is not consistent in his adherence to what he considered to be Constantinopolitan: whereas, the only strength of his system lay in its supposed consistency. Let it be once admitted that readings peculiarly Alexandrian ought often to take their place in the text, then all the arguments advanced, all the evidence supposed to have been adduced in favour of a *pure* Constantinopolitan text, are cast aside; and the turning point of the whole question is conceded. For as it was alleged that Alexandrian admixture had so far impaired the purity of Byzantine readings, to introduce one fourth part more that is Alexandrian (as Scholz has done) would, on such principles, be an additional injury. Had the fundamental principle which his arguments sought to maintain been firmly grasped, he would with a bold hand have marshalled his witnesses, and denied that those whose text he had sought to prove corrupt deserved a voice in criticism. He would thus have formed a text somewhat like that of Matthæi, rejecting all but Byzantine testimonies; though he would not, however, have done this with the discourtesy and the offensive language so painfully habitual on the part of the Moscow professor.

The fact is, that in application Scholz again and again shrunk from the results of his own theory: he could not altogether reject the array of Alexandrian evidence, and thus he in places adopted readings of far greater authority than his *system* would have allowed. And the moment that the question was raised as to the reality of the uniform consent of the Constantinopolitan MSS., which had been alleged, it was evident that Scholz's statements required to be received with large allowances.

It must be admitted that it was in England that Scholz's system met with more general acceptance than in other countries: it was

59077

considered to be a defence of the received text in its leading features, and *this result* weighed more with many than the *arguments* on which it was based. Nor was the system accepted merely by those who were little capable of forming a judgment of the evidence, for some scholars received it as true, though they thought the reasons assigned by the author were neither good nor satisfactory.[1] Apart from the supposed value of the results, the ground on which the Constantinopolitan presented a kind of paramount claim to the attention of Biblical scholars was the allegation that its text was in general uniform, consistent, and well known; and that as this had been the case from the fourth century to the present day, so we might reasonably suppose that this had been so also in the preceding centuries.

The remarks which have been already made suffice to show that no Ithuriel's spear was needed that by its touch this theory might be reduced to its true form, and caused to show its actual character; but *Scholz himself* subsequently ground to powder the foundation on which he had reared his edifice. All depended on our *accurate knowledge* of the readings of the mass of the MSS., which were assumed rather than proved to contain a similar text. He at length learned that to *inspect* is not to collate, stating in 1845 (as cited by Mr. Scrivener), "ut enim dicam quod res est, ex omnibus qui collati sunt codices, soli illi Alexandrinus [A.], Ephraem Syri [C.], Cantabrigiensis [D.], Dublinensis [Z.], Sangallensis [Δ.], et Dresdensis [G. Paul.], ita sunt excussi, ut quid scriptum singulis locis teneant quid non, scias."[2] On this Mr. Scrivener remarks, "I have cited above the calm and mature judgment of Professor Scholz . . . as to the results of what has been already accomplished for the sacred text: there was a time when he held far different language; when he could speak of his own achievements in such terms as these: 'Omnibus fere, qui adhuc supersunt, testibus exploratis, *eorumque lectionibus diligenter conquisitis.*' (Præf. N. T. vol. i. p. 2. 1829): yet even then his own Prolegomena would have sufficed to show how large allowance we must make for the ardent temperament of the writer . . . . While Dr. Scholz is entitled to our gratitude for having opened to us so many veins of precious ore, it must not be dissembled that he has in a great measure left the toil of working them to his successors. Of the 331 documents he has discovered in the libraries of the East and West, he has collated entire only

[1] Mr. Scrivener said, "The distinction between the Alexandrian and Byzantine texts is too broadly marked to be controverted; and no hypothesis which has yet been suggested is so simple as Scholz's, or so satisfactorily explains the leading phænomena of the case. At the same time I am unwilling to commit myself to the reception of all his details; and his historical demonstration of the truth of his system (Proleg. N. T. cap. i—iv. ix.) is likely to carry conviction to few who really know what historical demonstration means." (Supplement to the authorised version, 1845, p. 20.)

". . . . I may be allowed to express my regret that Scholz's edition should have been received in England with a degree of consideration to which it has slender claims, and which was never accorded to it at home. I freely admit the value of this critic's exertions as a collator of MSS. I admire his diligence and venerate his zeal." (Ib. p. 23.)

[2] This summary was very defective even *then*; and happily it is far more so *now* (1855); but precise accuracy is not needed in a statement of this kind, the object of which is to show how fifteen years had moderated Scholz's expressions with regard to the general certainty which he possessed as to the text of MSS.

eleven, in greater part sixteen, in a few places or cursorily two hundred and twenty-two, while eighty-one are merely inserted in his catalogue without remark. Such a course surely could do little towards advancing a strict, accurate, and critical acquaintance with the sacred original."[1] And on the ground that the readings of Scholz's Constantinopolitan MSS. are still insufficiently known, Mr. Scrivener *now* considers that he has "failed in his attempt to classify the MSS. of the Greek Testament." But this conclusion is not necessary; for all that we need consider as proved is, that the Constantinopolitan MSS. have their own variations, — that they present no uniform text; and thus that the ground on which a preference was once claimed for them was a mistake in point of fact. And a very important contribution to our knowledge of MSS. is the collation of about twenty copies of the Gospels by Mr. Scrivener; for it has at once and for ever disproved the alleged uniformity of the later codices. And thus the comparative estimate of value maintained by Scholz is a mere mental illusion, an intangible unity which never possessed any real existence.

No attempt has been made to develope a theory of recensions since that of Scholz; for a more accurate knowledge of facts, and a closer examination of historical points, has led scholars to see that a precise and defined *system* can hardly be devised that shall really accord with what we *know* of MSS. versions and early citations. And thus, when the *terms* of Griesbach's, Hug's, or Scholz's systems are employed in speaking of MSS., it is often done, not as sanctioning the systems of those critics, but as describing such documents as would have been placed under such heads: this is often done simply for convenience, just as the astronomer uses popular language to describe the real or apparent motions of the heavenly bodies, without, by so doing, intending to concede its scientific correctness.

We have seen how Scholz used the terms Alexandrian and Constantinopolitan: these names are probably as good as can be found for denoting the two general classes of text. Others adopt the same division, but with different names; Rinck, for instance[2], calls the Alexandrian *Occidental*, and the other *Oriental*.

The arrangements of Lachmann and Tischendorf do not require to be described *here;* they rather belong to the History of the Printed Text, where they will be considered: it is only needful here to state that Tischendorf has *suggested* a fourfold division, — two *pairs* of recensions; one pair Egyptian or African, the other pair Asiatic or Byzantine.

The earnest discussion of recension systems has not been fruitless. Even if the result has not been the discovery of what was sought, the actual advantage gained has not been small. The sons who dug deeply all over the vineyard which their father had bequeathed them, did not find the treasure of which they were in quest, but the increased fruitfulness of the soil amply repaid them: so has it been in this case.

[1] Scrivener's "Collation," Cambridge, 1853. Introd. x. xi.
[2] Lucubratio Critica, 1830.

Not one of the definitions has been void of some foundation in fact; not one of the alleged families, on any system, is there but what has a traceable resemblance amongst those that have been attributed to it. On the other hand, no *facts* which have been used to impugn the systematic arrangements can be rightly left out of consideration, and their ascertainment has been one of the most important results of the inquiry.

The issue of the examination is partly negative and partly positive. The former may be first stated. We may be satisfied —

1st. That there is no proof of any *recension* of the text ever having formally taken place, or any revision on an extensive scale: it is evident that any corrections must have been partial and local, springing from the copyists, and not from authority, ecclesiastical or critical.

2nd. That no definite recension was needed for the text to have assumed such a form as that which it presents in the later documents.

3rd. That it is vain to establish the later MSS. as authoritative on the ground of precise internal agreement, seeing that such uniformity does not exist.

4th. That the *gradations* of text in different MSS. is such that it is impossible to draw *definite lines of classification*, without admitting so many exceptions as almost to destroy the application of such a system.

5th. That, therefore, the object proposed in laying down such systems cannot be attained by this means, and thus the evidence of particular documents cannot be avoided by the consideration that they in such testimony differ from their proper recension.

Amongst the *positive* results have been, that we know —

1st. The general difference between the more ancient MSS. versions and citations, and the copies of general circulation in more recent times.

2nd. That this presents in many respects a line of demarcation between the more ancient and the more recent *texts*.

3rd. That this classification must not be understood as though each of the portions, so distributed, had not their own points of difference amongst themselves.

4th. That thus various documents may form what may be termed *groups*, either as to their text throughout, or in particular books or passages.

5th. That the more ancient MSS. versions and citations which we possess, range themselves under what we know from their combined testimony to be the more ancient text.

6th. That amongst the documents so allied, there are such shades of difference, and characteristic peculiarities, that the versions and MSS. might be easily contemplated as ramifying into two sub-classes.

7th. That often the identity of reading between two or more documents is such, that when one is known to contain such a variation, it may almost of a certainty be found in the others; so that the alliance is most close and striking; but that in such cases examination must be made whether there are such sufficient proofs

of their independence as enable us to consider them as corroborative of each other, and not merely mechanical repetitions.

8th. That the most ancient documents in general are sufficiently dissimilar to enable us to regard their testimony, when combined, as possessed of a cumulative weight.

The original *families* of documents suggested by Bengel remain, after all investigations, the only distribution that can rightly be made: and yet with how much more of definite apprehension than could have been arrived at in the days of that critic. The only thing that can be called a modification of Bengel's scheme, is the fact, previously pointed out by Bentley, that the Greek MSS. have come to us from *three* channels of transmission. After the attempt which Wetstein made to depreciate *all* the codices which Bengel considered to belong to his African family, by charging them with containing a corrupt text altered from the Latin, the labours of Griesbach had a great and remarkable value; for, apart from all systems, the endeavours which he made to vindicate his Alexandrian recension sufficed to demonstrate that there are monuments of an ancient text differing in some respects from those which could, with any plausibility, be charged with Latinising. At the time when Griesbach began his labours, his materials for the establishment of an Alexandrian text, as found in MSS., were but scanty; there was, indeed, in the Gospels but *one very* ancient MS. of that kind (the Codex Ephraemi, C.), of which a collation was available, and that had many deficiencies, and was still but partially known: and yet Griesbach so collected facts for a somewhat different purpose, as distinctly to prove the collateral result, that the text which he called Alexandrian was anciently received and adopted. How strikingly was this conclusion confirmed, when, a few years subsequently, Birch's collation of the Codex Vaticanus saw the light; and so, too, with regard to the Dublin Palimpsest of St. Matthew's Gospel (Z.), and other fragments of extreme antiquity. But while the collation of the Codex Vaticanus confirmed Griesbach's established *facts*, he might have seen that it interfered with his *theories*; for in parts it showed how thin or untraceable is the separation between Alexandrian and Western text. Taken, however, in its most important features, it is rarely that a conclusion, formed on such evidence as could be obtained, is confirmed so decisively by that which afterwards comes to light, as was Griesbach's with respect to his Alexandrian text, when looked at in itself and not in contrast to the Western.

In some respects the evidence of the Alexandrian and Western texts of Griesbach stands higher now than it did in his day or on his system; for now we can regard them as not distinct in themselves, but as branches of the same family; as being alike witnesses of the ancient text, whose testimony is all the more strong from its not being precisely the same, as if produced by artificial confederacy.

If Western MSS. are *now* spoken of, or Western readings as contrasted with those that are more peculiarly Alexandrian, the expression must be understood to mean those which were written in the West; or else similarly show a peculiar affinity to the Latin trans-

lations. In this sense the expression may be convenient, and it might not mislead. Occasionally, indeed, some such distinction is almost necessary; for in St. Paul's Epistles, for example, the most ancient MSS. may be grouped thus:— A. B. C. together; and D. G. together[1]; the latter group containing a Western text. If, however, these MSS. are looked at in contrast with the mass of those written in the later centuries, so far from their standing in opposition to each other, they must be ranked together, as united witnesses of an ancient text. And this must always be noticed, that if documents are compared in relation to their *diversities* they may seem to be much opposed, but if in relation to their similarities to each other, and their diversities from something else, the opposition previously noticed sinks into insignificance. Thus we *might* set A. B. C. in contrast with D. G., as was done by Griesbach, or we might go one step farther, and class A. C. together, leaving B. alone in a place of prëeminence; in either case we should carry refinement of classification too far: and investigations of recension systems have rightly led to *this* conclusion.

We may now say that certain documents contain an ancient text in a state more or less pure, and that the great body of Byzantine MSS. contain what is far more modern; and that other copies supply in a measure links in what might not unaptly be termed the genealogy of copies.

The following may give a general notion of the relation in which some of the leading MSS. of the Gospels stand to one another with regard to the text which they contain.

D.	B. Z.	
	C. L. 1. 33.	
	P. Q. T. R. II. N. R.	A.
	X. (Δ). 69.	K. M. H.
		E. F. G. S. U. V. Γ. Λ.

This arrangement does not claim scientific accuracy; but it may be of use as exemplifying the genealogy of the *text*, be it observed, and not of the MSS. themselves: those codices are placed together which appear to demand such an arrangement, and those which stand below others are such as show still more and more of the intermixture of modernised readings. Many of the copies here specified are unhappily mere fragments: all of those below A. belong to the Constantinopolitan family, those to the left of that codex to the Alexandrian. In any other part of the New Testament A. would require to be placed much higher: in the Gospels there is that kind of admixture of text in this MS. which probably became frequent in the fourth century, when the demand for copies of the Christian Scriptures became suddenly so great.

After the last line in the above table, a vast number of MSS. might be added, some as pure in text, and others far less so, than those placed lowest in this general arrangement. It may here be noticed

[1] E. is here omitted as being a transcript of D.; F. is not specified, as it and G. are both copies (mediate or immediate) of the same MS., and F. is in part imperfect.

that all the versions anterior to the sixth century would, if added to this table, occupy places in the non-Byzantine part.

Thus the study of what has been written respecting recensions is of value, not only as making critical works intelligible to students, but also as establishing *facts* which remain unshaken respecting documents, their affinities, and the texts which they contain.

CHAP. IX.

ON THE CHARGE THAT GREEK MANUSCRIPTS HAVE BEEN ALTERED FROM THE LATIN. — THE VELEZIAN READINGS.

It is well known that the accusation has been laid against several of the oldest Greek MSS. that they have been altered from the Latin; and, although it is now little more than a matter of history, it is needful that it should be explained in connection with certain attempts to exhibit a peculiar conformity of the Greek text to the Latin Vulgate.

After the publication of Erasmus's Greek Testament, he was involved in many controversies, especially because of his departure from the Latin Vulgate in the version with which his Greek text was accompanied; this drew attention to the differences between the Greek copies then known and the Latin Vulgate.

When discussions were raised respecting particular passages, the opponents of Erasmus appealed at times to copies which he had never seen, and sometimes by name to a MS. in the Papal Library, the same which we now know as the Codex Vaticanus. In these (it was truly said) that passages were read in a manner conformable to the Vulgate, which Erasmus had edited differently. This question seems from Erasmus's correspondence to have been much discussed; and, as far as we can now gather from scattered notices, there was a *faint* perception of the general difference of the modern MSS. from the most ancient: the investigation was then not carried farther, and it had to wait for two centuries before it was rightly investigated, and another century before the ascertained facts were used. Erasmus had thrown out a hint that Greek MSS. which agreed in reading with the Latin had been altered, so that the accordance was factitious; and in this category he seems to have included the Codex Vaticanus itself, which he had never seen.

The first intimation which Erasmus gives on the subject appears to be in the Annotations to his third edition in 1522, where in 2 Cor. chap. ii. after noticing the difference of reading between his Greek copy and the Latin Vulgate, he adds, "Quidam indicat in uno quodam codice deprehendi scripturam Græcam, cum nostra [Latina sc. Vulgata] translatione congruentem, ἵνα μὴ ἐλθὼν λύπην ἐπὶ λύπης σχῶ. Hunc ait e Rhodo missum R. P. Francisco Cisnerio [i. e. Xi-

menio] Card. quondam Toletano, cujus equidem viri memoriæ, cum primis faveo, quod ipse faverit pietati bonisque studiis omnibus. Sed cum Ambrosius nobiscum faciat, cum tot exemplaria suffragentur huic lectioni quam indicamus, fieri potuit ut Rhodiensis ille liber fuerit depravatus, præsertim cum causam indicaverimus depravandi, fieri potuit, ut ad Latinorum codices fuerit emendatus, præsertim cum sit Rhodiensis. Nam id fuisse factum constat in nonnullis, ut post concordiam initam cum Ecclesia Romana, hac quoque in parte concordarent. Porro codices ejus generis nihil aliud sunt quam amussis alba in albo lapide."[1]

Before the appearance of Erasmus's fifth edition this question seems to have attracted particular attention. Sepulveda sent Erasmus a description of the Vatican MS., informing him that it differed from the text which he had edited in favour of the Vulgate in 365 places.[2] This was Nov. 1. 1533; and writing to him from Rome in 1534., after noticing some geographical *corrigenda* in his notes on Jerome, he turns to this subject: — "Quod pertinet ad librum Pontificium [Codicem sc. Vaticanum 1209], Græcos codices Novi Testamenti, Græcorum quorundam vel malitia vel levitate fuisse depravatos, id ipsum quod scribis, fides esse debet indubitata, quod in *Græcorum* ad sanitatem redeuntium *fœdere* inito cum Ecclesia Romana, cautum fuerit ut Græci codices ad Romanam lectionem emendarentur; nam quomodo poterant clarius utrique contestari, exemplaria Romana lectionem veram et germanam retinere, Græcorum esse vitiata? Nam quod ais, Græcam lectionem e Græcis auctoribus esse petendam, diceres aliquid, si rationem Græci sermonis affirmares a Græcis commodius quam a Latinis explicari. At libros archetypos, fundamenta nostræ religionis continentes, qui Græci fuerunt a suis auctoribus scripti, cur non credamus sanctius, gravius et incorruptius asservatos esse in scriniis ac in bibliothecis Ecclesiæ Romanæ, quæ caput est Christianorum, et semper fuit norma Catholicæ pietatis, quam in Græcia, quæ sæpe fuit hæreticorum et levissimorum hominum fraudibus et motu rerum novarum agitata: quod accidisse certum est in LXX. decreta Concilii Nicæni, quæ cum integra in scriniis Ecclesiæ Romanæ asservarentur, tamen ad orientem in quibusdam Ecclesiis ab Hæreticis incensa sunt, in aliis ad minorem numerum redacta, sublatis videlicet, quæ ipsorum conciliis aut conatibus obstitura videbantur, ut Athanasius et ceteri Episcopi ex Alexandrina synodo in epistola ad Marcum Papam conqueruntur, a quo exemplum decretorum ipsorum, quod petebant, receperant. Adde quod libri tutiores ab injuriis esse solent, et minus a sciolis scholia sæpe cum scripturis

[1] Erasmus speaks similarly on the same passage in his Apologia ad Jacobum Lopidem Stunicam; and he also *there* adds a remark to the same effect to his note on 1 John v. 7. (which is otherwise substantially accordant with the annotation to his Greek Testament). After "Quanquam et hunc suspicor ad Latinorum codices fuisse castigatum" (speaking of the Codex Britannicus), he adds, "Posteaquam enim Græci concordiam inierunt cum Ecclesia Romana, studuerunt et hac in parte cum Romanis consentire." Opera. ix. col. 353.

[2] This letter does not appear in Erasmus's works. Part of it, relating to the Codex Vaticanus, is cited by Blanchini Evangeliarium Quadruplex I. CDXCIII. Neither does Erasmus's answer appear, and thus we can only collect the general sense of what he said from Sepulveda's reply.

confundentibus vitiari, ubi a paucioribus vel leguntur vel intelliguntur, nisi forte hoc dicis placuisse in fœdere, ut dictio Græca emendaretur ad Latinam, quod nec est probabile, præterquam in certo aliquo loco, et numquam factum fuisse certum habeo: nam articulum quam citas ex aurea Bulla, licit duas aureas Bullas in libro Conciliorum perlegerim, inveniri numquam potui: quam igitur dicas et unde a nobis petenda sit, ne graveris ad nos perscribere. Vale. Roma 23 Maii, anno a Christi nato 1534."[1]

If this passage from Sepulveda is not very definite as to *what* he admits was done or agreed to be done in the correction of Greek MSS., it is not surprising that it has been made the foundation of theories, and that Erasmus understood it as supporting what had been previously suggested by him. From this arose the expression *Fœdus cum Græcis*,—a term used to imply that one of the stipulations of the Florentine Council in 1439 was, that the Greeks who were then united to the Romish Church should correct or alter their copies of the Scripture to suit the Latin Vulgate.

And to this Erasmus applied the statement of Sepulveda in the last edition of the New Testament, which he published in 1535, in which he gives a more definite form to his charge. He says in one of the introductory tracts:—"Hic obiter illud incidit admonendum, esse Græcorum quosdam Novi Testamenti codices ad Latinorum exemplaria emendatos. Id factum est in *fœdere Græcorum* cum Romana Ecclesia: quod fœdus testatur Bulla quæ dicitur aurea. Visum est enim et hoc ad firmandam concordiam pertinere. Et nos olim in hujusmodi codices incidimus, et talis adhuc dicitur adservari in Bibliotheca Pontificia. Verum ex his corrigere nostros, est Lesbiam, ut aiunt, admovere regulam. Illud potius spectandum quid legerint veteres Græci, Origenes, Athanasius, Basilius, Gregorius Nazianzenus, Chrysostomus, Cyrillus ac Theophylactus. Hoc eo visum est admonere quod jam nunc quidam jactitant se trecenta loca notasse ex codice pontificiæ bibliothecæ, in quibus ille consonat cum nostra vulgata æditione Latina, cum mea dissonat." He then refers to the copy from the Vatican Library which had been used for the Complutensian edition, which (he supposes) might also have been altered and corrected; but still this could not have been done extensively, since *in general* (he says) the Complutensian text agrees with his own *against* the Vulgate in places of discrepancy. "Quodsi nos urgent autoritate Vaticanæ bibliothecæ codex quem secutus est in Novo Testamento Franciscus Cardinalis quondam Toletanus, non modo fuit ejusdem bibliothecæ, verum etiam a Leone X. missus est, ut hoc veluti bonæ fidei exemplar imitaretur. Atqui is pene per omnia consentit cum mea æditione, dissentiens ab eo quem nunc quidam nobis objiciunt majusculis descriptum literis. At illo enim dissentiat oportet, si consentit cum vulgata Latinorum æditione."[2]

[1] Erasmi Opera, iii. col. 1762.

[2] "Capita Argumentorum contra morosos quosdam ac indoctos," prefixed to Erasmus's N. T. ed. 1535 (β 3. verso). Similarly, in the note to Luke x. 1. *in the same edition*, he says, "Objicitur nobis unus codex e Bibliotheca Pontificia quasi nesciamus, post Græcos in concordiam Romanæ sedis receptos et codices illorum ad Latinorum exemplaria fuisse

It appears, then, that Erasmus had suggested that any resemblance of Greek MSS. to the Vulgate in opposition to the rest had arisen from *alteration*, and that this was subsequent to the Florentine Council in 1439, and that such alteration had been prescribed in the *Bulla Aurea;* that Sepulveda denied (rightly) that any such article could be found, deeming it most improbable that Greek copies should have been altered from the Latin (except in one particular place, apparently 1 John v. 7.); but that he did allege that it was *understood* that the Greeks should correct their copies by the Roman exemplars, as containing the true reading, the "Liber Pontificius" (the Codex Vaticanus) being such a copy; and that as the grounds of such correction were that Greek levity or ill-design had injured the text, exemplars rarely used and free from scholia, such as the Roman, would be all the more likely to be suited for correcting others, as being free from such injuries. He seems not quite to have understood whether Erasmus had thrown out a hint that it was agreed that the Greek should be altered to suit the *Latin*, or that a Roman MSS. of the *Greek* should henceforth be used as authoritative. The former notion he rejects, the latter he maintains; but Erasmus uses *all* that he thus stated as strengthening his suspicion: now, however, he appears to throw the charge farther back in point of time, as if it had been something general in connection with any reception of Greeks into the Latin Church.

It is certain that in the discussions of the Greeks and Latins differences of reading *were* noticed, especially in Acts xvi. 7. where the Latin copies as well as the ancient Greek read τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ, while the *later* Greek copies *omit* Ἰησοῦ: this was deemed of great importance in the discussion of the dogma on which the Latin and Greek Churches were divided, whether the procession of the Holy Ghost is from the Father *and the Son.* And thus it may have been understood that the reading of the Latins should be followed, not as imitating the Vulgate, but as using the authority of those earlier Greek MSS. which in such points are followed by the Latin version. Nothing can be more certain than this, that no such general alteration took place after the Council of Florence (an attempt at union which few indeed of the Greeks accepted), and that coincidence in reading between Greek and Latin copies cannot be explained by the supposition that the former were adapted to the latter.

From this time, however, the phrase *Fœdus cum Græcis* acquired

emendatos. Quorum de numero multis argumentis colligo fuisse codicem illum majusculis descriptum. Nam si nos movet Pontificiæ Bibliothecæ auctoritas, etiam is codex quem Romanus Pontifex misit Francisco Card. Toletano erat ejusdem Bibliothecæ." Michaelis (Marsh's translation, ii. 169.) refers to Erasmus's *fourth* edition, 1527, for this note; his translator, in a note, states that the reference is wrong, but without correcting it (p. 642.). This annotation, as well as what is cited above, must have been subsequent to Sepulveda's letter. Michaelis's remarks here are wrongly based on the supposition that the note had preceded, and that the expressions of Sepulveda were taken from Erasmus, and not *vice versa*. Blanchini (Evan. Quadr. I. CDXCIII.) refers to both of Erasmus's later editions for the passage quoted in the text; this mistake, like that of Michaelis, probably arose from the *annotations* of one edition of Erasmus sometimes accompanying the *text* of another: hence it is needful to examine the date of each. The copy of Erasmus's *fifth* edition, now before the writer, formerly in the library of the Duke of Sussex, has the *annotations* appended which really belong to the *fourth*.

a kind of currency, and the supposition was often expressed that there had been some such alteration of copies. This suggestion ought not to have been applied to *ancient* MSS., unless it could be shown that their text had been *changed;* and as to those written subsequently, there is hardly a trace of what could be supposed to be altered readings, unless, indeed, as to one or two MSS. "in aliquo certo loco," as Sepulveda expressed it.

In the following century the publication of the VELEZIAN READINGS revived the whole charge of Latinising against Greek MSS. De la Cerda, the Jesuit, in his "Adversaria Sacra" (Lyons, 1626) chap. xci., inserted a collection of various readings to the Greek New Testament, of which he gave the account that Mariana, the historian of Spain (also a Jesuit, who had died two years previously), had given him a copy of the New Testament, containing various readings transcribed from one in which Pedro Faxardo, Marquis of VELEZ, had inserted them with his own hand, having collated sixteen copies, eight of which were from the library of the Escurial. De la Cerda adds that the copy was a printed *Greek* New Testament, and that the various readings were all Greek and in manuscript: he gives them (he says) as they were written, only inserting in Latin what might be needful for purposes of explanation. Mariana had also mentioned this Greek Testament of the Marquis of Velez, stating that it came into his hands he did not precisely remember how (perhaps a copy which had been purchased without the MS. notes having been at the time observed). He complains that the codices were not stated from which the readings were taken; and elsewhere he describes them thus: "Vix est locus, in quo non consonent margines cum nostra editione Latina. Verum ex tanta concordia rursus oriebatur suspicio, cum in aliquem Græcum codicem incidisse ex eorum numero, *qui post Concilium Florentinum ad fidem Latinorum multi sunt castigati,* et penitus consentiunt. Eam ob causam eo codice parce et caute usi sumus, nec tamen prorsus rejecimus."[1] De la Cerda, however, was less cautious, for he subjoins to his chapter which contains these readings, "Fateor has explicationes inutiles nescientibus Græcè, atqui scientibus utilissimæ sunt. Magno labore comparatæ sunt a viro sapientissimo, *et emendatus Græcus textus ad normam Vulgati interpretis.* . . . Porro multa sunt quæ nolui transcribere, sed hæc parvi momenti."[2]

From De la Cerda these readings found their way into other collections of critical materials, and thus they are inserted in Walton's Polyglott and the Greek Testaments of Fell and Mill, as the readings of *sixteen* Greek MSS.: Bengel also mentions them in his Greek Testament, but he regarded them as of no value.

The Velezian readings raised two points of controversy: were they taken from *Greek* MSS. at all? and, if so, was it not from such as had been altered to suit the Latin? We have seen that Mariana entertained the latter suspicion, from the great resemblance

[1] "Præf. in Schol. ad Bellarmin.," cited by Wetstein in his Catalogue of Codices, no. 111. N. Test. Proleg., p. 59.

[2] Adversaria Sacra, p. 144. col. 2.

of these readings (of which De la Cerda gives nearly *nineteen hundred*) to the Vulgate; and when Greek MSS. were more extensively collated, it was certain that, unless thus *altered,* no such Greek copies could be found. And thus, this collection was by many supposed to be a new proof of the *Fœdus cum Græcis.* Wetstein gave many good reasons for doubting that Velez had used any Greek MSS., considering that he had only employed *Latin* copies, and that the Greek form of the readings was his own translation into that tongue. The only seeming argument against Wetstein on this point was, that some of these readings differ from our copies of the Vulgate. Bishop Marsh, in the course of the controversy relative to 1 John v. 7. (in favour of which, sixteen Velezian MSS. had been cited on the ground of the collator's *silence*), entered into a full examination of the whole question; and the result was this,—"That the Velezian readings were taken immediately, neither from Greek, nor even from Latin manuscripts, but from Robert Stephens's edition of the Vulgate published at Paris in 1540; that the object which the Marquis of Velez had in view, in framing this collection of readings, was to support, not the Vulgate in general, but the text of this edition in particular, wherever it varied from the text of Stephens's Greek Testament, printed in 1550; and that, with this view, he translated into Greek the readings of the former, which varied from the latter, except where Stephens's Greek margin supplied him with the readings which he wanted, where he had only to transcribe, and not to translate."[1] Each point thus stated is proved by the most elaborate analysis, and the most convincing arguments; so that now the once famous Velezian readings are known for what they are worth, an attempt to supply materials for corrupting the Greek text so as to adapt it to the Vulgate version. Whether the story about "sixteen MSS., eight of which were from the Library of the Escurial," was a fabrication of Velez, or whether it was a mistake of Mariana (who had stated it prior to De la Cerda) is uncertain: it *may* have originated in some confusion from sixteen codices having been cited by Robert Stephens, half of which were from the *French* Royal Library; and this enumeration, may, by the fraud of Velez or the misapprehension of Mariana, have been transferred to Spain. Many of these readings at once show that they could not have originated with Greek scribes. Had there been a Fœdus cum Græcis, *many* Latinising readings would of necessity have been found in MSS.

The BARBERINI READINGS were another collection, against which a charge of Latinising was also brought. They received their name simply from the copy in which they were inserted having been added to the Barberini Library at Rome, and not from that being supposed to be the place to which the MSS. themselves belonged. This collection of readings was there examined by Isaac Vossius about the year 1642; and in 1673, it was printed at the end of a Catena on St. Mark, edited by Possinus, a Jesuit. The account given of the

[1] Letters to Archdeacon Travis, p. 253. Leipzig, 1795.

readings was this, that they had been selected by John Matthew Caryophilus, a learned Greek, of Crete (afterwards made by the Pope Archbishop of Iconium *in partibus*, who died in 1635), out of ten MSS. of the Gospels, eight of the Acts and Epistles, and four of the Apocalypse. As the readings thus selected mostly seemed to favour the Latin Vulgate, a charge of fraud was raised: it was thought by some, that it was an imposture of Caryophilus, and that it might have been completed by Possinus, who edited it, with a full knowledge of its real character. However, this charge was entirely repelled by Birch, who found at Rome, in the archives of the Vatican library, the memorial of Caryophilus to Pope Paul V., in which he requests permission to collate six MSS. from that library, of which the celebrated Codex Vaticanus was one.[1] His intention was to publish an edition of the Greek Testament based on this collation of MSS.; in which, if even one of his copies contained a reading in accordance with the Vulgate, that would be preferred to the exclusion of all the rest. His intention, therefore, was not to *invent* readings in the Greek text like Velez, but to select from what actually existed. It is supposed that, after the death of Paul V., the design was neglected by his successors, Gregory XV. and Urban VIII., and thus the preparations of Caryophilus passed into the library of the family of the latter pontiff. If Caryophilus be thought to have acted very uncritically in his mode of *selecting* readings, it must be borne in mind, that as yet there was *no* edition of the New Testament edited on what could be called critical principles.[2] Very many of the long-suspected Barberini readings are now known to belong to the Codex Vaticanus: in his selection of MSS. for collation, as far as we can judge, Caryophilus acted with great discrimination.

It was long known that CODICES GRÆCO-LATINI contain a peculiar text; and thus the readings of such MSS. as the Codex Bezæ of the Gospels and Acts, and the Codex Claromontanus of the Epistles, were observed on examination to accord with the Latin in many places, in opposition to the Greek MSS. in general. Hence they were regarded as rather suspicious; and at length the charge was definitely made, that they contain a Greek text written by Latin scribes, and altered to suit the Latin with which they are accompanied. This appeared not a little plausible, and it was so enforced by Wetstein as to be received and believed by many scholars. Bentley, however, with a deeper apprehension and more accurate critical perception, had valued such manuscripts very highly; for he saw in them (as others have done, who have at length appre-

[1] See Birch's edition of the Gospels with various readings, p. xxxvi. (Havniæ, 1788), or his Variæ Lectiones in Evangelia Proleg., p. xlvi.

[2] It is well known that in modern days an edition of the Greek N. Test. has been edited on principles even less critical than those of Caryophilus. In this modern edition *any* Greek reading of *any* Greek MS. is followed in the text that accords with the modern Clementine Latin Vulgate in use in the Church of Rome. It would have been a wholly different mode of procedure, if the most ancient and best attested Latin text had been first taken, and the inquiry had been then made as to *what* Greek copies accord with such a Latin text: and this would have pretty nearly ascertained the Greek text which was employed by Jerome.

ciated the Biblical labours of that illustrious scholar) good and intelligible witnesses to the text of the early centuries. On *this* point Wetstein hardly went further than some who had preceded him; Bengel, for instance, had spoken strongly against the Codices Græco-Latini, as though their text was altogether unworthy of trust. But Wetstein went one step further; for he was not content with the opinion, which he held in common with others, that the MSS. of this class had been conformed to the Latin by which they were accompanied, but between the first publication of his Prolegomena, in 1730, and the appearance of his Greek Testament itself, about twenty years afterwards, he had so changed his critical opinions as to accuse *all* the more ancient Greek MSS., and those of more recent date that agree with them in the character of their text, with alteration from the Latin: and not only were Greek MSS. made obnoxious to this charge, but even ancient *versions* of various ages and countries were also supposed to have been affected by Latin influence. Here, too, the learning and the labours of Wetstein caused his theory to be adopted by those who were dazzled by the vast mass of materials which his Greek Testament presented before them. But the *extent* to which Wetstein carried his *Latinising* theory, led, not only to the rejection of what he had added to the charges previously made, but also to such an examination of the accusation in its original form as caused competent judges to conclude that even that was a mistake.

For if all the *ancient* authorities, MSS., versions, and fathers (in the citations which they give), are supposed to be adapted to the *Latin*, it places that version (or versions) in the centre of the critical system, all the other documents of the most ancient class revolving around it: and to carry out this theory, as many things and as complicated must be added as were required by the astronomical scheme which placed the earth in the centre of *our* sun and planets. If, on the other hand, this adaptation to the Latin be not assumed, then that and the other ancient versions and the most ancient MSS. are seen to stand in such a relation to each other as does not require the assumption of any factitious alteration. It is only needful in that case to admit that the combined force of those ancient testimonies proves that their resemblance springs from the Greek text having been so far the same as this identity extends; and that the Latin version, so far from having *originated* a peculiar class of readings, is simply one of the witnesses to their existence — an existence which is equally proved by Greek MSS. themselves.

Wetstein's theories were combated by Semler, who, in publishing an edition of the treatises of Wetstein subjoined to his Greek Testament, added notes of his own to the remarks of Wetstein and of others from whom extracts were given in the same volume.[1] Had it been admitted to be a sound canon of criticism, that we might assume that the more ancient portions of evidence must be rejected because of the stigma of accordance with the Latin with which they had been branded, inquiry and examination would have been hopeless; for, if by

[1] J. J. Wetstenii Libelli ad Crisin, &c. Novi Testamenti . . . illustravit J. S. Semler. Halæ, 1766 (vid. pp. 179. 191., &c.).

these means we should be led in one particular direction, the barrier of prohibition would be found previously placed so as to hinder our steps. Semler, whatever may be said of his opinions or theories, was not one who would take *facts* for granted irrespective of *evidence;* and thus his extensive examination of the characteristics of MSS., and of the various readings which had been collected by others, led him to form a decided and independent judgment. He thus vindicated the ancient documents which Wetstein has so sweepingly condemned, and he modified the charges against even the Codices Græco-Latini which others had vituperated before Wetstein. Semler was followed by Griesbach, who extensively showed that the accusations in general were, to say the least, *void of proof;* and afterwards Woide[1] elaborately demonstrated that, so far from the charge being fair that Greek MSS. accompanied by a Latin translation were altered from that version, the *reverse* was the simple fact; for in those MSS. the Latin text is formed from the Greek which it accompanies, so as to desert (in general) the known Latin versions, and to sacrifice even the Latin idiom to a kind of superstitious literality. Such is the character of the Codex Bezæ, in a great measure of the Codex Claromontanus, and especially so of the Codex Laudianus (E.) of the Acts,—three MSS. which had been especially condemned for *Latinising.* If the *Greek* text of such documents were *alone* considered, the resemblance in many passages to the old Latin copies is such as to suggest the suspicion of this alteration; but if the Greek *and Latin* texts of the same MS. are examined *together,* the result at which Woide arrived is manifestly true; and thus the whole groundwork of the accusation falls away. Woide's object was to defend the Alexandrian MS. from the attacks of Wetstein; but he took the charge of *Latinising* higher up, and thus was able to apply the result *à fortiori* to that Codex. So convincingly satisfactory was the examination of Woide, that Michaelis, who had for many years joined in the charge against the Codices Græco-Latini, in re-examining the whole subject was fully satisfied that the arguments adduced in their favour were such as carried conviction. And thus in unprejudiced minds the ancient MSS. were held in higher value than before the attack of Wetstein; for it was now seen that the Codices Græco-Latini had been condemned in part from their *whole* character not having been known.

No conclusion can be deemed of more certainty in criticism than this, that we know of no ancient Greek MS. in which general or systematic alteration to suit the Latin can be traced. If in single passages it seems as if the Latin scribe had the sense or construction of his own version in his mind, and gave the Greek a slight *colouring* in accordance therewith, every such supposed place must be examined by itself; and if this should be proved to be correct, it must not be made the basis of general accusation such as can be most satisfactorily disproved, but it would only belong to the causes of transcriptural error to which a copyist is obnoxious when writing a foreign language.

In those passages in which the Complutensian editors or Erasmus

[1] In his preface to the fac-simile edition of the Codex Alexandrinus.

actually did follow the Latin Vulgate, thus obtruding on the Greek text words or sentences which have still a place in the common copies, it is not to be supposed that they acted with the smallest dishonesty of purpose; they simply supplied from the Latin something which they believed to be defective in the Greek copies before them. Just such ought to be our judgment if we do think that we find traces in Greek copies of the influence of *any* particular version (*Latin* is not very likely to have affected any MSS. written in the *East*): copyists might be as guilty of mistakes of the same kind as those of the first editors. If indeed there was an *understood article* of compact between the Romish Church and some of the Greeks in 1439, which has been called the *Fœdus cum Græcis*, it would be sufficient to explain any Latinising (if such should be proved) in *very recent* copies: or, indeed, if the unhappy Greeks who sought refuge after the capture of Constantinople in Western Europe *supposed* that such a compact had been made, it might have been enough to lead them to please the Latins by *slightly* bringing any transcripts which they then made into conformity with the Latin Vulgate. This may account for the character of text, found in a few of the most recent MSS.[1], in which (in general) the Latin and Greek texts stand side by side: the investigation of this point is of no real importance in textual criticism, because such copies could hardly, *on any system*, come into consideration.

The charge of *Latinising* was all along maintained by Matthæi, though his followers in general have tacitly let it drop; from time to time it is revived, but not in what could be called a systematic form, and it is more frequently *asserted* as a fact than formally presented with supposed proofs. When it is brought against particular passages, the subject admits of discussion; but as to the most ancient MSS.; and the documents which accord with them in reading, it must be held that the contrary is not a questionable opinion but a demonstrated fact.[2]

CHAP. X.

ON THE HISTORY OF THE TEXT OF THE GREEK NEW TESTAMENT, AS PRINTED, TO THE TIME OF BENGEL.

In this place it is intended to notice the *primary editions* of the sacred text; those which followed them, which had either some im-

[1] Such as the Codex Ottobonianus (298 in the Vatican), a MS. of the fifteenth century containing the Acts and the Epistles (no. 200 of St. Paul's Epistles, 162 in the Acts and Cath. Epp., in Scholz's list). In this MS. the Greek is subjoined to the Latin, from which its Greek text seems here and there to have been altered.

[2] A late theory of Latinising is that brought forward in the Edinburgh Review for July 1851 (No. CXCI.), pp. 31—34. The writer asserts this as a *fact*, and accounts for it "in the intercourse which took place between some of the principal ecclesiastics of the Greek Church and the Church of Rome, during the time of the Arian troubles." The question is thus stated, and the examples by which the endeavour was made to demonstrate the fact, and illustrate the theory, are fully discussed in Dr. Tregelles's "Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, with Remarks on its Revision on Critical Principles." Bagster and Sons, 1854, pp. 197—203.

portance in criticism or else contributed to the formation of the text in common use; the common text itself; and then the critical editions published by various scholars who have endeavoured to apply the materials for criticism which have been brought to light by themselves or by others.[1]

The first portion of the Greek New Testament published in print at all, was that containing the songs of Mary and Zacharias (the *Magnificat* and *Benedictus*), Luke i. 42—56., 68—80., which were subjoined to a Greek Psalter which appeared at Venice in 1486. The next part was the first six chapters of St. John's Gospel, published at Venice by Aldus Manutius in 1504: the first *fourteen verses* of the same Gospel (and not, as it has been sometimes stated, the whole book) were published at Tübingen in 1514. These appear to have been the only impressions of separate portions of the Greek New Testament, before the completion of the two editions, each of which has some claim to be considered the first. To that of ERASMUS will be here given the precedence of description, since it was the first that was actually *published;* the first therefore, practically, for Greek readers.

FROBEN, the celebrated printer and publisher of Basle, knowing that ERASMUS had paid attention to Greek MSS. of the New Testament, applied to that scholar to undertake an edition to be immediately put in hand at his office. Before this Erasmus had made some preparations with regard to a revised Latin translation and annotations, so that when the proposition was sent to him (April 17. 1515), he was ready to leave England and go to Basle and commence the work. On Sept. 11. the printing could not have been commenced, for it was still undetermined whether the Latin translation should be joined to the Greek in a parallel column, or form a separate volume. By the beginning of March 1516 the whole volume, including the annotations as well as the Greek and Latin texts, was complete; in less, in fact, than six months from the time that the first sheet was begun. And now for the first time could scholars who were reaping the fruits of the then recent invention of printing find its advantage as to the text of the inspired Scripture of the New Testament in its original tongue: the appearance of this edition seemed to be a preparation for the Reformation.

The MSS. which Erasmus used were such as he found at Basle: he had, indeed, expected that Froben would have had the Greek copy ready for him, but as this was not the case, he took a MS. of the Gospels of little value, and, after adapting its text to what he believed to be correct, he put it into the printer's hands. In making this preparation, he seems to have been aided by the revised Latin

[1] The subject commenced in this chapter is treated in detail, in "An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, with Remarks on its Revision on Critical Principles, by S. P. Tregelles, LL.D." To this reference will be made, as "Account of Printed Text," for points to which brief allusion only is practicable in a general treatise like the present. An *outline* of the subject is contained in "A Prospectus of a Critical Edition of the Greek New Testament, now in preparation, with an Historical Sketch of the Printed Text." This *short history* is subjoined to "The Book of Revelation translated from the Ancient Greek Text, by S. P. Tregelles." London, Bagsters, 1849.

translation which he had already prepared in England and Brabant; it served to remind him of the readings of the MSS. which he had seen in those countries: occasionally, no doubt, he was misled from that very cause; for he *supposed* that he had MS. authority for words &c. which he had left uncorrected in his Latin translation. The copies at Basle which he used were really modern, and of but small value: he passed by almost without notice one of far higher character (1 of Wetstein's notation), mistrusting it from the difference of its text from the other copies which he had seen. Though oversights and marks of haste are sufficiently visible in this edition, the wonder really is that it was executed as well as was the case; for Erasmus was *also* occupied in editing for Froben the works of Jerome. In the Apocalypse he had but one MS. (belonging to Reuchlin, now lost); it was defective at the end, and a commentary was intermixed with the text: he separated the words as well as he could by the aid of the Vulgate, and supplied the last six verses by a translation from the Latin. In this manner there are still words in the common editions which owe their origin wholly to Erasmus.

This is not the place to narrate the attacks made on Erasmus in consequence of his new Latin version, which was regarded as an innovation: his Greek text also received its share of vituperation, especially because of the non-insertion of the text 1 John v. 7. This led, even in those early days, almost before the dawn of what could be called criticism, to an extensive examination of Greek MSS., to know if any contained the passage in question. The principal opponents of Erasmus were Edward Lee, afterwards Archbishop of York, and Stunica, a man of much greater learning, one of the Complutensian editors.[1]

In 1518 Erasmus's first edition was used at Venice as that from which the text of the Greek New Testament was taken, to accompany the Aldine LXX.

Erasmus's own second edition appeared in March 1519: in it he made many corrections; though, as he says, the state of his health prevented him from doing all that he could have wished.[2] He was absent from Basle himself; and the attention to the execution of the work devolved therefore upon others: the alterations from the first edition were (according to Mill) *four hundred.*

There must have been a considerable demand for the Greek New Testament, since we know that the first two editions of Erasmus amounted to *three thousand three hundred* copies; and in six years they were all sold (besides those which might have been circulated of the Aldine edition), for in 1522 Erasmus had to get out his third edition. In this he inserted the text 1 John v. 7., not as being satisfied of its genuineness, but because he had promised that he would do this if a Greek MS. were found that contained it; and one having been brought forward, he kept to his engagement. The MS. itself (Codex Montfortianus, now at Trinity College, Dublin) is ex-

[1] See as to the attacks of Lee and Stunica, "Acc. of Pr. Text," pp. 21, 22.
[2] Acc. of Pr. Text, pp. 24, 25.

tremely modern, and the influence of the Latin Vulgate is unquestionable in this passage: the whole of the history of the Epistles in this MS. is extremely suspicious. In this third edition Erasmus availed himself of the tacit corrections of his errata, which had been made by the editor of the Aldine reprint. Soon after this edition appeared, the Complutensian Polyglott was rescued from the unworthy obscurity to which it had been for some years consigned; and thus Erasmus was able to avail himself of it in the further revision of his text in his fourth edition, in the Apocalypse, where his own MS. authority had been so slender. In the last six verses, however, he did not introduce the needed corrections owing to a curious mistake: before he saw the Aldine text, he wrote to his friends at Basle to restore the passage in question from that edition; and he seems to have taken for granted that what was needful had been sufficiently done.

This fourth edition appeared in 1527: its appearance differs from all the others, in having the Latin Vulgate by the side of his own version which accompanies the Greek Text.

In 1535, the year preceding his death, his fifth edition was published: the text is almost identical with that of the fourth; that therefore may be regarded as the Erasmian text; in fact, the text which, as to its essential features, is the basis of that still in common use.[1]

THE COMPLUTENSIAN EDITION, though not *published* till after the first of those undertaken by Erasmus, was *printed* more than two years previously. The date which it bears is Jan. 10. 1514. As early as the year 1502 Cardinal Ximenes began his preparations for that Polyglott Bible which takes its designation of Complutensian from Complutum, the Latin name of Alcalà in Spain, a place at which he had founded a university. The principal editor of the part containing the New Testament was James Lopez de Stunica. The Old Testament was not printed till afterwards, as we learn both from the date, July 10. 1517, at the end of the fourth volume, and from the dedication of the work to Leo X. by Cardinal Ximenes.

Ximenes lived to see the completion of the Complutensian Polyglott, executed under his direction and at his expence: but it was still unpublished when he died, on Nov. 8. 1517, aged 81. In 1520 Leo X. sent his executors an authorisation for its publication; but that seems hardly to have taken place before the year 1522.

We are not acquainted with the MSS. which the Complutensian editors used, so that we cannot judge them in the same manner as we can those employed by Erasmus: we can, however, estimate them on internal grounds from the character of the text which the editors produced. Bishop Marsh rightly says, "Whenever modern Greek MSS. — MSS. written in the thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth centuries, — differ from the most ancient Greek MSS., and from the quotations of the early Greek fathers, in such characteristic readings

[1] See "Acc. of Pr. Text," p. 28., as to Erasmus's value for ancient testimony as the critical basis for a genuine text.

the Complutensian Greek Testament almost invariably agrees with the modern in opposition to the ancient MSS."[1]

But though a correct judgment might thus be formed, it was long wished that the MSS. themselves might be examined; since, when the text 1 John v. 7. was under discussion, appeals were sometimes made to the Complutensian edition of the New Testament, as containing it. The statement of the editors was that they had received Greek MSS. from the papal library for their edition; and this had also led to the hasty assumption that the Codex Vaticanus *must* have been specially intended. Erasmus seems to have first thought this; but when Sepulveda sent him (in 1533) a list of three hundred and sixty-five places in which the Vatican MS. accords with the Latin Vulgate in opposition to his Greek text, he saw that *that* MS. could not be the basis of the Complutensian edition, because in such respects its general character strongly resembled his own text; and thus being better informed respecting *the* Codex Vaticanus, he supposed, very reasonably, that it was some other copy in the pontifical library which had been transmitted to the Spanish editors.

The notion was at one time widely propagated, through its having been adopted by Mill, that the Complutensian text really represents that of the Vatican MS.: a more exact acquaintance with the *results* of what Erasmus learned would have prevented this opinion from being adopted. Wetstein, in opposing it, went too far; for he cast discredit on the distinct statement of the editors that they had MSS. from the papal library, sent by Leo X., and that they had followed them. Now, as the accession of Leo to the popedom was about ten months only before the date of the completion of the volume, it was argued that the time would not admit of the possibility of MSS. being sent from Rome by that Pope.[2] Bishop Marsh repeated and enforced this argument. But we have no reason to suppose that the volumes of this Polyglott containing the Old Testament, in which the printing would be more difficult, were executed with greater expedition than the New, and yet they were all completed (with the Apparatus) by July 10. 1517,—*five* volumes in three years and a half: so that there is nothing to render it necessary to suppose that the New Testament should have taken longer in proportion than any of the other volumes. But the doubt was thrown out coupled with the suggestion that the MSS. which the editors had used still existed at Alcalà.

There, then, they were vainly sought in 1784 by the Danish Professor Moldenhawer; and the account which was given him in answer to his inquiries was believed through Europe for about sixty years. At first, when he found no MSS. of the Greek Testament in the university library, he thought they were concealed from him

[1] "Lectures on the Criticism of the Bible," p. 96.

[2] Wetstein says that Leo was elected Feb. 28. 1513; and crowned April 11. (this statement has been followed in "Account of the Printed Text," p. 7. *note*, only *March* is accidentally substituted for *April*): Bishop Marsh says that he was elected March 11.; and Cardinal Bembo (see his *Epistolæ*) plainly recognises the latter as the officially notified date of the election. It makes a difference of but a few days; and at all events it is acknowledged that he was Pope on the 11th of March, 1513.

out of a motive of suspicion; but on making farther and more pressing inquiries he was told that about the year 1749 they had been sold to a rocket-maker by an illiterate librarian, as *useless parchments*, to make room for some new books. Thus it was believed that the editors had followed MSS. in Spain and not any sent from Rome, and that inquiry about them was altogether vain.

In 1821 Sir John Bowring cast some doubt on the story of this destruction, but he did not investigate the subject deeply, nor explain how it had originated: and it was some years before much attention was paid to his statement. The late Dr. James Thomson, however, since made careful inquiry, and the result is that, so far from the library having been under the care of a stupid or reckless librarian at the time of the alleged destruction, it was under the superintendence of a learned man, who was at the pains of causing the MSS. to be rebound. All the MSS. which were formerly known as belonging to Cardinal Ximenes, and which are described in the catalogue made in 1745, are still in being, and are now with the rest of that library at Madrid. They comprise almost all the MS. materials used in the Complutensian Polyglott, except that the Greek New Testament is found in none of them. (Nor yet the Pentateuch of the LXX.)[1] The catalogue shows that such MSS. did not belong to Cardinal Ximenes's collection. And thus when Moldenhawer was importunate in his inquiry for Greek MSS. which the library had never contained, an explanation was given him which, at least, *silenced* him. Now *a sale* to a rocket-maker had taken place about the date specified, at the time when the MSS. were carefully rebound, — but of what? of course not of MSS. of the Greek New Testament, but of "useless parchments" in reality; the old folded paper and vellum covers of the books. Some confused remembrance of this evidently led to the story told to Moldenhawer —a story which the catalogue would have at once refuted, and which is rather lame in itself; for it would be, at least, remarkable if the *only* class of MSS. thus disposed of were the very one which was thus carefully sought for. Tychsen, Moldenhawer's companion, on whose assurance Michaelis gave currency to the narration, was rather prone to adopt theories so incredible that they hardly could bear discussion.

And thus there is now no sufficient reason for doubting the account given by the editors themselves, that their Greek MSS. were sent from the Vatican, and thither, no doubt, they were returned after they had been used. It is not, however, probable that they can be identified. Though the erudition of Stunica and his companions was not great, yet they may be supposed to have followed their MSS. without intentional departure, except, indeed, where they thought that they were defective: the Latin was *highly*

[1] Dr. James Thomson's investigations were communicated to the Biblical Review for March, 1847. His statement was accompanied with a transcript of the catalogue made by Don Josè Guttierrez, the librarian at Madrid. Dr. J. Thomson's letter and the catalogue were soon transferred to the pages of one or more periodicals: they are also inserted in "Account of the Printed Text," Appendix to Section I., p. 12. seq.

valued by them as the translation of the church, and in taking 1. John v. 7. from the Latin, they did it (as Stunica expressly says) on the ground that the Greek text was corrupted, but that the Latin contained the very truth. Their value for the *Latin* in contrast to the original tongues of Scripture is shown by the comparison which they make in the Old Testament of the Vulgate, in the central column between the Hebrew and the LXX., to Christ crucified between two thieves, the synagogue of unbelieving Jews and the schismatical Greek Church. No person possessed of the least information respecting MSS. can now allege the authority of the Complutensian edition as a proof of the text of the heavenly witnesses having existed in the copies which they used.

The types employed in this edition are peculiar, and the accentuation, too, is such as is not found elsewhere; an acute accent being employed to mark the *tone-syllable*, irrespective of the ordinary mode. A letter of reference connects the Greek and Latin texts verbally together; and when there is anything in the one, to which there is nothing in the other to correspond, peculiar marks are used to fill up the vacant space. The editors have not in such cases *in general* supplied the Greek by making a new rendering from the Latin, as Erasmus sometimes did. In such passages it would have been well if the common text had been benefited by correction from the Complutensian, instead of simply following the Erasmian.

These two primary editions are, then, the sources from which have proceeded what we still find in common circulation. We have seen that the actual MSS. of the Complutensian editors cannot now be ascertained, although their *character* can; and this is of minor importance, as the text of Alcalà had only occasional influence in the subsequent editions. The MSS. used by Erasmus are, however, in the greater part of the New Testament well known.

Erasmus employed for his first edition a Basle MS. of the Gospels (2. of Wetstein's notation), of very little value, but which received his editorial corrections before it was put into the compositors' hands.[1] A MS. of a somewhat similar kind supplied the Acts and Epistles (designated also 2. in that part of the New Testament). With these he was able to compare the Basle MS. 1., which contains all the New Testament except the Apocalypse, and which is in the Gospels one of the best codices in existence: Erasmus, however, undervalued it greatly. Besides this, he had also the use of the Basle MS. 4. of the Acts and Epistles. The Apocalypse (as has been already stated) was dependent wholly on Reuchlin's defective MS. A MS. of the commentary of Theophylact was also employed as a critical aid.

In his *second* edition, besides corrections from the MSS. already specified, which had been used far too hastily, he employed one now at Vienna, the Codex Corsendoncensis (3.) of the whole New Testament except the Apocalypse, and he also more extensively cited the authority of Greek Fathers, such as Athanasius and Gregory of

[1] See Eichhorn's Einleitung, v. 263.

Nazianzum. Besides the use of the Codex Montfortianus in the passage 1 John v. 7. in the *third* edition, and of the Complutensian text for the emendation of the Apocalypse in the *fourth*, the few MSS. already mentioned were all the general grounds on which Erasmus relied in his text. Some aid seems to have been obtained from the Codex Leicestrensis (69. in the Gospels), a MS. containing all the books of the New Testament, and which Erasmus might perhaps have consulted when writing some part of his annotations in England. This MS. and that at Basle numbered 1., though but little employed or relied on by Erasmus, were *decidedly* the best of those which he used, and had he known their real value, the common text, which emanated almost entirely from that of Erasmus, would have been far better than it is, and would have afforded a far simpler basis for critical emendation. But as it is, the text in common use resolves itself substantially into the authority of these few MSS.; and after the Erasmian text had established itself in common circulation (for the Complutensian was but rarely reprinted) it was long before any real attention was paid to MS. authorities.

In 1534 Colinæus published an edition at Paris, which was, in part at least, based on MSS. newly consulted; it was printed with more accuracy than those which had preceded it, but it does not appear to have at all influenced the subsequent editions.

Robert Stephens, the celebrated Parisian printer, was the next who became prominent as a New Testament editor: he had already paid much attention to the text of the Latin Vulgate, and in 1546 and 1549 he published two beautiful small editions of the Greek New Testament, in which the text was blended from the Complutensian and Erasmian. These were followed by his third edition in folio, in 1550, in which the text is almost identical with that of the fifth edition of Erasmus. In the margin of this Greek Testament various readings were given from the Complutensian text, and from fifteen Greek MSS., distinguished by Greek numerals from *ά* to *ιϛ'*, which have been called Stephens's sixteen codices: in general each of the MSS. only contains some particular portion of the New Testament. The readings were selected by Henry Stephens, the editor's son, on no very particular principle apparently, and with but little exactitude. It was *supposed* that Stephens had wholly followed MS. authority; but no one who had *seen* the book *ought* to have made such a mistake, for he often cites *all* his codices as opposed to the reading in his text.

Many of the MSS. used by Henry Stephens have been identified: this was deemed to be important because in the text 1 John v. 7. Robert Stephens placed his mark of reference as if seven MSS. omitted the words *ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ* merely. That this is a misplacement of the reference (such as is also found elsewhere) could hardly have been doubted, and this became a matter of certainty when the investigations of Bishop Marsh, and others who had preceded him, demonstrated the identity of certain known MSS. with those cited in this place.

In 1551 Robert Stephens published his fourth edition at Geneva:

the text follows that of the third, but with this peculiarity, that now, for the first time, it was divided into the *verses* which he had a little while before devised. In this small portable volume, besides the Greek text, there were given two Latin versions, that of Erasmus, and the Vulgate.

And now the text of the Greek New Testament became so stereotyped in men's minds, that it was long before any intentional departure from the Stephanic readings were introduced except in most trifling points.

Theodore Beza was the next whose name has been familiarly connected with editing the Greek New Testament. He had formed a new Latin translation from the Greek, and in 1565 the original, his own version, and the Vulgate with annotations, were combined in an edition published at Geneva. His second edition appeared in 1576, the third in 1582, the fourth in 1588-9, and the fifth in 1598. He possessed two ancient MSS. himself, the Codex Bezæ of the Gospels and Acts, and the Codex Claromontanus of St. Paul's Epistles: readings taken from these are sometimes mentioned in his notes. He also had the collations of Henry Stephens, containing *more* than had been published in the margin of the folio of 1550. Of these materials, however, he made but little use; textual criticism was certainly not his forte: his text is almost a transcript of the Stephanic, with slight variations, however, in the different editions.

In 1624 the Elzevirs, printers at Leyden, published the first of their small and convenient editions. Of the second of these in 1633, they said in the Preface, "*Textum* ergo habes nunc *ab omnibus receptum*," and from this sort of boast sprang the expression "Textus receptus." Who the editor employed by the printers may have been, is wholly unknown: the text fluctuates between that of Stephens and that of Beza, occasionally (perhaps from mere accident) differing from both.

The Elzevirs reprinted their Greek Testament several times; the edition of 1633 has, however, the character of being the best and most correct.

The Elzevir text is that which on the continent was professedly used and followed till of late years; almost all (probably *all*) such editions, however, vary from the Elzevir by the introduction of Stephanic readings; so that the expression "text in common use" must not be restricted to either the Elzevir or the Stephanic text.

Stephens's was adopted for insertion by Bishop Walton in his Polyglott in 1657; and as Mill in 1707 followed Walton in adopting the same text without intentional change, it acquired a standing in this country which it still retains by a kind of traditional right.

The collection of critical materials for the revision of the text began in this country: the first of any importance which appeared was that which was contained in the sixth volume of Walton's Polyglott; in which work the variations of the Alexandrian MS. were placed below the text itself. A principal part of this critical apparatus consisted of a collation of sixteen MSS. made by Archbishop Usher. In the next year Curcellæus published, at Amsterdam, a

Greek New Testament with various readings; but this was non-critical; for the authorities were not given, and conjectures were intermixed with what had been drawn from MSS. As some of these conjectures were theological and such as touched vital points, their appearance had an unhappy effect, for it caused criticism (with which such conjecture was thus confounded) to be deprecated as *dangerous*. And Walton's Polyglott was attacked in a manner which *now* is almost inconceivable.[1]

To show the real amount of variation produced by the various readings collected in Walton's Polyglott, Dr. John Fell, Bishop of Oxford, published in 1675 an edition of the Greek Testament with the readings at the foot of the page. This may be called the precursor of critically prepared editions. It was several times reprinted, and it evidently aided in diffusing more just notions on the subject. But Dr. Fell rendered a far higher service to sacred criticism by the patronage which he afforded to the commencement of the critical labours of Dr. JOHN MILL.

The Greek Testament of Mill appeared at Oxford in 1707, after preparatory labours of *thirty years*. This critic did all that lay in his power to collect materials from MSS., versions, and patristic citations which might be available for the establishment of a purer text. All that had been gathered by his predecessors was employed by him, and very much more was for the first time added. When Bishop Fell saw his earlier collections, he encouraged and aided him in his undertaking; and before his death, in 1686, he was at the charge of having part of the text printed, as far as Matt. xxiv. The want of pecuniary means then hindered Mill; but, perhaps, the delays were an advantage to sacred criticism rather than the contrary, because thus fresh materials were brought to light, and Mill himself

[1] If any one should think that Walton's reply to Dr. John Owen, entitled *The Considerator considered*, is, in tone, manner, or style, such as was uncalled for, or that he treated his opponent with want of courtesy in not naming him in the reply, let him *read* Owen's attack, — let him see how he had gone out of his way to treat a subject with which he was not acquainted, and how he made his own ignorance the ground of the most injurious charges against Walton and his coadjutors. It is melancholy to see the weakness of a man like Owen, when leaving the ground on which he was strong for that in which he had no guide but his own intense prejudices. If the language of Walton, in his personal vindication, is strong, at least he did not bring forward groundless accusations. Walton and his coadjutors undertook the Polyglott as a useful occupation of their "unwilling leisure," being *silenced* as ministers, and being forbidden by the Republican government from using the services of the Church of England. Little did Owen and those who were acting with him in attacking Walton on *party* grounds, suppose that in a few months they would be impatiently suffering from restraints, which some had deemed quite right to impose on Episcopalians. Toleration was, indeed, but little understood by any dominant party. The excluded knew how to complain, but it was not till this country had passed through the sad and evil days of Charles II., that those who had once suffered learned to abstain from persecuting when they had the opportunity. It is with some the fashion to bepraise the Commonwealth as a time of peculiar absence of persecution: with how little truth the annals of all sects, except that then dominant, amply tell. In fact the restored government of Charles II. (which knew full well how to persecute nonconformists at home) had to put forth its power to make nonconformists in New England leave off the *practice of putting to death*, on religious grounds *solely*, other nonconformists who differed from them. This tone of feeling explains how Dr. John Owen could write his *Considerations on the Biblia Polyglotta*, and unless this is remembered the *manner of the controversy* is almost inexplicable.

had the opportunity of reconsidering both his principles and their application. Thus it was that in the Prolegomena which were prepared after the work was printed, Mill often corrected the opinions which he had expressed in his notes; and he was in this manner able to show his judgment with regard to readings, though he had not attempted to *form a text;* (Stephens's third edition was that which he followed without intentional variation). Had he *formed a text,* it would have been far from satisfactory to himself, since his judgment was far more matured in the latter part of the work than the former. Mill only just lived to see his work published; he died *one fortnight* afterwards, June 23. 1707. Mill's edition was reprinted in 1710, by Küster, at Rotterdam, who inserted Mill's addenda in the places to which they belonged, and made some additions of his own.

Dr. Whitby attacked the memory and labours of Mill in a manner which showed that he thought that criticism is the enemy, not the friend, of revealed truth: he affirmed that the common text might every where be defended, and he even made the noble candour of Mill, in owning when his judgment had changed, a matter of invective. In all this it is certain that Whitby did but express the feeling which was rife in many minds, the feeling which Bishop Fell had sought to allay, but which again and again shows itself on the part of those who prefer tradition to evidence. It was said that Holy Scripture was in peril—that collecting critical materials was tampering with its text; and thus a stigma was sought to be attached to the names and the labours of those who toiled with conscientious honesty, seeking to serve God in serving his Church at large. How ready the enemies of revelation were to use the weapons put into their hands by its professed friends, was shown in the infidel arguments put forth by Collins in 1713, borrowed from the armoury of Whitby.[1]

But there were some who valued the labours of Mill, and who were glad to use them, even though it might be in an imperfect manner. And in this, too, the lead was taken in this country: between the years 1709 and 1719, Dr. EDWARD WELLS published, at Oxford, a Greek Testament with an English translation and notes. This was the first attempt to embody results of criticism, and to make the materials collected of practical service, not to the learned alone, but even to the mere English reader.

But England was not alone in the feeling of opposition to criticism: a Greek Testament was published at Amsterdam in 1711 in which the greater part of the various readings were exhibited in a very convenient form; but, as if to render them of no avail, the editor prefixed certain *canons* by which he sought to cast suspicion on almost every piece of evidence which opposes the common text.

In reverting to England, the next fact of importance was the proposed edition of Bentley,—an edition, indeed, the execution of which was frustrated, but which has an importance in its bearing on

[1] As to Collins's attack, and the answer of Bentley (under the name of Philelcutherus Lipsiensis) see "Account of Printed Text," pp. 48—57.

the apprehension and use of critical facts. For many years Bentley had been familiar with all that was accessible relative to the criticism of the Greek New Testament, and his friendship for Mill gave his mind an especial interest in such studies.[1] Circumstances arising out of the attacks of Whitby and Collins led to the subject being definitely before Bentley, and in 1716 he unfolded his plan in two letters to Archbishop Wake; and a few years later he put forth a prospectus and specimen. In examining MSS. he discovered that collators had then commonly neglected to notice the *order of words* and other minute particulars; and thus in going carefully through some of the more ancient copies, he found that when these points were duly observed, the agreement with the Latin Vulgate was remarkable; and further, that when the common Latin text is found to vary from the earliest MSS., then such ancient copies often gave the exact representation of the Greek, which was not found in the Clementine edition. Thus he believed that by a mutual comparison of the oldest Latin and Greek copies, he would be able to bring the former into precisely the condition in which it was left by Jerome, and the latter into the form in which it had been in the exemplar of Origen, by which he supposed that Jerome had reformed the Latin previously current. This was, however, a hasty conclusion; and it is also true that Bentley over-estimated the resemblance of the oldest Greek and Latin MSS. As subsidiaries he would have used the citations of early fathers, *when critically examined*, and the other ancient versions which have been transmitted. To carry out this design Bentley was at great pains in collecting the readings of MSS., Greek and Latin: amongst others he procured a collation of *the* Vatican MS. In the proposed text all was to be based on *evidence* and not on critical conjecture; it was needful for Bentley to specify this; because, as was well known, he had shown a fondness for conjectural innovation in some classical authors without necessity of any kind.[2]

The enemies that Bentley had made, and the contests in which he was engaged, led to opposition to his projected work: it was reviewed and refuted as to its principles before it was prepared; and the many were taught that it would be a dangerous publication. And thus it was delayed; other occupations filled up Bentley's time, and the work never appeared: his collections have only been of use as material for others, and his principles were a kind of literary legacy waiting long for any who should be competent to understand them, and possessed of the ability to carry them out. Had Bentley's text actually appeared it would certainly have excited controversies: but its value would have been great,—for it would have been a testimony

[1] See as to Bentley's early attention to N. T. criticism, "Account of Printed Text," p. 45., and for an ample description of his proposed edition, see from p. 57. to 68.

[2] Bentley's *Horace* must not be considered in this respect a fair specimen of what he was as a critic. In some cases his conjectural amendments were based on a wonderful apprehension of what an author *must* have written, and how a copyist *must* have blundered. Origen's treatise περὶ εὐχῆς was printed from the only then known MS., now at Trinity College, Cambridge: Bentley communicated to De la Rue many critical emendations; and when, amongst the Colbert MSS., the latter part of this treatise was discovered, it was wonderful to see how it confirmed Bentley's conjectures.

against the traditional text which so many were upholding "as if (to use Bentley's phrase) the compositor had been an angel."

If the maintainers of orthodox truth refuse to use criticism, the opposers of revelation are sure to employ it as if it could suit *their* purposes; and this was soon shown to be the case in this country; for in 1729, Daniel Mace published his edition of the Greek Testament with an English translation, in which he acted quite arbitrarily as to the text, and showed a spirit of reckless irreverence in his notes: he was often able to use remarks in Mill's Prolegomena, as if they sanctioned his proceedings; and the mode of argument used by those who condemned every orthodox person who denied that 1 John v. 7. could be Scripture, as not supported by MSS. or ancient versions, also afforded him a handle. Such were the evil consequences of the mode in which well-meaning men in this country had acted from the time that scholars, from Archbishop Usher onward, had laboured in collecting critical materials. In 1732, Mace was *answered* by Dr. Twells, in a work which seems to have met with *approval*—a fact which speaks loudly as to the tone which was then popular on critical subjects. That the defence of God's Word in this country should have been *left* in hands so incompetent is a thought truly humiliating. It shows that all the ground gained by Mill, and the direction of true progress indicated by Bentley, had been in vain. From the time of these discussions and of Bentley's proposed but frustrated edition, we must look away from England, the region in which Biblical Criticism had at the first been so fostered, to find those who carried forward what our countrymen had begun.

CHAP. XI.

HISTORY OF THE PRINTED TEXT FROM BENGEL ONWARD.

In 1734 the Greek Testament of Bengel was published; it contained a *partially* revised text; for his plan was to give the *best* readings which in his judgment had been found in any preceding edition: in the book of Revelation, however, he went further, and corrected the text itself.[1] After Bengel had made some advance in the collection of materials, he issued his "Prodromus" in 1725, in which he gave a general notion of what his edition was intended to be: he seems then to have thought that it would have appeared speedily, not contemplating apparently a nine years' delay; but he was not the first, nor yet the last, New Testament editor who has found that to *complete* such a work for the press, with conscientious care as to every point, is a longer operation than it seemed when in prospect. Besides the *text* which Bengel gave, he subjoined the readings which he thought

[1] Bengel's preparations and earlier studies are detailed in "Account of Printed Text," p. 69, &c.

to rest on good authority. But the *Apparatus criticus*, at the end of his volume, was the place in which readings with the evidence for and *against* them were given, together with his own critical judgment. These readings were *selected* from those of Mill, and from those which he had been able to obtain elsewhere. They were accompanied with a statement of principles of criticism, in which the distribution of MSS. (as stated above[1] on Systems of Recension) was indicated, and also certain critical grounds of judgment laid down; the principal being, *Proclivi scriptioni præstat ardua.* Hence Bengel went more deeply into his apprehension of evidence than is done by those who are specially pleased with that which appears easy and free from all obscurity. Few rules are of wider application than this, in places in which there is a real *conflict of evidence:* to apply a rule or a supposed principle, except in such cases, would be something like the introduction of mere conjecture. Bengel was a man whose personal godliness was well known, his orthodoxy of belief was unquestioned, and yet he was treated as if he had been an enemy of Holy Scripture, and as if to defend its true text was the same as to attack it. Thus pious men assailed him in ignorance, and so also did those to whom his piety was offensive. He was thus engaged in painful and wearisome controversies, though he had the satisfaction to find that his labours were appreciated by others. His text was several times reprinted; and after his death (which took place in 1752) an enlarged edition of his *Apparatus criticus*, which he had continued to improve and extend, appeared under the care of Philip David Burk, in 1763: it is to *this* edition that reference should be made by those who wish to know what the *matured* principles of Bengel were.

In 1751-2 appeared the Greek New Testament of WETSTEIN, a work which went far beyond all that had preceded it in the quantity of critical materials amassed by that laborious editor. His preparations had commenced nearly forty years before[2]: for some time he had been in the employ of Bentley as a collator, and from that time he had continued to examine the MSS. with which he met in his native city of Basle and elsewhere. He had relatives who were publishers at Amsterdam, and they desired that some profitable use should be made of the readings, &c. which he had collected; and this led him to extend his studies, and also to prepare Prolegomena, which were published anonymously in 1730. Twenty-one years, however, elapsed before the first volume of his edition appeared. Hindrances were thrown in his way, arising mostly from theological controversies; in fact, even on his own showing, he was for many years engaged in opposing the *proper* Godhead of Christ, and charging those who held this primary doctrine, as it is commonly maintained amongst Christians, with being Sabellians or something else just as little in accordance with orthodoxy. The doctrine of the *atonement* of Christ was assailed by Wetstein still more openly.[3] These con-

[1] See p. 67.

[2] "Account of Printed Text," p. 73.

[3] Some who have formed their judgment of Wetstein solely from his critical notes to the New Testament have thought that he was unjustly attacked. It is certain, however,

troversies had another injurious effect besides the delay of his edition; for in the meanwhile he had rejected the critical principles which he had maintained in the first impression of his Prolegomena; and thus he had adopted that systematic opposition to all the more ancient MSS. which has been mentioned in discussing the charge of *Latinising*. The great value of Wetstein's edition is in the new materials which it presented in addition to those which had been previously obtained. He also so arranged the MSS. in his lists for purposes of reference, that they were much more definitely known than had previously been the case. And thus *Wetstein's notation* is an expression which applies not only to the references adopted by him, but also to the continuation by others of the marks which he had introduced.

The quantity of work done in the department of collation by Wetstein himself amounted to about twenty MSS. of the Gospels and an equal number in the remaining portion of the New Testament. He had also examined many versions and the writings of many Fathers, so that there was much noted by him which admits of hardly any statement which could be defined by number and quantity. The *text* which he gave was simply that in common use: readings which were, in his opinion, better supported were mentioned immediately below the text itself. And here his critical power seems to have been but limited; so much so, that it is hard to suppose that he would have carried on his wearisome labours, had it not been that in former years his own mind had looked to very different results. But before he published, he was determined to oppose the principles and critical ground-work of both Bentley and Bengel; and this he did throughout the Prolegomena as reprinted with his edition. His Prolegomena, &c. contain much that is valuable, intermixed unhappily with not a little of such baser metal as ought never to stand in contact with the pure gold of Holy Scripture. Much that he stated was well worthy of consideration[1], but other principles which he laid down would almost nullify all attempts at critical labour.[2]

From the time of Wetstein, far more was known of the domain which had been opened to the view of Biblical scholars; and instead of attempts being made to generalise on the subject of textual criticism, merely from such documents as might be available from some few libraries, there was a more accurate apprehension of *what* MSS. &c., were known, and how far they had been used. And thus it might be possible to reduce critical examinations within some moderate compass, if a judgment could only be first formed as to what documents really deserve to be used as *authorities*. Bentley,

that his departure from commonly received modes of enunciating Christian doctrines was the result of formed dogmatic opinions, and that it was accompanied with opposition to those persons who were clear and definite in their teaching on the subject.

[1] See "Account of Printed Text," pp. 79, 80.

[2] One feature in Wetstein's edition is of too much importance to pass without mention, though it is irrespective of the printed text as such. He collected with immense pains a mass of extracts from ancient writers illustrative of the New Testament diction, construction, &c.; and these stand on each page below the various readings. Some of these are good and useful, others only excite surprise, while others are felt to be out of place when on the same page with Holy Scripture.

indeed, had done this, but without publication; for he had drawn the line of demarcation between the more ancient and the later MSS., and he had made inquiry throughout Europe for all that were known of the former class, and he had thus procured collations of the best and most important.

The systems of recensions which were proposed after the time of Wetstein have been already described in their proper place: it remains here to notice the *editions* with which they were connected, and the contemporaneous collations of MSS. Griesbach's first edition was commenced in 1774, with a synopsis of the three former Gospels; the rest of the New Testament followed in the next year; and in 1777, the former portion was reprinted in the usual order. The critical apparatus consisted of certain selections from the readings given by Wetstein, but with the addition of such extracts as Griesbach had himself made. This critic was not an extensive *collator*; but he sought rather to *use* the evidence which others had gathered. Besides the application of his recension system, there were two principles which he bore in mind in his editorial work—that no reading ought to be adopted unless it has at least *some ancient evidence;* and that we ought rather to seek to bound our critical apparatus within certain limits, than to go on increasing it *ad infinitum.* Many of the critical rules which he laid down were excellent in themselves, and he showed a good apprehension of what the tendencies of copyists commonly have been. His may be considered the first text really critical which had been published: he gave, however, a kind of prescriptive importance to the common text, so that it often remained unchanged, but with a far more weighty reading noted in the margin as worthy of special attention. Often did Griesbach, however, show his appreciation of *ancient evidence,* and that, too, when comparatively little could be shown in its favour from MSS. whose reading was *then* known. Thus, in the form of the Lord's Prayer, in Luke xi., he followed the express testimony of Origen, that certain clauses (found in the common text)[1] do not belong to it in that Gospel: at that time he had no MS., in itself ancient, that he could produce for some of these omissions; but in a few years a collation of the Vatican MS. appeared, and *every particular* in this passage was found to accord with the omissions which Griesbach had *previously* made.

The twelve years which succeeded the completion of Griesbach's first edition were a time of remarkable activity in the examination of Greek MSS. The Danish scholars Birch and Moldenhawer collated many copies in Italy, Spain, and elsewhere; Alter published the readings of codices at Vienna; and Matthæi in his larger Greek Testament (Riga, 1782–8, 12 vols.), formed his text from certain Moscow MSS. which he had collated with great care, and the various readings of which he had inserted. This edition of Matthæi did not advance critical principles as such; it was, however, useful for the collations which it contained: the critical opinions of the editor led him to despise the MSS. more ancient than his own, and to

[1] See above, p. 56.

undervalue the ancient versions; hence there was a great expenditure of misplaced scholarship in his laboriously prepared edition. It was accompanied by the Latin Vulgate from a MS. with which he met in Russia, and facsimiles were given of the MSS. which he examined. Matthæi published a second edition, but without the critical authorities or the Latin, in three volumes, in 1803-7.

While new collations were instituted, some of the MSS. long used were brought more fully into notice by the publication of their text: thus, the Alexandrian MS. appeared in 1786, and seven years afterwards the Codex Bezæ (to say nothing of codices of less importance).

Griesbach, too, in his "Symbolæ Criticæ," had fully given the extracts which he had made from MSS. which he had examined (in many passages furnishing important corrections of what others had hastily cited), and also the passages in the New Testament quoted by Origen, extracted from his writings with much care and labour. And thus was Griesbach provided for the preparation of a second edition, enlarged and revised: the first volume of this appeared in 1796, the second in 1806; it contained, in addition to what had been given in the former, *selections* from the collations just mentioned, just as those from Wetstein had appeared in his first. The text was again revised, and the whole bore evidence of a more matured critical mind and judgment. In 1805, Griesbach also published a manual edition, not containing the authorities, but with a select statement of the more noticeable readings.

After the attempt had thus been made by Griesbach widely to diffuse a critical text, many editions showed the influence of his labours; for though the common text was often reprinted, few *editors* from that time thought it right to give forth readings, the groundlessness of which stood as an acknowledged fact. Such editors, however, rarely if ever acted on any decided *system;* they only corrected the common text *in certain places*, leaving all the rest as it was.

In 1830 appeared the first volume of Scholz's Greek Testament, which was followed in 1836 by the second. The critical principles of this editor have been explained above: the execution of his edition is all that has to be described in this place. The list of MSS. given by him was far greater than that prefixed to any previous edition, and his references to the places in which these newly cited codices are found are of value: but the *use* which he made of these copies, which had been in general employed previously by no one was slight indeed; and his citations, with regard to points which admit of comparison, are found worthy of but little dependence. In cases of characteristic readings, the *text* of Scholz has a closer resemblance to that in common use than that of Griesbach had exhibited; and this caused it to be valued by many, who thought that such a text was an important contribution to conservative criticism. The mode of argumentation actually employed was this: — Griesbach collated so many MSS. (assuming all in his list to have been *collated* by him!) and he produced a text so far differing from the common; — Scholz has collated so many more (say twice as many), and he gives a text so much more like the common. And this was thought to be a happy result, though based upon almost an entire nonapprehension of the

simplest facts connected with the collation of MSS. and their character: and thus it was *from this country* that Scholz received the pecuniary assistance which was necessary to enable him to publish his second volume. In ignorance of the facts of the case many have repeated statements relative to Scholz's edition in a kind of traditional manner; but it is doubtful whether any scholar in this country or abroad did really, after due examination, sanction the text of Scholz, or the supposed facts on which it was founded. When the re-examination of some of the MSS. which Scholz had professedly collated showed the divergence of his citations from what the MSS. actually read, the estimate of Scholz, as an editor, fell still lower than it had done through the remarkable mistakes which are at once patent in his edition.

This laborious investigator of MSS. found it needful to introduce into his text in the latter part very many readings which seem but little in accordance with the principles which he had enunciated; indeed, throughout he at times deserts the class of authorities which he would have been expected to follow. In the inner margin of his page he gives the readings which he considered to be distinctively Alexandrian or Constantinopolitan; and though others might demur sometimes to his classification, yet in general it may be said that he has supplied a chain of connected testimony against himself and against the system on which his text was professedly based; for it was most frequently to be seen that these Alexandrian readings, which he rejects, are supported by the most ancient authorities of every sort. The text formed by Scholz has had no effect on the editions in general which have since appeared. All that can be said in its favour is, that in some places it gives better readings than that in common use. Scholz's Greek Testament contains several things of utility; Synaxaria and Menologia extracted from MSS. of the Gospels and Epistles; the copious list of MSS., with references to the libraries in which they are found, &c.[1]

But at the very time that Scholz was engaged in the preparation of his edition, a critical scholar of no common ability was occupied in the recension of a text of a directly opposite character. From 1826 to 1831 Charles Lachmann, professor at Berlin, was closely busied in forming a text which should rest entirely *on authority*. Of this, as well as his subsequent labours in the field of sacred criticism, a brief account only must suffice in this place. His plan was that of giving forth the Greek New Testament as if it had never existed in print at all, simply as transmitted by ancient documents; saying in fact, such and such evidence ought to lead to such and such conclusions. To this end he used the oldest Greek MSS. compared with the citations found in Origen and Irenæus; and then, as subsidiary evidence, he employed the old Latin (as found in unrevised MSS.) and the quotations of such Latin fathers as were worthy of considerable reliance. These Latin authorities were allowed a kind of determining voice in favour of readings also supported by Greek authority, when the Greek witnesses differed among themselves. The

[1] See "Account of the Printed Text," pp. 92—97

text thus formed would be in Lachmann's judgment that which was most widely diffused in the fourth century: not of necessity the *true* text, but that which had been the *transmitted* text of that age. By this means he judged that there would be, as a basis for criticism, not the readings of the sixteenth century, but those of an age twelve hundred years nearer to the time when the books themselves were written. If the authorities agreed in a certain transcriptural error, this he would give in his text, not however as a part of the genuine text, but as that which had belonged to the *textus traditus* of the fourth century. Lachmann was well acquainted with the plan on which Bentley had sought to act a century before; he apprehended the points of importance which Bengel had defined; and though not led by Griesbach into the adoption of his recension system, he valued very fully the labours and investigations of that critic. How far he followed Bentley will be manifest to those who really *study* what he did.

In 1831 his edition appeared with the title, "Novum Testamentum Græce. Ex recensione Caroli Lachmanni." It had no preface or introductory explanation, and the only indication of the critical principles of the editor was given at the end before the list of places of departure from the common text. In this notice, he simply said, that the plan had been explained in a German periodical of the preceding year, and that it was enough now to state that the editor had never followed his own judgment, but the customary reading of the most ancient churches of the *East;* that when this was inconstant he had, as far as might be, adopted what was supported by Italian and African consent; when all differed, he had sometimes indicated the uncertainty by the use of brackets, and sometimes by placing readings in the margin. In this country Lachmann's Greek Testament was for some years little understood; his *terms* of classification, too, were not apprehended; and as it was *not* known that he had left out of the question the mass of the more recent copies, it was thought that by *Eastern* he intended the same codices as others had termed *Oriental* or *Asiatic*, that is, the Constantinopolitan of Griesbach and Scholz. Indeed it was needful for a reader either to have seen Lachmann's own German exposition of his views, or else for him to have studied his edition, closely to understand its true character and principles. In Germany there were not a few who apprehended this edition and its principles as little as was the case in England; indeed they even attacked it there on grounds wholly imaginary.

Some scholars in his own country appreciated more highly reference to *authority;* and thus Lachmann went on to prepare, after a few years, an edition in which not merely should there be the *result* of evidence but the evidence itself in full detail. The preparations for this larger edition commenced in 1837, when Lachmann was able to secure the aid of Philip Buttmann the younger to arrange the *Greek* authorities, the *Latin* and the text itself being his own special department. The first volume of this enlarged edition appeared in 1842, the second (though *printed* in 1845) in 1850. At the foot of the page, below the authorities, was given the Latin Vulgate, edited

from ancient MSS., a valuable part of Lachmann's work. But the Latin authorities on which he relied were the ante-Hieronymian codices which exhibit that version in its least altered form. The two striking defects in Lachmann's plan were, the limited range of evidence, and the want of a thorough collation of the Greek MSS. employed. As to the latter point, Lachmann said that his plan was to show what conclusion *ought* to be formed from the data as commonly received, and that such results might be *modified* by more exact collations; and as to the former, that after certain results had been obtained from the evidence, as far as his range went, then other versions &c. might be considered as confirming such conclusions or the contrary.

Of course this edition was severely censured: but it is a pity that those who undertook to act the part of critics, did not first inform themselves of the *facts;* for then they might have done good service in pointing out what needed improvement; but as it was, they were often fighting with shadows. Thus it was affirmed that Lachmann had given the whole from 2 Cor. iv. to chap xii. on the single authority of the Vatican MS., and from Heb. ix. 14. to the end on that of the Codex Alexandrinus merely: — this being all a mistake, which a mere inspection of the *edition itself* might correct.[1]

It need hardly be said that Lachmann adopted no *system of recensions;* all his admitted witnesses belonging to the older documents which Griesbach had divided into Western and Alexandrian, but which (as has been already shown) are closely connected together. His mode of estimating evidence, is distributed under *six heads:* — 1. That in which all authorities accord is as fully attested as it can be. 2. If part of the authorities are silent or defective, the weight of evidence is somewhat lessened. 3. When the witnesses are of different regions their agreement is of more importance than is the case when those of some particular locality differ from the rest, either from negligence or of set purpose. 4. But when witnesses of different widely separated regions differ, the testimony must be considered to be doubtfully balanced. 5. When the readings are in one form in one region, and in another form in another, with great uniformity, they are quite uncertain. 6. Lastly, readings are

[1] It is to be regretted that Mr. Alford, in his Greek Testament, vol. i. ed. 2. 1854, p. 74. Prolegomena, has repeated just such a sentence against Lachmann: "This rejection of the greater part of the witnesses for the text has reduced him, in a very considerable part of the New Testament, to implicit following of one MS. only." He does *not* specify what this considerable part may be. Mr. Alford adds, p. 75., "The pretensions of the editor himself are so arrogantly put forth in his preface, and so imperfectly justified by the performance, that the feeling which results from long acquaintance with his edition, in my own mind, is that of sincere regret, for the sake of our prospects of getting a pure text of the New Testament, that the work should ever have been thus undertaken and thus carried out. The only really valuable parts of it are the mass of evidence from the ancient Latin versions, collected by the younger Buttmann, and the citations from Origen, accompanied by references to his works." It is to be regretted that Mr. Alford has made these statements; for, first, an exact acquaintance with the edition of Lachmann (or even the statement on the title-page) would have shown him that the Latin readings were collected by *Lachmann himself*, and not by Buttmann; and, secondly, the charge of "pretensions arrogantly put forth" against a departed scholar, claims in itself to be something very unanswerable. See *Lachmann's own statements* given at the close of this chapter.

of but weak authority, as to which not even the same region presents uniformity of testimony.

On these principles, Lachmann professed to form his text; and it may be said truly, that he carried them out, as to their general bearing; though of course, in particular cases, opinions would differ as to their applicability. He did not profess to give a perfect text, but simply to cast aside the readings of the sixteenth, for those which we know to be of the fourth. And thus, whatever be thought of his principles, or of the mode in which he acted on them, thus much at least is certain, that from the time of the invention of printing, the first Greek Testament resting wholly on ancient authority is that of LACHMANN.

The mode in which he stated the difference between the plan of Griesbach and his own was this. Griesbach's inquiry had rather been, "Is there any necessity for departing from the common text?" While Lachmann's was, "Is there any necessity for not following the reading best attested."

England was not (as has been said) the only country in which Lachmann's edition was not understood, and his labours condemned: Germany, where the opportunity of knowing what he had published was so much greater, showed a very similar spirit of hostility; and when once severe observations had been made, those from whom a more intelligent mode of procedure might have been expected joined in the outcry. Men feared *innovation;* and they stigmatised as such all endeavours to revert to the primary sources of evidence: and Lachmann remembered how, in the last century, Bengel was misrepresented, and how vain it was to *answer* those whose conclusions had been already formed, and thus he did not discuss points with his critics, though he occasionally showed in a few words how fully aware he was that they were passing judgment on what they did not properly understand.

Perhaps one of the worst features in the conduct of the censors of Lachmann, and one which showed perverted moral feeling, was their displeasure at his "tone and manner," when assailed by *false statements, abusive language,* and *great misrepresentation.* It requires but a small measure of moral feeling to be able to see, that if the manner in which such charges are repelled is objectionable, the blame ought to fall far more on those who bring the charges than on those who repel them: if any one shows *discourtesy,* in thus defending himself, it argues a blunted condition of honest-mindedness if *this* is made the matter of blame, and not the worse than discourtesy of assailants.[1]

[1] It is notorious that there are persons who think nothing of the sin of those who accuse others of "reckless innovation," "disrespect for God's Holy Word," "tampering with Scripture," of being "guilty of temerity most reprehensible," mingled with the most offensive insinuations; and yet, when the accused strongly express their feelings at such false and injurious charges, these same most charitable persons are very indignant that they should feel at all annoyed by such treatment. It is not charity that is wanted here, but righteousness—that even-handed feeling which recognises the sin of false accusation. See "Account of Printed Text," pp. 115—117. *foot-note,* and pp. 264—266. Those who profess such a zeal for revealed truth (by which they really mean their own subjective notions respecting it), and who speak and act so censoriously, as if *they* fully knew the

It is to be regretted that Lachmann did not before-hand give so *full* an exposition of his views as to prevent the mistakes made by his critics; had he done this, it would have been a convenience to all parties; but this not having been done at first, there was a difficulty thrown in the way: to some, it has only been by long study and habitual familiarity with Lachmann's edition, that a proper knowledge of it has been attained. But Lachmann's labour has not been in vain; for now, even those who most decry Lachmann do not (if making the smallest pretensions to critical knowledge) set forth or discuss readings without, at least, some apprehension of the grounds on which they rest: an assertor of a text apart from some evidence now finds himself rightly regarded by all possessed of common information, as acting on mere subjective feeling, or following groundless tradition.

Lachmann, indeed, has been accused of dogmatism, and of making arrogant pretensions, entirely unjustified in the performance. Let then Lachmann's own words state what he claimed and what he expected.

"Ita didici, fidem religionem constantiam in nullo negotio posse adhiberi nimiam; neque in his libris, quorum nullam litteram neglegi oportere sentio, velim quicquam meo arbitratu meoque iudicio definire, sed per omnia auctores sequi et antiquissimos et probatissimos."[1]

"Id præcipue officio meo contineri existimavi, ut adulescentes probos et candidos in quorum studiis fortuna ac spes ecclesiæ et litterarum posita est, ea docerem quæ multo labore et anxia sedulitate quæsita viderer mihi quam verissima repperisse; non ut illi me tanquam ducem sectarentur, aut in his quæ tradidissem adquiescerent, sed singula ut ipsi investigarent, investigata perpenderent, perpensa probarent corrigerent augerent."[2]

"Mihi quidem sperare licet fore ut consilia nostra, alacriter et cum opis divinæ fiducia suscepta, et pro viribus nostris ad finem perducta, utilitate cognita a posteris magis quam ab hoc sæculo probentur; qui si nos operam pie ac modeste collocasse iudicabunt, tantum nobis quantum a mortalibus expectari possit nacti esse videbimur.[3]

Professor Tischendorf of Leipsic is well known as one of the most laborious of modern collators of MSS., as the editor of the text of some of the most valuable of the ancient documents (so

motives of others, and how those motives are estimated by God the righteous Judge, might learn something from that which is written for our admonition concerning Job's friends.

[1] Præf. in N. T. tom. i. p. ix. [2] Ibid. p. xxxi.

[3] Ibid. tom. ii. *sub fin.* This last sentence shows what Lachmann's feeling was when he knew how little his labours had been rightly appreciated. Let these statements of Lachmann be contrasted with Mr. Alford's remarks cited above, p. 135. *footnote.*

Since the above remarks were written, the work of the Rev. A. P. Stanley, on the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and that of the Rev. B. Jowett, on the Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, and Romans, have been published. They come into notice in this place from the Greek text employed being that of Lachmann's second edition. It is, however, adopted with a kind of *literal adherence*, as though it were what Lachmann would have judged to be the true text of the sacred writers, and not, as he himself considered it, a step towards those results which might lead to a true text.

many, indeed, as to exceed in number *all* that had been so put forth by others), and as having been himself successful in procuring in the East valuable codices both of the LXX. and of the Greek New Testament. All these extensive labours must be borne in mind as having been accomplished by this energetic scholar, so that, what he is as a New Testament editor is but a part of what he is as an important contributor to sacred criticism. But it was first as an editor that Tischendorf was known. His earliest Greek Testament appeared at Leipsic in 1841; it exhibited the text, a selection of authorities, and Prolegomena, in which he discussed the opinions of others (especially the statements of Scholz) and in measure explained his own. It was at once evident that Lachmann's text of 1831 had influenced Tischendorf not a little. And thus, *in many places* (though by no means uniformly), readings were adopted on *ancient* authority simply. In the following year (1842), Tischendorf was at Paris, and there he put forth *three* editions: one with the common Clementine Vulgate by the side of the Greek text, which was itself adapted to the Latin whenever this could be done on the authority of any Greek MS. of any kind. This edition was of course intended for Roman Catholics, but, whatever judgment be formed concerning it, and its purely factitious text, none can regard it as an edition of any critical importance: there was also a small edition, containing the same *Greek* text without the Latin; and this, like the larger, was dedicated to the Archbishop of Paris.[1] The third of these Paris editions was similar in *appearance* to the last mentioned; but, in *text*, it was almost the same as that of Leipsic in the preceding year: it was not corrected by Tischendorf himself, and its execution is very inaccurate. All these editions have, at the end, tables of the variations of Stephens, Elzevir, and Griesbach.

Tischendorf's second Leipsic edition appeared in 1849; in this he gives the text as he thought that it ought to be revised on such principles of criticism as were matured in his mind. The Prolegomena treat of many subjects; those of most importance are his own labours and investigations. The general principle on which he professed to act with regard to his text resembles *in its statement* that of Lachmann; for he says, "The text should only be sought from ancient evidence, and especially from Greek MSS., but without neglecting the testimonies of versions and fathers. Thus the whole conformation of the text should rest upon testimony, and not on what is called the *received* edition." In his notion, however, of *ancient* evidence he would embrace a great deal more than Lachmann and others would do; for under the head of "Codices Græci Antiquissimi," he includes all the MSS. from the fourth to about the ninth century, stating, however, that the older amongst them carry an especial weight. In forming his text he avows certain rules as his guides, which are substantially these: — That a reading supported by but one or two ancient documents is at least suspicious; so also even if supported by a class of documents, if it appears to have sprung

[1] M. Affre, who fell on the barricades when endeavouring to allay the fierce multitude in June, 1848.

from critical correction;—that readings, whatever the evidence for them may seem to be, must be rejected, if they appear to have originated in transcriptural error;—that in parallel passages the authority of copies which do not present them in precise verbal accordance are in general to be preferred;—that a reading which seems to have given occasion to those which differ from it, as comprising their elements, is to be preferred;—that readings should be maintained which accord with New Testament Greek, or with the style of each individual writer.

But as these *rules* may in their application be modified by decisive testimony, their use requires not a little tact.[1] In fact, the introduction of such *principles* might be safely confined to passages of such discrepancy of reading that the *testimonies* leave us in doubt.

It will generally be found that when Tischendorf differs from the common text, and does not adopt the same reading as Lachmann, he follows some of the other ancient authorities; not always, however, those which belong to the earliest period to which we can have recourse, but those which he sometimes calls "MSS. of the second rank." Beneath his text he gives a *selection* of authorities, less ample in the Gospels than in the other books: the MSS. are almost without exception those which he has himself copied or collated (a very large portion of their readings are of necessity excluded in a *manual* edition); the readings of the versions are in general (with the exception of the Latin) taken entirely from others, and so too are the most part of the patristic citations: indeed to recompare these was a work which was rendered impossible if the *time* required were the only consideration. *Omnia non possumus omnes:* one department, the examination of MSS., has been that in which Tischendorf has laboured with zeal, energy, and success.[2]

Amongst other subjects discussed in Tischendorf's Prolegomena is that of *theories of recensions:* he proposes to regard all documents as referable to a *fourfold division*, applicable especially to the Gospels, very little to the Revelation, and less to the Catholic Epistles than to those of St. Paul and the Acts. The four divisions might (he says) receive the names of Alexandrian and Latin, Asiatic and Byzantine, but not as if they were four separate classes, but rather *two pairs*, the former of which would include the more ancient documents. The truths which lie at the base of this arrangement have been noticed in discussing *recension systems;* the impossibility of fully adopting such a *definite* classification has also been shown.

In 1844 Tregelles published an edition of the book of Revelation in Greek and English; the Greek text so revised as to rest almost entirely upon ancient evidence, and the English adapted to the Greek so revised. This was prepared in order to put the English reader into possession of some of the *results* of criticism in connection

[1] See "Account of the Printed Text," p. 121., for remarks on Tischendorf's examples of the application and use of his rules.

[2] Under the head of each of the uncial MSS. described in a subsequent chapter, will be mentioned what documents were collated by Tischendorf, and of what he published the text. The extent of his labours will thus be seen.

with that portion of the New Testament which in the common text rests upon the smallest measure of evidence, and which if published on MS. authorities would differ far more from the basis of our English authorised version than all the Epistles of St. Paul taken together. In the introduction to this edition of the Apocalypse, Tregelles gave some account of his previous critical studies, and of the principles which he was, in an independent course of examination, led to adopt. Mention of these things belongs here, because they relate to the history of the revision of the printed text. In examining collations of MSS. and the various readings accompanying printed editions, he saw that ancient copies present very frequently, in characteristic passages, a decisive testimony against the common text and those MSS. which present a general agreement with it; and thus he was induced to inquire into the actual evidence *for* particular readings; and finding this often to be wholly unsatisfactory, he went on to examine how far a text could be formed in which the ancient MSS. should be the authorities for *every word*, the versions being used as collateral witnesses when the insertion or omission of clauses, &c. were under consideration. Such a text would be, he considered, at least worthy of *more* confidence than that which rests on indefinite grounds; and, even if defective, it would be at least ancient, and would take us far nearer to the times of the sacred writers themselves. A specimen was prepared, taken from the Epistle to the Colossians; and as he considered it to show the practicability of thus following ancient evidence throughout the New Testament, the plan of such an edition was formed. Two statements of Griesbach served as important suggestions,—that no reading should be adopted (however good it might seem) unless it has at least some ancient evidence; and, that we ought soon rather to think of limiting our critical authorities than of increasing them numerically *ad infinitum*. Thus, if a selection must be made, and if in all cases ancient testimony be indispensable, let the primary ground of selection be that of taking the copies known to be ancient; (the field could be enlarged afterwards if needful). Also, it was seen that critical editors do give a kind of pre-eminence to the most ancient MSS. This seemed a kind of tacit consent in favour of the principle proposed for adoption; and the mode in which Scholz does commonly set the more recent testimony against the most ancient, as if to overpower it, did in itself suggest a contrary course, and led ultimately to a more close examination of ancient authorities and to a fuller apprehension of the value of the evidence of ancient MSS., versions, and fathers when united, and at length to the establishment of the authority of ancient documents by *comparative criticism*; that is, by showing, in places which admit of investigation, that readings known to be ancient are now found only in *some* of the most ancient authorities (or in those which agree with them in text); so that the arrangement of authorities, 1st, according to antiquity, and 2nd, by their accordance with such copies, on the one hand, and all the more recent documents standing on the other, will be found to coincide with the distribution which would be equally requisite if the ex-

amination were conducted conversely, by inquiring, in what MSS. or what class of MSS. are those readings now found which we know on independent grounds to have been once widely diffused or perhaps general? There was thus a point reached strongly resembling that of Lachmann: the path, however, leading to the conclusions had been wholly different, and the groundwork of ancient authority was doubly defended, by the age of the documents themselves, and also by the proved age of the readings contained in them and in those like them.

These principles were in measure stated in the introduction to Dr. Tregelles's edition of the Apocalypse in 1844. The text was there made to rest upon the evidence of the *ancient* MSS. almost entirely; and the authorities (as taken from previous editions and published collations) were given compendiously, except in cases in which there were reasons for detailing the cursive MSS. The intention was also then expressed of preparing a critical edition of the Greek New Testament (a manual was *then* proposed), in which the ancient authorities should be allowed a primary place. To carry out this intention, Tregelles found it needful to recollate *every* accessible ancient MSS., to examine such collations with those which others might have made, and to recompare discrepancies with the MSS. themselves; to institute a careful re-examination of all the ancient versions; and also to collect, in a manner which had not been done previously, the citations of all the Greek fathers as far as the time of the Nicene council.

These collations of MSS. were carried on independently of those of Tischendorf, and the accuracy of the results has been aided with mutual advantage by a comparison of the separate examinations. After many years of close study, the edition based on the materials so prepared (though now no longer a manual), is now (1855) in the press, containing the Greek Testament, and also the Latin version of Jerome, taken mostly from the Codex Amiatinus at Florence,—the various readings of all the known MSS. in uncial letters, and of a few others of importance,—of all the versions anterior to the seventh century, and of the fathers to Eusebius inclusive: in all cases in which there is any balance of evidence, the authorities are stated for and against the readings under discussion. The general principle in the formation of the text is that of following evidence; and in cases of discrepancy, of using all means available for adopting the best attested reading, by discriminating, if practicable, those which have originated in the mistakes or attempted corrections of copyists. But when there is no discrepancy of reading in the authorities, or where varieties are not so far attested as to require special consideration, then of course the transmitted text of the ancient documents is retained, without any attempt at revision: for although it is of course possible that there may have been transcriptural error anterior to the most ancient documents existing, yet to *assume* this, and to act on such assumption by endeavouring to correct, would be really introducing mere licence of conjecture. The text thus formed by Tregelles differs from that of Lachmann in its basis, by intro-

ducing a wider range of evidence, and by a careful re-examination of authorities; and from that of Tischendorf by a more uniform adherence to ancient evidence, and by a re-examination of the versions and fathers as well as of MSS.[1]

Mr. Alford published, in 1849, the first volume (containing the Gospels) of an edition of the Greek Testament, in which were given copious and critical notes, embracing many topics of importance and interest, and also *a revised text.* A second volume, going on to the end of 2 Corinthians, appeared in 1852, and in 1854 a *second* edition of vol. I. (also in 1855 vol. II. has been reprinted). Mr. Alford's critical principles have been more and more developed as the work has proceeded under his hand; and thus, in the second volume, and in the reprint of vol. I., there are considerable changes from the plan which he first adopted. The *formed principles* of Mr. Alford are stated in the Prolegomena to his second volume (1852), so that it is needless to remark in detail on what he had previously proposed and acted on in 1849. He had then sought to form a *provisional text*, in which *ancient* authority was allowed to predominate, but which often rested on a basis not sufficiently accurate in the collations, &c. of others which were employed. Indeed, the carrying out of diplomatic authority was by no means uniform or consistent; and thus the editor, desiring to give his recension of the text something more than the *provisional* character which he had at first proposed, acted on more formed and settled principles in the continuation of his work and in the second edition of what had previously appeared. He *now* gives us his plan, that of *combining* the testimony, as far as possible, "furnished by the *later* MSS. with that of the more ancient, and to give them, as well as the others, due weight in the determination of readings." (II. p. 59.) This he illustrates by referring to the habits of copyists, and the kinds of mistakes to which they were liable; so that he thinks that a judgment may be exercised in many cases as to readings from our acquaintance with the general phenomena of MSS. "Such acquaintance will enable us at once to pronounce a reading to be spurious, which has yet a vast array of MS. authority in its favour — just because we know that it furnishes an instance of a correction or of an error commonly found in other places." But this principle of Mr. Alford looks very much like the mode in which copyists corrected: the analogy of other passages was with them a sufficient reason for changing what was before them; so this editor would argue from some change having been made or some error found in certain places, that we may conclude that a reading is not genuine in a similar place, because it resembles such change or error. He illustrates his principle by the following example: — "Thus, for instance, we can hardly conceive a reading more strongly attested by MSS. than the celebrated ἔχωμεν of Rom. v. 1.; and consequently some very able critics adopt and defend it. But when we come to search into the habits of MSS., and find that many clauses declaratory of Christian privilege, or the like, are

[1] See "Account of Printed Text," pp. 132–174.

turned into *hortatory sentences*, the inference becomes obvious, that a reading so repugnant to the course of the Apostle's argument as every one must feel this ἔχωμεν to be, owes its introduction to the same mistaken *desire to edify* on the part of the transcribers, and was not the original word, but a correction very early introduced." (II. 59.) But we have first to inquire whether we *can* rightly judge what the Apostle *ought* to have written, before examining the testimony to what he *did* write. And Mr. Alford rightly says, that a reading can hardly be attested by MSS. more strongly than is this ἔχωμεν; and to the strong testimony of MSS. may be added that of versions, and of such fathers as do quote the verse; so that it is a question between definite testimony and subjective feeling. Then, again, it is needful to inquire (even if evidence did not decide), whether any changes into hortatory sentences of this kind are *certainly* found in the most ancient copies; if they *are*, then let them have their weight in cases of *doubtful evidence*, but not else. Also it may be asked whether the difficiltly which Mr. Alford finds in understanding the passage with the reading ἔχωμεν may not have been felt by copyists of old, and whether *they* may not have avoided the difficulty by introducing the indication. A more comprehensive acquaintance with the habits of MSS. might have shown that of two readings equally attested, the *easier* is commonly the correction; much more may this be regarded as true when the more difficult rests on the stronger basis of testimony. *Proclivi scriptioni præstat ardua* (the admirable rule of Bengel) must always be remembered by those who discuss subjects of criticism. Difficulties which occur to a modern expositor might be equally felt by a transcriber, and the latter might escape by introducing the correction, the adoption of which affords the alternative to the former. This introduction of subjective feeling gives a tone and character to Mr. Alford's text: and this is no cause for surprise; since it was from exposition that he turned to textual criticism; so that it was almost impossible to consider evidence for or against readings except under the influence of thoughts of their exegetical force. He adopts the leading principles laid down by Griesbach in judging of various readings, adding, as to the formation of his own text, "every various reading has been judged with reference to external MSS. authority and internal probability combined — and that reading adopted which, on the whole, seemed most likely to have stood in the original text. Such judgments are of course open to be questioned, and in many cases, perhaps, the reading will never be completely agreed on; but I do not know that this should deter successive editors from using all means in their power to arrive at a decision in each case, and conscientiously discharging their duty by the sacred text." To this he presently subjoins a very reasonable demand, but one which would never be complied with by any perfunctory student, and of such there is an unhappily large number who pay *some* attention to Biblical subjects: — "We may reasonably hope to see the day, when every student shall be required to give an account of the sources and rationale of the text which he adopts, and to have a competent

knowledge of the state of the evidence for and against every important various reading." (p. 64.)

Mr. Alford, in combining evidence with argument based on other considerations, produces a text which takes its form, in a great measure, from those qualifying points; and thus, all depends on whether or no they are rightly conceived. All important readings are discussed, and in doing this, he followed, in a great measure, some of those German scholars who have rather *opposed* ancient evidence as such; hence, his arguments have often a tone derived from their sources: and throughout there is a studied endeavour to account on principles of pragmatism for the readings found in MSS., in the manner of those who seemed (as Lachmann said) to have known what passed in the mind of copyists, and to have seen them write. Often, however, Mr. Alford breaks through his subjective trammels, and boldly follows his evidence (see as an instance Acts iv. 25.); though very frequently he, on the other hand, rejects the attested reading when difficult, for something found in later copies, which seems like an attempt at correction.

Besides the notes, expository and grammatical, Mr. Alford gives, immediately below the text, a digest of the evidence, interspersed with his own remarks. The various readings have been gathered from the printed editions in which they have been given; their accuracy, therefore, depends *wholly* on the sources from which Mr. Alford drew. It will surprise none except those who are unacquainted with the subject, that Mr. Alford thus took advantage of the labour of others; for to verify these various readings even with the printed editions of MSS., or with the collations of various collectors, occupies no small measure of time and attention. Mr. Alford appears to have taken great pains to combine into one list the readings (of very various kinds and different values) which had been noted by others: in the first edition of his first volume they were given very partially.

The Greek text adopted by the Rev. C. J. Ellicott, in his editions of St. Paul's Epistles to the Galatians and Ephesians[1], requires to be mentioned in this place. The text which he adopts is substantially that of Tischendorf; the deviations from it being stated in the critical notes. However little claim to critical originality may be made by such an editor, and however fully he may desire to leave with others the responsibility of *this* department; still, it is evident that Mr. Ellicott has used his judgment in employing the common sources of information. It may seem as if he were *inclined* to allow a great, and perhaps preponderating weight, to (what he aptly terms) "*paradiplomatic* arguments:" how far these can be permitted to outweigh simple evidence is elsewhere discussed. When Mr. Ellicott adds a note on the readings of passages he appears to state very fairly what the hindrances in his own mind have been, preventing him from having full confidence in the determination of Tischendorf.

[1] "A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, with a revised Translation. By C. J. Ellicott, M. A., Rector of Pilton, Rutland, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge." 1854. A similar volume on the Ephesians. 1855.

To the notices which have been given of the revisions of the text may be subjoined a brief account of the collations of MSS. of the Gospels executed by Mr. Scrivener. It was formerly intended by Mr. S. to print the Elzevir text with a full and complete collation of all the MSS. of the Greek Testament existing in this country: it is no cause for surprise that *this* plan was not carried out: he has, however, given to the public the results of what he has been able to accomplish[1]; and though the MSS. themselves which he has collated possess in general but few claims to particular attention, yet his book has this value, that it affords a fair sample of the kind of readings which may be gathered from the later MSS. of the Gospels. And as they are *not* nearly as uniform in their text as was alleged by some formerly, the argument in favour of the text they contain, derived from this supposed consenting testimony, falls to the ground as being utterly untenable.

In the introduction to his work (74 pp.), Mr. Scrivener discusses the present state of the Greek text of the New Testament, details the materials employed in his volume, and gives general observations upon the results of his collation. Under the latter head there is information of not a little value to all engaged in critical studies whatever their estimate of documents may be; although the *conclusions* of Mr. Scrivener may well admit of discussion, or, we may say, of refutation. One such point may be stated here: Mr. Scrivener points out that more recent MSS. often exhibit phenomena which show that for critical purposes they possess a far higher value than some that are more ancient; and, after giving specimens, he adds, "Examples such as these can be multiplied almost indefinitely, even with our most imperfect acquaintance with the great majority of cursive records; and to my mind such phenomena are absolutely fatal to the scheme of those persons who have persuaded themselves that a process of gradual change and corruption of the inspired writings was silently yet steadily flowing onwards *in the same direction* during the middle ages, till the sacred originals passed from the state exhibited in the most venerable uncials A. B. C. or even D., into the stereotyped standard of the Constantinopolitan Church, whereof our codices l. m. n. [three so noted by Mr. Scrivener], may be looked upon as fair representatives. Thus easily is rooted up from its foundation the system which would revise the text of the New Testament on the *exclusive* authority of the most ancient books." (p. lxviii.) This last remark seems to apply to Lachmann only, but, even with regard to his system or his text, it is beside the mark aimed at; for the condition of the later MSS., whatever it may be, does not in the slightest degree touch the questions which relate to the oldest. If the later copies of any ancient work agree with the older, they so far confirm them; but if they differ,

[1] "A full and exact Collation of about Twenty Greek Manuscripts of the Holy Gospels (hitherto unexamined), deposited in the British Museum, the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, &c., with a Critical Introduction. By the Rev. Frederick Henry Scrivener, M.A., of Trinity College, Perpetual Curate of Penwerris, Cornwall, and Head Master of Falmouth School." Cambridge, 1853.

then a judgment must be formed between them; and then with regard to *classical texts* Mr. Scrivener and every other competent scholar would find no difficulty in deciding. All that Mr. S. has proved is that there was no "Byzantine *standard;*" but that does not show that there was not a common character of text in the later copies; indeed Mr. S. is himself one of those who have most strongly and truly pointed this out, when appealing from the readings of the oldest copies (supported, too, by versions and early citations) to the numerical mass of the later documents. See for instance, Matt. xix. 17. Formerly the opposers of the readings of the ancient copies appealed to the later as containing a uniform text; this was conceded in argument, as being a point which might be true, and which would even then not detract from the paramount authority of the ancient MSS. But now Mr. Scrivener takes a ground wholly new; and, while contending against the ancient MSS. as such, he sweeps away the supposed facts on which those had rested, with whose general conclusions against the most ancient books he most fully agrees. He does this so fully that he cites Lachmann's inquiry only to condemn it, "Why should we think that Irenæus and Origen used more corrupt copies than Erasmus and the Complutensian editors?" The final conclusions of Mr. Scrivener are, *on any theory*, by no means satisfactory; for thus we are left without *any* ground on which we can now rest in forming any settled opinion on subjects connected with the text of the New Testament; for Mr. S., after showing how difficult it is to draw lines of demarcation between different classes of text, continues thus: "Then comes the reflection that nine tenths at least of our materials are most imperfectly known. The only chance of escape therefore from our existing perplexity must rest in a thorough review, and (if needs be) a complete recollation of the whole mass of our critical authorities; a work doubtless of much toil and magnitude, but under all the circumstances absolutely indispensable, unless indeed the further prosecution of Biblical criticism is to be laid aside altogether." This is indeed a hopeless conclusion; and it is on that account that in a work like the present, intended for Biblical students, it seems to *demand* some notice. It may first be observed, that Mr. S. himself does not *act* on his conclusion, but, on the contrary, he expresses himself firmly and decidedly as to the reading of *certain passages.* Thus, he considers that he has sufficient data to form a settled judgment as to *them* at least. And if we had to *wait* for the suggested collation to be executed, who can say when it would be accomplished? It is true that of late, in about twelve years more was done in the department of *exact* collation than in three preceding centuries, but still who would undertake thus to examine *all* the known MSS.? And yet, on this theory, until that should be done we ought to have no certainty as to the text of the New Testament.

How much more simple and satisfactory it is to remember, that the actual readings of the apostolic age are those which we require; that the readings which we *know* to be ancient carry us much nearer to that age than any found in recent documents alone can do; that

if the ancient authorities *agree* in readings, the *onus probandi* rests ENTIRELY on those who wish *not* to follow them; and further, that the only proof that a reading *is* ancient is that it has some ancient voucher. We may thus cast aside from our consideration all readings which have *no* ancient authorities, and regard them as belonging to the kind of variations which the later scribes introduced. And this saves us from the toil of contemplating the indefinite, dimly bounded horizon proposed by Mr. Scrivener; we have definite objects on which to fix our attention; with these we may be occupied, even though we should be well pleased if the investigations of explorers should rescue documents from the neglect in which they have lain, and show that they possess a claim to be considered as good collateral witnesses. And further, with regard to the sacred text in general, we may say, that there are conclusions which cannot be shaken by the recollation of all the documents to which Mr. Scrivener refers: for if it be sufficiently attested by the oldest witnesses of all classes; if there be in its favour good old versions, and early citations, with the definite evidence of some of the best of the earlier MSS., then we may be sure that no new witnesses *could* be discovered which would overturn this kind of testimony.

Happily Mr. Scrivener's remark on the imperfect manner in which our materials are known does not apply to the *ancient* MSS.: for with the exception of the Vatican MS. (which we can only employ as insufficiently examined by three collators), there is hardly an ancient MS. at all, and certainly not one worthy of *special* notice, which has not of late years been carefully collated by Tischendorf and Tregelles.

CHAP. XII.

ON THE SOURCES OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM IN GENERAL.

THE sources of Textual Criticism are the evidences which we possess for or against different readings; they are the channels through which, in whole or in part, the text has been transmitted to us. They are *three*: —

1. MSS., 2. versions, 3. early citations.

It will be needful to consider these separately in detail; a few general remarks, however, may be properly premised with regard to the relative value of these three channels of evidence. As to ancient works in general we have only the *first*; for such citations as may be found of classical writers are hardly enough to entitle us to bring them forward as a substantive class of witnesses: while, as to others, we have only the *second*, since some ancient works are wholly lost in the originals, and we possess them merely in a translation: and thus it is that, with regard to the New Testament, we are far more richly supplied with materials for criticism of different classes.

If *versions alone* have been preserved, it is in vain to think of restoring the *original text;* all we can do is to be content with the general substance: and with regard to citations, unless they are *express,* we cannot feel absolute confidence in their giving the exact words; and thus by themselves they would often be doubtful witnesses. Thus MSS. deserve the first place amongst the sources of criticism, even though those which exist are not as old as the date of particular versions; and MSS. as occupying the first rank must be first considered.

In the separate description of each of the channels of transmission, the peculiarities and characteristics of each class, and of each document, will require to be stated in detail. To each of these classes will apply much of what was said above, when the history and causes of various readings were under consideration. For although MSS. were there specially mentioned, it must be obvious that versions, besides partaking in the variations found in the MSS. from which they were made, are always liable to have received in the course of transcription more errors of a similar kind.

And so, too, citations *may* have been taken originally from errors in the text from which the quotation was made; or they *may* have been modified from time to time by copyists or editors: all these points will require distinct consideration.

But little is known of the *history* of particular MSS., or of the versions in general. It is needful to learn from their internal characteristics, readings, &c. what weight their testimony may deserve, and how far the copyist or the translator appears to have faithfully transmitted the sacred text, and how far he may have been liable to mistakes of any peculiar kind. In forming such an estimate we learn the importance of our not being left to form a judgment from the testimony of mere individual witnesses; we are able to use *combined testimony:* and this is of very great value, not only in producing conviction in favour of particular readings, but also in maintaining the character of individual witnesses. In this we find the ancient citations, especially those which are express, to be of very great value: for when an early writer says distinctly, that in such a passage such a reading should be found, and not such a one, and when some existing documents do accord with this explicit testimony, it goes *so far* in establishing the character of such documents, especially if they are a few in contrast to very many.

We thus reach the mode of demonstrating the value of documents by *Comparative Criticism;* that is, by showing, in cases of explicit ancient testimony, what MSS. and versions do, as a fact, accord with the readings so established; and thus we are able, as to the text in general, to rely with especial confidence on the witnesses whose character has thus been proved.[1]

In weighing the testimony of the versions, it will be seen very frequently, that *all,* or almost all, of those prior to the seventh century range on one side, against the later MSS. and the more recent

[1] See "Account of Printed Text," p. 132. *seq.* § 13. "On an Estimate of MS. Authorities in accordance with Comparative Criticism."

versions; and so, too, as to the citations, it is frequently found, that in places of characteristic difference, those made by the ecclesiastical writers of the early centuries differ considerably from those of later ages.

These citations will be considered specially in a future chapter; all that is needful here to be said is, that the early ecclesiastical writers quoted the New Testament so much and so largely, and interwove so much of its language into their writings, that if the *volume* of the New Testament had been lost in Greek, and we had possessed the works of the Greek fathers, and some one version as an index by which to arrange the fragments, we could have restored, almost verbally, by far the greater part of the text. This consideration alone shows how important it is not to overlook this species of evidence; which, if not so easily grasped (from the modes of citation) as the readings of MSS. and versions, gives us the comparative certainty produced by a threefold cord of testimony.

To these three sources of criticism, some have added *Critical Conjecture;* a name which has been so applied, and which has been by some so rashly maintained, that it can hardly now be discussed without at least a feeling that it is connected with very irreverent treatment of Holy Scripture. Now *critical conjecture* as applied to classical works in general is not only permissible, but necessary; for such works have commonly been transmitted by means of very few, and in some cases through but one MS. Thus, mistakes have been evident on the face of the text itself, and good critics have rightly exercised their skill, not in improving conjecturally what required no emendation, but in suggesting, in cases of *proved corruption*, what might be substituted as giving the real sense of the writer. And when this has been well done, it has been in general by adhering pretty closely to the *letters* of the MS. and then showing where and how the transcriber must have erred from the common and well known causes of mistake. It is thus something like correcting the errata on a printed page which are manifest as such. Not every one ought to attempt it; but he who possesses competent ability will seek to do it in such a way as to recover what the author *must* have written: his object is not to improve on the original, but to restore it. In cases of considerable corruption this may be impossible; and then, as well as in all places in which the text does not suggest the correction, it should stand as it is; for, if no attempt at emendation be introduced, the needed correction *may* be suggested to future critics, to whom this will be rendered impossible if the somewhat injured words and sentences are covered over with attempted plaisters and bandages.

But as to Scripture the case in general, and as to the New Testament entirely, is of a very different kind. For we possess of the Greek New Testament so many MSS., and we are aided by so many versions, that we are never left to the need of conjecture as the means of removing errata. And those who have sought the most to introduce this species of correction have rarely confined themselves to what might be termed *extreme* passages, but they have

too often sought merely to *improve* the text in accordance with *their own* views and feelings; that is therefore setting themselves as judges of what Holy Scripture *ought* or ought not to contain. As long, indeed, as but few copies had been examined, and it was known that they contained variations, it was only natural that commentators should suggest such corrections, on conjectural grounds, as they thought might be found in MSS.; but when more extensive collations had been made, and it was clear that the channels of transmission were sufficient to supply *evidence* as to the text, there was no one thing as to which critical editors were more fully unanimous than in the rejection of all conjecture in the formation of a text.

Wherever in an ancient writing such corrections are supposed to be needful, the first thing is to *demonstrate* this as required from the necessity of the case; and if that is admitted to be clear, then the endeavour should be made to show *from the text as transmitted* what elements are afforded for correction. And thus, even in the Old Testament, there are points, such as dates and numbers, and sometimes names, in which error or omission may be *demonstrated* from either the context or some other passage; in such cases we are compelled in *explanation* of the text to admit the corruption, and to state the correction which is required. But in the New Testament we are in very different circumstances, for we are able to have recourse to documents which carry us so much nearer to the time of the writers, that there was not the same opportunity for injuries of the same kind to have been received which we do find in the Old Testament. And as in no work is recourse to be had to conjecture if an explanation can be given of what has been transmitted, it is excluded in the New Testament in the very class of passages into which some would have brought it; and to admit it would be as uncritical as if we were to select the *easier* readings rather than the more difficult in cases of variations.

As a mere question of probabilities, it is very unlikely that the genuine reading of the authors has been lost from every one of the ancient copies; and when reverence for Scripture is taken into account, it may show us the wisdom of abstaining from the introduction of anything which does not rest on *evidence.* And even if it be supposed that there are corruptions from which our oldest MSS. are not free (such as Ἱερεμιόυ, Matt. xxvii. 9., or Ἀβραάμ, Acts vii. 16.), let this be modestly stated, with the reasons, but without any change being made in the text. It is *certain* that there can be no general corruption: it has not been *demonstrated* that any passage needs (as some in the Old Testament do) to receive correction which authorities do not supply; and it is better, safer, wiser, to adhere to what *may* have some slight defects, than to form for ourselves that which would be far more obnoxious to error. The subject of critical conjecture does not require to be further discussed here: it would have been well if a distinction had always been maintained between the *internal restoration* of passages in ancient authors, and the obtrusion of any mere conjectures on their text.

CHAP. XIII.

GREEK MSS. OF THE MOST ANCIENT CLASS CONTAINING THE GOSPELS, WITH OR WITHOUT OTHER PORTIONS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

In describing the MSS. of the Greek New Testament in uncial letters, it will be more convenient to arrange them in a different order from that in which reference is commonly made to them in critical works. For as that arrangement is made to depend on the *letters of reference* used for the purpose of designation, and as these conventional marks have originated not unfrequently in accidental circumstances, there is the inconvenience that various MSS. are thus widely separated from others to which as a class they closely adhere in a general sense.

The Uncial MSS. are here arranged in this manner:—1st. Those of the oldest class; that is, prior to the seventh century.

2nd. The later uncials which in many respects agree with those of the oldest class.

3rd. The later uncials which, while they have many features of general resemblance amongst themselves, differ from those of the oldest class.

To each of these three classes will be appended such *fragments* as fall respectively under each of the heads; of such fragments, some which belong to the oldest class are of very great importance and value.

In each class the MSS. will be described in the order given to them by the letters of reference commonly employed.

The notation of MSS. by letters of the alphabet seems to have originated from the manner in which the various readings of the Codex Alexandrinus were given in Walton's Polyglott, in which this ancient document was cited by the abbreviation "MS. A." Wetstein, in arranging the various readings which he had collected, wished to use some more concise mode of reference than the abbreviated names of MSS. which had been employed by Mill, and he therefore had recourse to letters of reference: as A. was already appropriated to the Alexandrian copy, he used B. for the Vatican MS., and so as to others; the alphabetical order having no necessary relation to the antiquity or value of the documents. Subsequent editors have followed Wetstein in his references, making additions so as to include MSS. since employed for critical purposes; and thus the various MSS. in uncial letters are now habitually known by their letters of designation.

The convenience of such a concise notation is obvious; it might however have been so carried out as to avoid two defects: one of these is the use of the *same* letter to denote *different* MSS. in different parts of the New Testament. This inconvenience is comparatively slight, but it causes it to be needful to mention at times to *which* of the four parts of the New Testament, as found in MSS.,

the reference is intended to apply. The other inconvenience, which is greater, is the use of different letters to denote the *same* MS. in the four parts into which for critical convenience the books of the New Testament have been divided. The former variety of notation occurs only when certain MSS. contain (as is commonly the case) only some of the New Testament books; the latter variety was introduced in a few cases when a MS. occupied a different *order* in some parts from that which it held in others. In the following list of MSS. the mark of critical reference is prefixed to each MS.; and where different critics have varied as to this the fact is stated.

It will frequently be found stated that certain MSS. are *palimpsests;* that is, MSS. the material of which has been used more than once. When the older writing of a book on vellum was defaced by time or use, the value of the material was a sufficient inducement to cause it to be reprepared for writing on again. In the course of centuries, however, the older writing often again appears in some parts; and thus many works of the ancients have been brought to light. Chemical means have been found most useful in revivifying the letters and lines which had disappeared.

In the description of MSS, those particulars are intended to be stated which bear on the history (if known) of each document, character, general description, and whatever may tend to give a just estimate of its value, whether regarded in itself or in connection with other authorities.

A. Codex Alexandrinus. This MS. was sent in the year 1628, as a present to the king of England by Cyrillus Lucaris, a native of Crete (then Patriarch of Constantinople, and previously of Alexandria), through the hands of Sir Thomas Roe, the English ambassador at the court of the Sultan. Of its previous history very little is known. It received the name of *Alexandrinus* from its having been brought by Cyrillus from Alexandria to Constantinople; and an *Arabic* subscription of comparatively modern, but still not *recent*, date (mentioning that the MS. was said to have been written with the pen of Thecla the martyr), is some proof of its having been preserved in Egypt. Wetstein, however, wished to oppose the idea that the place where this MS. had been preserved was Alexandria, and with this object he relied on certain letters of his great-uncle John Rudolph Wetstein; in one of which (dated Jan. 14th, 1664, addressed to Martin Bogdan, a physician at Berne) he states that his Greek preceptor, Matthew Muttis of Cyprus, informed him that Cyrillus Lucaris had obtained this MS. at one of the Greek monasteries on Mount Athos. Muttis had been deacon to the patriarch Cyrillus, but it does not appear whether he had been with him during his residence on Mount Athos (before he became Patriarch of Alexandria) or not: he might or might not possess an accurate and intimate acquaintance with the history of this particular MS. The point, however, is of very little real importance; for it has no bearing on the question of the origin of the MS.,— written as it must have been many ages before the monasteries of Mount Athos became the

locality in which Greek MSS. were so largely manufactured for sale.

Besides the LXX. version of the Old Testament (defective in part of the Psalms), this MS. contains all the books of the New Testament; in which however there are a few chasms. In St. Matthew's Gospel all the former part, as far as chap. xxv. 6., is now lost; and from John vi. 50. to viii. 52., and from 2 Cor. iv. 13. to xii. 6., are also wanting. Besides these defects, letters here and there are cut away in binding; and in a considerable part of the New Testament, one of the upper corners of the leaves is gone. To the books of the New Testament are subjoined the one genuine, and a fragment of the apocryphal, epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians.

The New Testament books are found in the order in which they are arranged also in other MSS.: the Catholic Epistles follow the Acts; then come the Pauline Epistles; but with that to the Hebrews before the Pastoral Epistles: the Apocalypse, so rare in extant ancient MSS., stands as usual at the close of the New Testament; and in this copy it has been preserved from the injury which has befallen both ends of the volume, from the Epistles of Clement having been added.

This MS., which is on thin vellum, is now bound in four volumes, the three former of which contain the Old Testament.

The writing on each page is divided into two columns; the letters are round, and such as possess the general characteristics of the other documents of the oldest class. They are larger than those of the Vatican MSS. (B.).

The number of lines in each page is about fifty. The letters are in general equal in size, except where a new section commences; and then (as may be seen in the specimen in facsimile types) the first letter of the section itself, or the first of the next line after the beginning of the section, is larger, and is placed *outside the measure* (as would be said of a printed page) of the column. There are no accents or breathings, whether from the original scribe, or from a more recent hand. The contractions of words are only such as are found similarly in other MSS. of the more ancient class.[1] There is of course no division of words; and of interpunction there are but faint or occasional traces, in places in which there is a dot between two words, so as to indicate that in reading some pause was observed: this enables us occasionally to speak with certainty as to the mode

[1] *The general* contractions are ΘC̄, IC̄, XC̄, ΠH̄P, K̄C, ΠN̄A, C̄P, ΥC̄, ĪΛHM, ĪHΛ, ΔĀΔ, OΥN̄OC, for *θεος*, *Ιησους*, *χριστος*, *πατηρ*, *κυριος*, *πνευμα*, *σωτηρ*, *υιος*, *Ιερουσαλημ*, *Ισραηλ*, *Δαυειδ* (or *Δαυιδ*), *ουρανος* (and so through all their cases), and similarly a few more familiar words of frequent occurrence. The line of contraction above the word is a sufficient indication that it is a compend. Some terminations are occasionally contracted, and a line above a vowel is continually employed as a mode of writing the letter N. To carry out this subject into its minute details, belongs rather to a treatise formally devoted to Greek palæography than to the present work. The reader may easily acquire a practical acquaintance with the general features of ancient Greek writing by reading carefully the facsimiles of MSS. which are given below

of division of particular sentences which was followed at the time when this MS. was written. An instance of this is found in John i. 3, 4., where ὃ γέγονεν (now commonly joined to the preceding sentence) is in this MS. connected with the following words, just as it is in most (if not all) the other early authorities which supply any evidence on the subject.

In the Codex Alexandrinus there are found the divisions or sections in the Gospels marked by the numbers of Ammonius, with references to the canons of Eusebius; the headings of the larger sections or τίτλοι stand at the top of the pages; and the places at which those sections commence are indicated throughout the Gospels, and in Luke and John their *numbers* are placed in the margin of each column. To all the Gospels (except Matthew, now imperfect at the beginning) is prefixed a table of these divisions.

The various sections into which the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse were divided by Euthalius and others, are not indicated in this MS.; a *cross* appears occasionally as a separation in the book of Acts; a larger letter in the margin throughout the New Testament marks the beginning of a paragraph, in the same manner as in the Gospels it shows the commencement of an Ammonian section.

This was the first MS. of great importance and antiquity of which any extensive use was made by textual critics. Its actual age was often discussed, and by some it was variously estimated in accordance with their desires of establishing or opposing its authority and value. Perhaps the most extravagant supposition was that of Casimir Oudin, who actually argued that it was as recent as the *tenth* century,—a conjecture so opposed to all that is known of palæography that it scarcely deserves to be seriously refuted. The only sure data which we possess as to such MSS. as this are those furnished by the internal indications, drawn from the contents, and from the form of the letters, &c. Thus we might say that this MS. belongs to an age subsequent to the introduction of the Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons in the Gospels, and anterior to the *general* use (at least) of the Euthalian and other similar divisions in the Epistles. The fact also of the Epistles of Clement of Rome being subjoined to the New Testament is of importance as suggesting a high antiquity; for these Epistles are also mentioned in the preliminary list of the books contained in the MS.: and it would seem as if the writer had considered them as books for Church use, and that he had not enumerated them merely as part of the contents of the MS. This is shown by the arrangement; for under the heading Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, all the books are specified, and after ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙϹ ΙΩΑΝΝΟΥ there follow

ΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΤΟϹ ΕΠΙϹΤΟΛΗ Ā.
ΚΑΘΗΜΕΝΤΟϹ ΕΠΙϹΤΟΛΗ B̄.
ΟΜΟΥ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ (number now erased).
ΨΑΛΜΟΙ ϹΟΛΟΜΩΝΤΟϹ
ΙΗ̄ ΙΗ̄

Thus the Epistles of Clement were added up as parts of the specified number of the New Testament books; while the Apocryphal Psalms bearing the name of Solomon, which the MS. appears to have once contained, were separated in the list, as something wholly different in kind. These Apocryphal Psalms were in fact prohibited by the Council of Laodicæa, soon after the middle of the fourth century, from being read in the churches. To this prohibition the MS. is conformed, although it gives a proof of so different a use of the Epistles of Clement. The practice of reading the first at least of these Epistles could not have been so thoroughly condemned and obsolete as to influence all transcribers when this MS. was written. The shortness of the subscriptions to the Epistles may be considered as carrying some weight; for this at least indicates that the form which they received from Euthalius, or those whom he followed, even if introduced, had not been *generally* adopted.

The form of the letters, and other particulars of the writing, are such as exhibit the characteristics of MSS. older than the seventh century, and probably considerably older; so that on palæographic grounds alone this MS. would be supposed to be apparently of the fifth century. This probability is of course greatly increased, when the independent grounds for a similar judgment are taken into consideration. These independent grounds, such as the noninsertion of the Euthalian and other sections, might, indeed, have been supposed to have more to do with the MS. from which this was copied, than with the Codex Alexandrinus itself; were it not that every other indication points us to a similar age. We can hardly be far wrong if we conclude that the middle of the fifth century, or a little later, was the time when this MS. was written.

It has been argued that Egypt was the country of its origin, from the orthography of particular words, and other points of the same kind. But these characteristics would hardly be relied on now, since it is pretty well established that such points had quite as much to do with the Greek forms employed in the LXX., and also probably by the sacred writers of the New Testament, as with Egyptian orthography. It is however probable that Egypt may have been the region in which it was copied; for Alexandria was the great literary centre of the East, and there is nothing in the MS. itself to contradict this antecedent probability.

The interchange of vowels of somewhat similar sound is very frequent in this MS.; and this confusion (as well as that occasionally of ν with μ, and the substitution of $\nu\gamma$ for $\gamma\gamma$) may be an argument which points to Egypt.

The first who had the opportunity of examining this MS. critically was Patrick Young (Patricius Junius), librarian to King Charles I. In Walton's Polyglott, a collation of this MS. was subjoined to the Greek text of both Testaments. It was again collated by Mill, and afterwards by Wetstein. All these collations were, however, superseded in 1786, by the actual publication, under the editorial care of Dr. Woide, of the text of the MS. itself. This was done in a fac-

simile edition, for which the types were cut on purpose, and they were so formed as to represent the general shape of the letters in the MS. itself; so that Woide's edition exhibits the MS., page for page, line for line, and letter for letter. Of course, errata may have found their way into the edition; but it is believed that it is in general very accurate. The errors which have been pointed out are such as appear to supply their own corrections. Mr. Linnell, in order to test the accuracy of Woide's edition, examined it throughout the Epistle to the Ephesians with the MS. itself: the result was that he noticed errors in *two letters*, neither of which could lead to a false reading of the actual word; for the substitution of εκληθηθε for εκληθητε (iv. i.) and πραοθητος for πραοτητος (ver. 2.) would be seen at once to be a mere mistake of transcribing or printing.

In 1 Tim. iii. 16. Woide edits $\overline{\Theta C}$ εφανερωθη, and he combats in his prolegomena the opinion of Wetstein, who maintained that OC was the original reading, and that the stroke, which in some lights can be seen across part of the O, arose from part of a letter visible through the vellum. In this, however, as the result of repeated examinations, we can say distinctly that Woide was wrong, and Wetstein was right. Part of the Є on the other side of the leaf *does* intersect the O, as we have seen again and again, and which others with us have seen also.

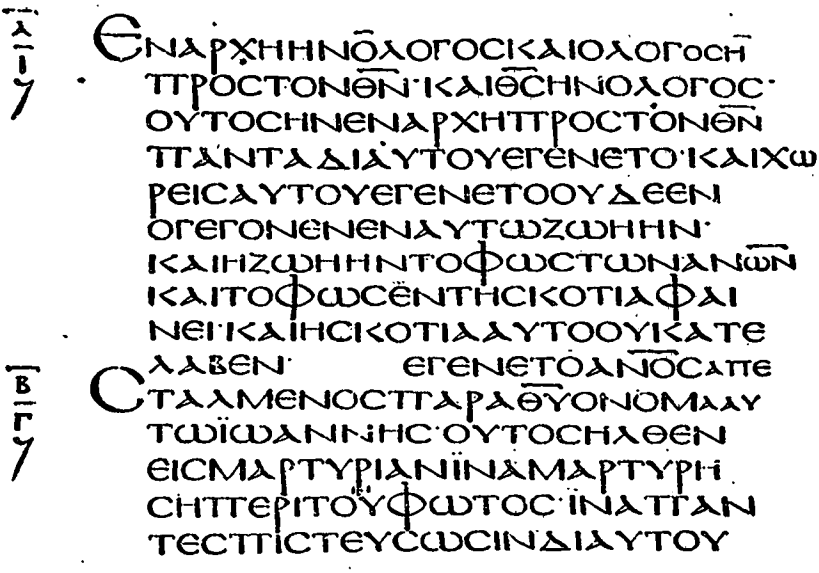
The copyist of the Codex Alexandrinus was by no means careful; and the corrector was often as little accurate as the first scribe. In points of minute exactness this has to be borne in mind, though the value of a MS. is often in inverse proportion to the critical skill of the copyist: a scribe, if too intelligent, was always prone to make critical emendations.

The text of this MS. has been supposed to differ in its character in the Gospels from that which is found in the other parts, especially St. Paul's Epistles. For while the Epistles, &c., contain a text which may be called (geographically, if not critically) *Alexandrian*, the Gospels in many respects accord in readings with the Constantinopolitan copies. But while this is said, it must be added that the complexion of the text of the Gospels in most of the later uncials and other MSS. differs greatly from the Codex Alexandrinus: in many respects it holds a sort of middle place in the Gospels; and while not there Alexandrian in text, it is also often not Constantinopolitan.

Of all the uncial MSS. which we have, this contains the New Testament by far the most entire; and this alone would cause a great importance to attach to it. No other Greek MS. of the oldest class contains the book of Revelation complete.

The following specimen will give the reader an accurate notion of the facsimile edition of the Codex Alexandrinus, and so far of the MS. itself.

John i. 1—7.



This stereotype specimen[1] was kindly furnished to the Rev. T. H. Horne, by the Rev. H. H. Baber, then one of the librarians of the British Museum, who permitted for this purpose the use of the Alexandrian types with which he printed the facsimile edition of the Old Testament portion of this MS. (four vols. folio, London, 1816–28).

[1] Mr. Horne, for the gratification of the English reader, thus represented the passage contained in the above facsimile, rendered rather more literally than the idiom of our language will admit, in order to convey an exact idea of the original Greek (above given) of the Alexandrian manuscript:—

John i. 1—7.

INTHEBEGINNINGWASTHEWORDANDTHEWORDWAS
WITHGD·ANDGDWASTHEWORD·
HEWASINTHEBEGINNINGWITHGD
ALLWEREMADEBYHIMANDWITH
OUTHIMWASMADENOTONE*THING*·
THATWASMADEINHIMLIFEWAS·
ANDTHELIFEWASTHELIGHTOFMN
ANDTHELIGHTINDARKNESSSHIN
ETHANDTHEDARKNESSDIDNOTITCOMPRE
HEND· THEREWASAMNSE
NTFROMGODWHOSENAME*WAS*
IOHN·THIS*PERSON*CAME
ASAWITNESSTHATHEMIGHTTESTI
FYCONCERNINGTHELIGHTTHATA
LLMIGHTBELIEVETHROUGHHIM·

Such a specimen gives a general notion of the effect of a Greek MS. of the more ancient class, with its undivided writing, rare interpunction, and with the peculiar mode of division found in this and some other MSS., in which a break is made *in the line* where a new section begins; but the first letter of the next line assumes the character of a large initial, beyond the measure of the page, even though, as in this instance, it should happen to be in the middle of a word. In common Greek types, these two lines would run thus: —

λαβεν· εγενετοαν̄οσαπε
Σταλμενοσπαραθ̄ονομααν

B. CODEX VATICANUS. — This MS. is numbered 1209 in the library of the Vatican at Rome, in which it must have found a place not long after its formation by Pope Nicholas V. For early in the sixteenth century it was well known by report amongst scholars as an extremely ancient copy of the Scriptures; and thus, when Erasmus was blamed because in his published Greek Testament he had departed from the common readings of the Vulgate, he appealed to this MS. as an authority in his favour; partly probably because of the antiquity which was known to belong to it, and partly on the ground of its belonging to the *Papal* Library: Paulus Bombasius, then the prefect of the Vatican Library, communicated to him in 1521 two extracts from *this* MS. containing 1 John iv. 1—3. and chap. v. 7—11. (showing that it omitted all mention of the heavenly witnesses). Other allusions were made to this MS. in the same age; and thus we know what celebrity was attached to it. One question discussed in connection with this MS. was, whether it had or had not been used by the Complutensian editors.[1]

A more recent hand has supplied parts of this MS. in which the original writing is defective, and it has been said that this was done out of a MS. belonging to Cardinal Bessarion. If this traditional account of the filling up of these lacunæ be correct, it may show that this MS. was sent to the Vatican at or about the time of the founding of the library; at least the fact of such an opinion being current is so far a proof that it was thought that the defects were supplied at that time. This trouble seems to have been taken for some very particular purpose, and it may probably have been done before this ancient book was placed in the Vatican Library, whether it came there as a present, or whether it was procured from amongst the spoils of the dispersed Greeks after the capture of Constantinople.

This MS. is on very thin vellum; the letters are small, regularly formed, uncials; *three* columns are on each page (except in some of the stichometrical parts of the Old Testament, where there is only room for two); the original writer placed neither accents nor breathings, but these have been added by a later hand; they are, however,

[1] See above, p. 108., on the intercourse between Erasmus and Sepulveda relative to *this* MS. and its readings, and also as to the charge of Latinizing which was brought against it.

so delicately written, and with ink which has so much faded in colour (if indeed it ever were thoroughly black), that some who have carefully examined the MS. have thought that the accents and breathings were not additions to what was originally written. It is however an established fact, that they did proceed from a later corrector: this is proved by microscopic examination, and also from their omission in places in which the later hand introduced a correction; and also it may be remarked that if the original copyist had written these fine strokes with the same ink as the letters, they would of course have faded in the same proportion, and thus would now be discernible only with difficulty.

This MS. contains the LXX. version of the Old Testament (defective at the beginning through the greater part of Genesis, as well as in part of the Psalms), and the New Testament as far as Heb. ix. 14. (*αμωμον τῳ θεῳ καθα*—); the remainder of that Epistle and the Apocalypse have been added by a recent cursive hand, which has also filled up the chasms in the Old Testament. The MS. does not contain the Pastoral Epistles, the place of which in the old arrangement was *after* those addressed to churches, and immediately before the Apocalypse; it does, however, contain all the Catholic Epistles, which were not affected by the loss of the latter part of the MS., as they are placed (as is frequent) between the Acts and the Romans. The later writer has not supplied the Pastoral Epistles, and thus all citations from this MS. as if it contained them (such as those of Dr. Bloomfield) are simply errors as to facts,— quotations invented by pure imagination.

The appearance of this MS. now is peculiar; for after the older ink had considerably faded, some one took the trouble of retouching the letters throughout; this was probably done to make them more legible for actual use. When, however, this *restorer* differed from the original copyist in orthography, he left letters untouched; and sometimes he appears to have *corrected* the readings, or at least they are corrected in ink of a similar colour; and in cursive letters.

This MS. is void of interpunction; and the only resemblance to it is found in a small space being left between the letters where a new section begins. The initial letters, as left by the first copyist, are not larger than the rest; but a later hand has added a large initial letter in the margin, and has erased (wholly or partially) the original initial. This may be seen in the facsimile made by Zacagni for Grabe (a copy of which is subjoined to this description), in which also it is evident that the strokes of the *restorer* have been more noticed than the original writing; hence the irregularity of the letters; for the lines by which they were retouched leave continually part of the original strokes visible at the side.

The Gospels contain neither the Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons, nor yet the larger chapters; but they have instead a division into sections which appears to be quite peculiar. These sections are numbered in each Gospel: Matthew has 170, Mark 61, Luke 152, and John 80. The divisions also in the Acts and the Catholic Epistles, at least those not made by a later hand, are pe-

culiar, and differ from the Euthalian. In the Acts these sections are 79.[1]

The divisions found in St. Paul's Epistles are curious; they are treated as though they were all *one book*; and thus the notation of the sections runs on continuously. The last section in the Epistle to the Galatians is numbered 58, and that to the Ephesians commences with 70, showing an omission of eleven sections; but after the Epistles to the Thessalonians (the last division of which is marked 93), the Epistle to the Hebrews begins with 59[2], showing that it once occupied a place between the Galatians and Ephesians: the last number in Hebrews *now* is 64; the rest must have been in the four chapters and a half now lost.

The confusions of vowels and general orthographic mistakes in this MS. are very few; the contractions also are less frequent than in most other ancient Biblical MSS. ΔΑΤΕΙΔ, for instance, is habitually expressed at length (thus spelled), and not by the contraction $\Delta\overline{\text{A}}\overline{\Delta}$. The titles and subscriptions of the different books are very short and simple; they have, however, in the Epistles been amplified by a later hand; but even these additions are so ancient that they differ from those introduced by Euthalius and adopted by the early copyists in general.

The antiquity of the MS. is shown by its palæographic peculiarities, the letters even resembling in many respects those found in the Herculanean rolls; the form of the book, the six columns at each opening resembling in appearance not a little a portion of a *rolled* book[3]; the uniformity of the letters, and the absence of all punctuation: all these points would have their united weight, in causing us to consider this MS. as older than any other which is known or available for New Testament criticism.

The palæographic arguments are confirmed by those drawn from the *contents* of the MS.: it stands alone in its divisions; and it seems to take its place as prior to the *general use*, not only of the Euthalian, but also of the Ammonian sections: the latter, as well as the Eusebian canons, were, as we learn from Jerome, common as adjuncts of MSS. in

[1] This is the number in Bentley's collation, in which the beginning of each section is specified. It seems, however, from Birch, that there must be in that book a twofold notation; for he says that the number of sections is 36 (giving it explicitly in the Greek numerals λς'), and correcting Zacagni, who had stated the number as 39. Perhaps the notation 36 proceeds from a later hand, as this enumeration answers to what we know was in use in subsequent times.

[2] These numbers have been stated as accurately as they can be gathered without a re-examination of the MS. for this special purpose. Bentley, Birch, and Hug differ slightly in the actual numbers, while they agree in the general fact.

[3] While these remarks were passing out of the writer's hands, he received a *single skin* of a Hebrew roll; and the general effect of that portion of a book of the rolled form, when looked at by itself, singularly resembles one page of the Codex Vaticanus. This Hebrew fragment consists of *three* columns; and as the skin is perfect at the sides, and has all the marks of the stitches by which it was joined to the other skins, it is not unlikely that from very early times three columns on one skin was a customary arrangement. This Hebrew fragment was given to the writer by Mrs. Lieder, of Cairo. Its history is peculiar, for it was found in a dry shaft beneath the mosque of Omar, at Jerusalem,—the ancient site of the temple of the Lord. The three columns contain Genesis xxii. 1—xxiv. 26. The material is a red skin, prepared for writing on one side only.

the latter part of the fourth century. Also the original place of the Epistle to the Hebrews shows how this MS. differs from what was usual from the time of Athanasius, when it was placed after 2 Thess. The omission, too, of ἐν Ἐφέσῳ in the beginning of the Ephesians (where, however, the original writer, or at least a very early hand, has added the words in the margin), which accords with the testimony of Basil, that these words were not in some ancient MSS., the non-addition of the latter part of Mark xvi., and other peculiarities of a similar kind in the readings, all form parts of the process of proof on which Hug has relied in his *Commentatio*, as establishing the claim of this MS. to be a monument of the former part of the fourth century. It may be said with confidence, that the examination of its text and contents would prove the high probability (not on a single ground, but on many combined) that it is anterior to the middle of the fourth century; and this established probability is precisely what palæography confirms. How much older this MS. may be than the middle of the fourth century, we have no means of determining.

The editors of the Roman LXX. in 1586, used the former part of this MS. as their basis; their departures from it being, it seems, mostly accidental. In adopting the text of this MS. they were guided by critical sagacity, which at that time was remarkable. They judged of the antiquity of the MS. itself from a comparison of the letters with ancient monuments, such as inscriptions; they estimated the ancient date of the *text* by comparing it with very early citations. They thus benefited Biblical study not a little by rescuing the text of the LXX. from the form in which it was then current; when it followed sometimes the Complutensian edition, and more frequently the Aldine. What a service the Roman editors might have rendered to New Testament criticism, if they had extended their labours to that portion of their MSS.!

In the same century, Werner of Nimeguen extracted some readings; and these, and the few verses sent to Erasmus, were long the only certain specimens which critics possessed of the text which it contains. And thus it was long discussed (and even by Mill, who maintained the affirmative) whether this MS. had not been employed as the basis of the Complutensian edition.

The first *collation* of the Codex Vaticanus was made in 1669 by Bartolocci; this is contained in a transcript amongst the MSS. in the Bibliothèque du Roi (now Impériale) at Paris. The collation itself is very imperfect; and the transcriber has not been very diligent or attentive. This collation was first used by Scholz in the first vol. of his Greek Testament, in 1830: defective as it is, it has some value as confirming or correcting readings quoted by other collators. To this end it has been recopied both by Tischendorf and Tregelles, and it was also employed by Muralt in an edition of the Greek Testament to be mentioned presently.

The next collation was that which was executed for Bentley, when that critic was engaged in preparations for his proposed Greek Testament. An Italian named *Mico* made the collation about the year 1720. Afterwards, when Dr. Thomas Bentley, one of the nephews of the

great critic, was staying in Rome, he examined and described this MS. Mico was by that time dead; but the variations by the hands of correctors, and the traces of the readings *a prima manu*, were again extracted for Bentley by the Abbate Rulotta, and transmitted to him. Unhappily we do not know what has become of the notes of this re-examination. The collation by Mico is now preserved amongst Bentley's books and papers in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge; it is decidedly the most complete that we possess, even though Mico has at times confounded the hand of a corrector with that of the original copyist. In 1799, this collation was published by Ford, in the appendix to the Codex Alexandrinus. The collation is in the margin of a copy of the Greek Testament of Cephalæus (Strasburg, 1524). Before it was published by Ford, it had been transcribed by Woide into a copy of Bishop Fell's edition (1675); and thus, in some places, the peculiarities of the text of Cephalæus were assumed as though they were found in the Vatican MS. But, indeed, useful as Ford's edition has been, it is not without good fruit to *recompare* what he printed with the collation as it is found in Trinity College Library.

Birch, while travelling at the expence of the King of Denmark, collated the New Testament in this MS., with the exception of the Gospels of Luke and John: the whole seems to have been executed, for some unexplained reason, with haste. It is clear that hindrances were thrown in his way, but he altogether abstains from any statement of the circumstances under which he made the collation. In 1788, Birch published his edition of the Greek Gospels, subjoining various readings from the MSS. which he had examined. This contained the first published collation of the MS.: Woide had previously sent to Birch for insertion a transcript of the collation of the Gospels of Luke and John as made for Bentley. In 1798, Birch published the various readings which he had collected for the Acts and Epistles, and in 1801 he reprinted the critical apparatus to the Gospels in the same form.

From these collations, but especially from that of Mico, critics can commonly use the readings of this MS.; but there are not merely cases in which one collator has noticed something while another is silent, but there are also contradictions and discrepancies. Some of these are settled by the testimony of Bartolocci confirming one or the other of the collations; but there is enough still uncertain to make a critic regret deeply that hitherto the MS. has been inaccessible for the purpose of a *perfect* examination.

During the time that this MS. with other treasures of the Vatican Library was at Paris, Hug examined it, and published a valuable description of it: he seems not to have been aware that it was desirable to *collate* it more thoroughly: such a work, however, was but little in accordance with his habits of mind.

The MS. was inspected by Tischendorf in 1842, and by Tregelles repeatedly in 1845 and 1846; but it was under such restrictions that it was impossible to do more than examine particular readings.

An edition of the Greek New Testament by Muralt appeared in

1846 (and again with prefatory matter in 1848), professedly based on this MS. The fact of the case however is, that Muralt had only the opportunity of examining the MS. for a few hours; and yet he says that this was sufficient to show him the superiority of the collation of Bartolocci over the others. As the collation in question remains in MS. at Paris, it was not easy for students to disprove Muralt's claim. The transcription of that collation, however, shows at once its extreme defectiveness; and it brings clearly to light that Muralt *could* not have made it the basis of his edition. Tischendorf plainly proved how little Muralt did, or could have done, in the Vatican Library: he might have rendered some service to criticism had he been contented with informing others what he himself had really observed in the MS.

It has long been wished that there should be a facsimile edition of this MS.; and much has been said about such a publication prepared by Cardinal Mai.[1] There can be no doubt that an edition has been printed, containing both the LXX. and the New Testament from this MS., but it does not appear to be what is commonly understood as a facsimile edition: it seems rather to be a text closely following the MS. Various reasons have been assigned for its not having as yet received the approbation of the Roman censors of the press. The death of the learned editor *may* prevent further steps being taken to publish his labours, though printed. When Rome was in the hands of the Republican government, and the authority of the Pope could no longer hinder the appearance of useful works, Cardinal Mai offered the impression for sale to Mr. Asher, the publisher at Berlin. The terms named by the Cardinal were deemed too high by Mr. Asher, and thus the negotiation was broken off. It was curious to find a Roman Cardinal endeavouring to enjoy a measure of liberty of publication, when the Pope had fled from Rome, which he could not have when this ruler of the Romish Church was in the full exercise of his powers. The French occupation of Rome, and the restoration of Papal authority, soon prevented Cardinal Mai from publishing his edition, — and thus the boon so ardently desired by Biblical students of Europe and America was withheld.[2]

In many respects, there is no MS. of equal value in criticism; so that, even though we are at times in doubt as to its readings, we are bound to prize highly what we do know. If readings which we know, on independent grounds, to be very ancient, but from which

[1] The very contradictory statements which have been published on this subject are owing in part to the varying accounts which the Cardinal himself gave to various inquiries. In March, 1846, Cardinal Mai told the present writer that it would not be a facsimile edition, but one formed for general use, "comme l'édition Anglaise de Mill." How far this description is apt or accurate, we may, perhaps, be able some day to determine.

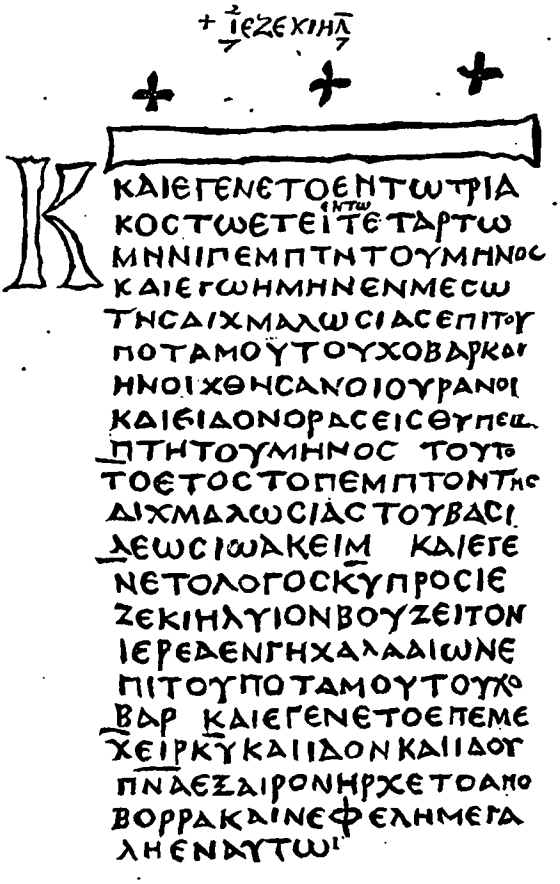
[2] There was a rumour that this MS. had disappeared at the time of these Roman commotions; and it was even said that it had passed (like most other *lost* MSS.) into Russian hands. The hope was therefore expressed that, like the Codex San-Germanensis and others, it might come to light in Russia, where, at least, it could not be *less* accessible to scholars than it was at Rome. The writer, however, obtained precise information that this MS. was safe in its place after the restoration of the Papal government.

the mass of MSS. differ, are found in certain documents, it at once proves that they possess a peculiar critical worth. And this is the case with the Codex Vaticanus. There are places not a few in which it stands almost alone, as far as MS. authorities are concerned, although confirmed by very many versions, and by express early citations. These considerations stamp it with that value which leads those who understand how to estimate such subjects aright to regard its testimony as of *much importance* (to say the least), in cases altogether doubtful, and when it is not so specially corroborated.

Of course, like every other MS., it contains errors; and none who are moderately versed in critical studies, would, as a matter of course, rely implicitly on this or on any other single copy. It possesses a good claim to be considered as superior in the New Testament to the Greek Textus Receptus, as is the Roman LXX. to the Aldine edition. In many points of orthography, this MS. may be safely followed, as giving the forms, &c., which really belong to that kind of Greek in which the New Testament was originally written. It has been supposed that these forms show that the codex was written in Egypt; but their existence does not *prove* this point, which may be regarded as pretty certain on other grounds: the habitual *retention* of Alexandrian forms in this MS. is worthy of remark, and this it may be thought would have been unlikely if the copyist had belonged to another region.

The text of this MS. is of course Alexandrian; but Griesbach, on his system of classifying the most ancient documents, called the greater part of St. Matthew's Gospel *Western:* this may be explained in a few words. The MS. in general agrees with *some* of the more ancient documents; certain of these accord with it more closely in some parts than in others; so that if the more ancient MSS. &c. be divided into subclasses, this would fall strictly under neither: it is more ancient than the rest, and cannot be subjected to the supposed rules of arrangement which have been applied to them. Griesbach had formed his system of recensions *before* a collation of the Codex Vaticanus had been published, so that it was not till afterwards that he had the opportunity of knowing how far it clashed with the subdivisions which he had laid down; while, at the same time, all that he had done to establish the antiquity of his Alexandrian and Western recensions was so far good evidence of the value of the text of the Codex Vaticanus.

As the Old and New Testaments are similar in the mode of writing, &c. employed, the subjoined facsimile of part of Ezekiel will serve equally well to illustrate the New Testament. This specimen was traced in 1704 by Zacagni for Grabe, editor of the LXX. from the Codex Alexandrinus, and it remains amongst his MSS. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford. It was most carefully and accurately copied under the direction of the Rev. Dr. Bandinel, the keeper of the Bodlein Library, for the Rev. T. H. Horne.



[1] Thus represented in English by Mr, Horne:—

IEZEKIEL.

+ + +

NOWITCAMETOPASSINTHETHIR
INTHE
TIETHYEARFOURTH
MONTHONTHEFIFTHOFTHEMONTH
WHENIWASINTHEMIDST
OFTHECAPTIVESBYTHE
RIVERCHOBARAND
THEHEAVENSWEREOPENED
ANDISAWTHEVISIONSOFGDONTHEFI
FTHOFTHEMONTHTHIS
WASTHEFIFTHYEAROFTHE
CAPTIVITYOFTHEKI
NGJOACHIM ANDCA
METHEWORDOFTHELDTOE
ZEKIELTHESONOFBUZITHE
PRIESTINTHELANDOFTHECHALDEESB
YTHERIVERCHo
BARANDUPONMEWAS
THEHANDOFTHELDANDILOOKEDANDLO
AWHIRLWNDCAMEOUTOF
THENORTHANDAGREATCLOUD
WITHIT

An examination of this passage with the MS. itself enables the writer to add a few remarks. The large K at the beginning of the book is from a corrector; the smaller κ within the measure of the column being the only initial which the original writer thought needful: this has been partly erased, but Zacagni has traced both. The somewhat rugged and irregular formation of the lines and letters arises in great measure, if not entirely, from Zacagni having followed the retraced strokes of the later hand that re-inked the letters, instead of the more regular, but now faint, lines of the original scribe. In *this* respect this specimen would give a very inadequate idea of the regular and careful writing.

C. Codex Ephræmi. — This very ancient and valuable palimpsest MS., containing some portions of the Old Testament, and a considerable part of the New, is preserved in the Bibliothèque du Roi (now Impériale) at Paris (No. 9.). It received the name by which it is designated from the later writing being a portion of the Greek works of Ephræm the Syrian. Of the 209 leaves of which the MS. now consists, 145 belong to the New Testament; they comprise not quite two thirds of the sacred text. When the book was complete it contained all the New Testament, and probably also all the Old. The order of the books is the same as in the Codex Alexandrinus, the Apocalypse following the Pastoral Epistles.

This MS. was formerly the property of Cardinal Nicola Ridolfi of Florence, nephew of Leo X., into whose possession it probably passed from Andreas Johannes Lascaris, who died at Rome in 1535, aged nearly ninety years, and who long before had collected in the East many Greek MSS. On the death of Cardinal Ridolfi in 1550, his library was purchased by Pietro Strozzi, and from him this MS. passed into the hands of Catherine de' Medici, and thence to the French Royal Library.

Allix, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, was the first who observed the older writing under the works of Ephræm. After the attention of Boivin had been directed to the MS., he extracted several readings which Küster inserted in his reprint of Mill's Greek Testament in 1710. This was the first use to which it was critically applied. A few years after this Wetstein made some extracts from this and other MSS.; and when in the beginning of 1716, he showed the readings which he had found in this MS. to Bentley, that critic was at once struck with their value, and he sent Wetstein again to Paris to collate this palimpsest as accurately as he could for him. On this labour Wetstein bestowed great pains, though he spoke much of the difficulty which he found in reading many parts of the MS.: indeed, in many places the MS. *could* not then be read. Wetstein's collation was of course transmitted to Bentley; but he retained a copy for himself, from which he gave the readings in his Greek Testament thirty-five years afterwards. For many years nothing was done in connection with this MS., except that a Biblical student occasionally in visiting Paris examined a few passages, expressing in general his surprise at the patience

which Wetstein had shown in decyphering so much. At length, in 1834 and the following year, at the suggestion of Fleck, M. Hase ("ancien conservateur des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque du Roi") caused a chemical preparation (*tinctura Giobertina*) to be applied to the leaves in order to revivify the ancient writing. Thus, much which was illegible before, much that was imperfectly seen by Wetstein, was brought fully to light. But though the older writing was thus restored, every part of the MS. is so stained and discoloured in the process, as not only to be disfigured, but also in some places difficult to read from the various colours imbibed by the vellum. After this restoration the publication of the text of the MS., which many had before much desired, was not long delayed.

In the latter part of 1840 Tischendorf went to Paris, and from December in that year till September 1841, he was occupied in examining and copying the MS. for publication. The printed edition appeared in 1842, and then this MS. might be said to be for the first time available for critical purposes. Tischendorf's edition follows the MS. page for page, and line for line; it is printed in capital letters, although not in any way imitating the form of those in the MS. itself; one page in facsimile is subjoined to the volume: it exhibits very clearly the appearance of the older and the later writing as they now are; even the colour is successfully imitated; the many stains on the vellum are alone omitted: the only reason that any could wish that they had been preserved in the facsimile, is that then the pains which Tischendorf took would be more fully appreciated.

When the original writing of the first copyist is clear, it is followed in the printed edition; where the first corrector has made an alteration *so as utterly* so obliterate the original writing, the readings so introduced are followed, but they are indicated by being given in a smaller type. The changes made by all the different correctors are enumerated in notes at the end of the volume. Such particulars have their value as bearing on the *history* of the sacred text; for when a MS. has been successively corrected by various hands as this has been, the readings introduced show what were current at the respective times when those lived who took such pains in conforming a MS. to what was needed for present use.

There may clearly be discerned the traces of the hands of *two* correctors. It seems on all accounts probable that the MS. was written in the fifth century; the first corrector may have belonged to the following age, for his writing exhibits few if any indications of a more recent date. He went over the whole of the New Testament, making occasional alterations neatly and elegantly: the text thus altered became more Constantinopolitan than before.

The second corrector was a very inelegant scribe, careless alike of calligraphy and orthography. He only revised such parts of the New Testament as were needed for ecclesiastical purposes; he added in the margin notices of the commencement of church lessons, &c.; he freely struck out what he wished to change in the text; in his own writing there are many contractions; and he frequently used

accents and the rough breathing: of these there is no trace in the work of the first corrector. Tischendorf supposes that the second reviser lived in the ninth century, and belonged to Constantinople: he could not be assigned to an earlier period. He sometimes introduced his mode of punctuating the text with a cross; and he has occasionally added marks of cantillation as a guide to the mode in which the text should be intoned in public reading.

A few things in the MS. appear to belong to a different corrector, posterior perhaps to either of the two whose labours require a distinct notice. All such pains must be of necessity anterior to the thirteenth century, in which the vellum was regarded as *worn out* for its original purposes, and was devoted to the new use of copyists.

The writing of this MS. is elegant; the letters are rather larger than those of the Alexandrian MS.; the first letter of each section is larger than the rest, and stands a little beyond the measure of the text; in order that this may regularly be done, part of a line is continually left blank, where a section or paragraph has ended. In this respect the copyist has shown himself superior in neatness and perspicuity to the writer of the Codex Alexandrinus. The vellum is thin, and apparently of pretty uniform texture.

The pages of this MS. are not divided into columns, so that its appearance differs much from the Codices Alexandrinus and Vaticanus. In each line there are generally rather more than forty letters; the number of lines in a page is usually forty-one; the four pages which contain the first Epistle of Peter have each forty-six lines, so as to end the book with the page. There are but few contractions, and those only such as are usual in the more ancient Biblical documents. A point stands as a kind of stop in many places much as in the Codex Alexandrinus: no *rule* could be laid down for its insertion or omission; where it does occur, it indicates *some* pause or separation in the construction.

The Gospels were preceded by the list of the τίτλοι or larger chapters (those of Luke and John alone are in the extant part of the MS.), but the indications of these τίτλοι in the upper margin of the pages were not given. The Ammonian sections stand in the margin (sometimes omitted, or else now effaced); but the Eusebian canons do *not* accompany them. The titles and subscriptions to the Gospels are short and simple.

In the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse there are no indications of chapters, such as those of Euthalius and others: the Epistles have much shorter subscriptions than those of Euthalius. All these characteristics agree with what might be expected at the time which is generally supposed to be the date of this MS., the former half of the fifth century.

Egypt has been considered to be the country in which this MS. originated; and that opinion has many probabilities in its favour. The remarks as to this point made already on other codices will apply to this MS. The *text* of this MS. belongs, like the other more ancient documents, to what has been termed the Alexandrian family; in the Gospels, however, there are many passages in which it does not accord with

others of that class, especially in places in which *parallel passages*, or other similar sources of supposed correction, suggested alterations. If, however, it be compared with the text of the later uncials, its adherence *in general* to a different class becomes manifest; and this, too, is the case in many of the characteristic readings, which are proved to be ancient by *Comparative Criticism*, but which are only found in a very limited number of the MSS. which have come down to us.

In the other parts of the New Testament, there is a very uniform adherence to the readings of its class. Such a remark, however, must not be understood of this, or any other MS., as if each one had not *its own* peculiarities in minor points.

This is one of the most valuable codices which we possess, ranking probably, on the whole, next to the Codex Vaticanus: in some respects it is superior to the Codex Alexandrinus; the text of the Gospels is far better, and the writer seems to have been more careful in general, both in writing and in the division of sentences, so as to make them perspicuous to the *eye*. In one place, however, there is a most extraordinary oversight: in the Revelation (p. 298.), the copyist has in the first five lines of the page given in its proper place, ch. x. 9, 10.; in the sixth line the latter verse continues thus: —

μουωσμελιγλυκυκαιοτεδακρυονεκτωνοφθαλ

μωναυτωνκαιοταν &c., out of the end of chap. vii. and beginning of chap. viii. on to ver. 4.

τωναγιωνεκχειροστουαγγελουενωπιοντουθῦχιλιας

διακοσιασεξηκοντα &c. in chap. xi. 3.

This strange mistake must have arisen from a sort of mechanical transcription: the copyist must have accidentally turned to the wrong page after writing καὶ ὅτε in chap. x.; and perhaps as mechanically afterwards went on in chap. xi., from the page which he ought to have transcribed, though he had inserted in this place rather more than ten lines altogether incoherent, and had entirely omitted the close of chap. x. and beginning of chap. xi., which ought to be there. None of the correctors have lent a helping hand to this passage; none have appeared to notice the incoherence and want of sequence: this may arise from the general neglect with which the Apocalypse has been treated in church use in public; although it may be remarked that other MSS., Biblical and non-Biblical, contain at times sentences uncorrected in which two different things are equally blended in confusion.

This is *the only passage* in the Codex Ephræim in which a mistake of such a kind has been made: except the ordinary interchange of vowels of similar sound (at least in the pronunciation then usual), and of certain consonants, this MS. cannot be regarded as incorrectly written.

D. Codex Bezæ or Cantabrigiensis.—This MS. belongs to the public library of the University of Cambridge: it contains the four Gospels and the book of Acts in Greek and Latin on opposite

pages. Theodore Beza, its former possessor, obtained it, he says, during the French civil wars in 1562, when it was found in the monastery of St. Irenæus at Lyons: it was no doubt then rescued by some Huguenot soldier from the general destruction which took place at the sack of that Abbey. In 1581, Beza sent it as a present to the University of Cambridge, where it has been ever since regarded as one of the principal treasures of the University Library.

We know nothing *certainly* of its history before it came into the hands of Beza; and even though it be supposed to be identical with the MS. cited as β. in the margin of Robert Stephens's third edition, 1550 (a question on which some remarks will presently be made), it would only carry back its history by a very few years.

This MS. has several peculiar features, especially the character and conformation of the text. The Gospels stand, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark; an order found in some of the MSS. of the Old Latin. It is clear that the Catholic Epistles once belonged to the MS.; for there is the end of the third Epistle of John, in the Latin version, on the leaf on the reverse of which the book of Acts begins. Here and there portions of the MS. are defective: some of these chasms have been supplied by a later hand; and as the Latin text is opposite the Greek, there are places in which the readings of the MS. are preserved in the translation, though lost in the Greek text.

The peculiarities in the text consist of interpolations, sentences which seem to be wholly recast, occasional omissions, &c; so that Beza thought that it was a copy rather to be preserved for its antiquity and curiosity than to be made public. He feared, no doubt, lest it should occasion some perplexity or difficulty as to Scripture authority.

Beza was the first person who used it (at least under its present name) for critical purposes, he referred to it occasionally in the notes to his editions of the Greek Testament. Many since his time collated it, so that it has constantly found a place in the critical apparatus of editors. Wetstein accused this MS. of having had its Greek text conformed to the Latin with which it is accompanied; and in this charge he had more reasonable grounds with regard to *this* MS. than in the case of others (such as A. B. C.) which he similarly accused; for its readings often are striking in their resemblance to the Latin versions; and as it is accompanied by Latin on the opposite page, this seemed to some, before the time of Wetstein, to be a ground of more than suspicion. But although much may be said as to the character of many things in its text, the charge of its being adapted to the accompanying Latin is one which cannot be substantiated to any general degree, even if there be points of difficulty uncleared up: for the Latin text is as peculiar as the Greek, and very frequently the Latin text has been *made to suit* the Greek without any regard for Grammar or perspicuity.

In 1793 the text, both Greek and Latin, was published by Kipling at Cambridge in a very handsome edition with facsimile types. Although the editor did not show much accurate learning in his Prolegomena; and though his judgment was at fault in not giving

the *original* reading in the *text* where a correction had been made, yet he appears to have used scrupulous exactitude in performing this task efficiently according to the plan which he had proposed to himself. The notes at the end enable the critical student to discover what the original reading was, in the places in which a change had been made.

Besides the parts of this MS. now entirely wanting, sixty-six of the leaves are torn or mutilated. The defects in the Greek, are at the beginning to Matt. i. 20., vi. 20—ix. 2., xxvii. 2—12.; John i. 16—iii. 26.; Acts viii. 29—x. 14.; xxi. 2—10., 16—18., xxii. 10—20., xxii. 29. to the end. In the Latin it is defective at the beginning to Matt. i. 12., vi. 8—viii. 27., xxvi. 65—xxvii. 2.; John i. 1—iii. 16.; Acts viii. 19—x. 4., xx. 31—xxi. 3., xxi. 7—11., xxii. 2—10., xxii. 20. to the end. Also in the *Greek* a later hand has supplied Matt. iii. 7—16.; Mar. xvi. 15. to the end; John xviii. 13—xx. 13.: in the *Latin*, Matt. ii. 20—iii. 8.; Mar. xvi. 6. to the end; John xviii. 2—xx. 1. These *Greek* additions appear to be later than the tenth century; the Latin are more ancient.

The text of this MS. is arranged *stichometrically;* and, besides this division, there is also occasionally a point introduced, as indicative of a pause. The contractions are few, and the writing is distinct and upright. The Gospels have the enumeration of the Ammonian sections in the margin; but they have proceeded from a later hand, they are sometimes quite misplaced, and they are not accompanied by the Eusebian canons. Liturgical remarks, indications of lessons, &c., are in many places appended by some of the correctors. In the Acts, there is no notation of chapters or sections, either from the original scribe or from a later hand. The breaks sometimes accord with the divisions of Euthalius, but this is by no means universal.

The best judgment of the *age* of this MS. appears to be that which assigns it to the sixth century: the date propounded as possible by Kipling, the *second* century (in which he followed Whiston [1]), is scarcely worthy of serious refutation.

There appear to be no data whatever to lead to a conclusion as to *where* it was written: some have proposed *Alexandria;* but that rests on very indefinite grounds; for the presence of Alexandrian forms (as they have been called) does not *now* lead critics to think of copyists as belonging of necessity to that city. The fact of the Greek text being accompanied by Latin shows that it was intended for *use* in the West, or at all events by men of the West. It may, indeed, be asked what use the Greek text could be to the mere Latins. The same thing, however, is found in other MSS. which belong to the West: some, no doubt, wished to use the Scripture in its original tongue. It has, indeed, been suggested that there were

[1] "Beza's double copy, which is far more ancient than any of the rest, and I think written at the latest within thirty years of the death of John the Apostle." Whiston's tract, "Of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ, according to Beza's double Copy of the Four Gospels, and Acts of the Apostles."

churches in Southern Gaul in which both Greek and Latin were current; and this has been coupled with the fact that this MS. was found at Lyons, where we know that there was early connection with the East (as shown by Irenæus and the Epistle to Smyrna), as well as with Italy. This MS. *may* have originated in the very region in which it was found in modern days, or, it may have been written elsewhere, to be *there* used.

The small measure of intelligence evinced by the scribe shows that the peculiar text of this document could not have originated with him. The interpolations had probably been introduced into some still older copy from the margin, in which they had been previously written. There they may have been subjoined by some who wished to *add* whatever they could obtain, to make the narrative more full and complete. In no part are the additions so many, or so peculiar, as in the Acts. Some of the interpolations are found in no other known document; while others, such as some of those in the Acts, are supported by the margin of the Harclean Syriac; a few, such as that at the end of Matt. xx. 28., are found in copies of the *old* Latin; and several of the peculiarities throughout the Gospels are shared by the Syriac version noticed by Mr. Cureton amongst the other treasures in the British Museum obtained from the Nitrian monasteries.

These peculiarities have caused the Codex Bezæ to be very variously estimated. Some eccentric minds have felt such admiration for the points of difference between this copy and others, that they have held it up as if it alone contained the genuine text: its claims were thus upheld by Whiston[1], and (in measure at least) by Harwood; and in more recent time it was thus used by Bornemann in his edition of the Acts of the Apostles.

On the other hand, the peculiar features of this MS. have been so rested on by others, as to lead them to deny that it has any authority in criticism. Wetstein, with his sweeping charge of *Latinizing*, of course casts the claims of this MS. at once aside; and others, too, who seemed to rest their arguments on different grounds, have sought to impugn its character altogether. Thus Matthæi[2] brought forward the theory that some Latin monk, whose acquaintance with Greek was very limited, had written in his copy extracts from

[1] "The Four Gospels of Matthew, John, Luke, Mark; with the Acts of the Apostles according to the Greek Part of the MS. of Beza, now probably above 1600 years old, in the Public Library of the University of Cambridge: collated by Patrick Young, A.B. Usher; and at least twice by Dr. Mills; besides a still later collation. The imperfections of which copy are here supplied from the vulgar Latin. Translated into English and published by Mr. Whiston." This is the *first part* of "Mr. Whiston's Primitive New Testament. Stamford and London, 1745."

[2] Note on Luke xiii. 24. in his larger Greek Test.:—"De Codice Wetst. D. ita suspicor. Monachus quidam Latinus, Græce mediocriter doctus, Græco novo Testamento suo adscripserat marginibus loca Patrum, cum Græcorum tum Latinorum, quæ locos singulos N. Testamenti spectare videbantur. Notaverat etiam discrimina codicum aliquot Græcorum et Latinorum N. Testamenti. Adjecerat etiam loca litterarum sacrarum parallela. Ex hac farragine deinde vel ipse, vel alius confecit textum sibi probabilem. Id utrum per stultitiam, an per fraudem fecerit, incertum est. Ex hujusmodi exemplari autem, abhorrenti ab reliquis omnibus ductus est Codex Cantabrigiensis seu Wetst. D. Qui aliter de hoc Codice opinantur, ad eum haud attenderint."

various fathers which seemed to relate to the text; and that he had also noted the differences of some copies, Greek and Latin, and had added parallel passages of Scripture. Out of this collection, he then supposed that this monk himself, or some one else, had formed the text of which this MS. is a transcript. Bishop Middleton's theory was very similar: he thought that some Latin Christian had filled the margin of his copy with glosses and various readings in Latin; and that these were translated into Greek by some one whose value for them was greater than his knowledge of languages or his critical acumen. On these grounds he regarded this MS. as wholly unworthy of a voice in criticism.

In all these theories and surmises there is a certain measure of truth, but intermingled with not a few mistakes. No doubt that the interpolations, &c. did originate in marginal scholia; but the fact that some of these are found also in *other* documents (*e. g.* the margin of the Harclean Syriac) is sufficient proof that they could not have come into existence as supposed by Matthæi and Middleton: the accretion must have been more gradual; and so far from the theory of Latin origin being tenable, at least as a general thing, just the reverse is the demonstrable fact. But the *peculiarities* of this MS. do not affect the character of its text *in other parts;* the interpolations may be separated, and there remains a text strongly corroborative of the other most ancient MSS.: its evidence then is all the more forcible, for the *basis* of interpolation and change must have been a text of very great antiquity. It then accords in a great measure with other documents, such as the Latin versions, belonging to the West; and this united testimony was regarded by Griesbach as giving in the Gospels the evidence for his western recension or family: and though no precise line of demarcation could be drawn between these western documents and those styled especially Alexandrian, it is clear that both in their agreements and in their diversities they give united testimony *against* the common mass of Constantinopolitan MSS.

There are, indeed, places in which this MS. stands almost alone in presenting a reading which we know independently to be ancient, and which we find from versions and early citations to have been formerly widely spread. This fact alone attests its high value.

This is the oldest MS. which contains the passage John vii. 53—viii. 11.; it has it, however, in a form, both in the Greek and Latin, which is wholly different from that found in any other MS., widely as the copies vary which do contain the narrative. It is thus clear that the origin of this history, as finding a place in this Gospel, was at least twofold: the narration had two forms, and those copies which introduced it had it in general in one *form* (though with great verbal differences), and this MS. had it in another: the latter appears to be most in accordance with the narrative which Eusebius states that Papias transmitted.

The determination of the question whether this MS. is alone in its peculiarities depends on its identity or the contrary with Robert

Stephens's β'[1], the readings of which stand with others in the margin of his edition of 1550. He himself says of β', "secundo exemplar vetustissimum in Italiâ ab amicis collatum." The collations *in general* were, we know, made by his son Henry Stephens, then a young man; but it is uncertain whether the mode of expression does not exclude him from being regarded as the examiner of β'. The readings extracted from β. agree in a vast number of places with the Codex Bezæ, and with no other known MS.: in places in which this MS. is defective there is hardly ever any citation from β. in Stephens's margin: the passages in which β. is cited for readings not in Codex Bezæ are *very few;* and they are not more than might have been expected from the average proportion of errata in Stephens's margin. On the other hand, it has been said that this MS. was preserved at Lyons, and that Stephens's β. was collated in Italy. Various theories have been advanced on this subject: some have accused Beza of wilful misstatement, and thus have thought that he erred in saying that his MS. came from Lyons, and had been long preserved there. The latter statement, however, must have been made by Beza on the authority of his informant; and it is more reasonable to suppose that the account which he had received was incorrect, than that he should have misrepresented facts without motive. It has been thought that Henry Stephens, who did not go into Italy until after the death of Francis I. in 1547, may have collated the MS. at Lyons, and that the extracts having been sent to his father from Italy, the MS. itself was so described.

Wetstein identified this MS. with one which the Bishop of Clermont in Auvergne had brought with him to the council of Trent in 1546, and which he there cited for the reading in John xxi., ἐὰν αὐτὸν θέλω μένειν οὕτως ἕως ἔρχομαι[2]: and he thought that it had been either preserved at Trent for some time, or that H. Stephens, after collating it in Italy, had left it at Trent. But he did not go to Italy till 1547 at the earliest; and besides, the account says that the bishop of Clermont *brought* it to Trent: but indeed the occurrence of this one word οὕτως is too slight for Wetstein's chain of conjectures to hang firmly by it.

We may say confidently that either the Codex Bezæ and β. are the very same MS., or else the one must be a copy of the other: the similar readings would almost establish this; and the similar chasms in the two MSS. (if diverse) are yet more conclusive. Wetstein, Michaelis, Griesbach, and Marsh, who examined the subject with critical attention, all came to the conclusion that both designations belong to the *same document.* This opinion has been very generally acceded to by critics. Marsh, in the course of his demonstration that a MS. which is now in the library of the University of Cambridge,

[1] That is, the *second* of the documents from which various readings were extracted and placed in the margin of his folio Greek Test. (1550). The *first* document so cited is the Greek text of the Complutensian Polyglott, published by Cardinal Ximenes; the rest were all MSS.

[2] See the citation from Marianus Victorius in Marsh's notes to Michaelis, ii. 704. "Hieronymus legit, sicut habet antiquissimus Græcus Codex, quem Tridentinum attulit Claromontanensis Episcopus, anno Domini 1546."

and which formerly belonged to Vatablus, was one of those used by Robert Stephens, laid down a theorem, founded on the doctrine of probabilities, for stating definitely the *chances* that some MS. collated formerly but not otherwise identified, is the same as some known MS., the readings of which exhibit a remarkable accordance. The principle on which this theorem is founded is chiefly the comparison of the peculiar readings found in the collation and in the known MS.; then those found also in one, two, or three other documents; and thus he is able to deduce a statement in figures of the chances or probabilities of identity. Applying this mode of statement to the Codex Bezæ and β., Marsh says, "From this theorem it appears that the probability of their identity is to the probability of their diversity as a sum exceeding *a thousand of nonillions* to unity."[1] It may, indeed, be said that this mode of calculation is fallacious, since the balance of probability would equally apply to a transcript or duplicate MS.; and if in the Epistles of St. Paul we possessed only either the Codex Augiensis (F.), or the Boernerianus (G.), and a collation of the other, and not the other MS. itself, the chances that they were identical (which we know is not the case) would be as strong as in the case of Stephens's β. and the Codex Bezæ. There would be much in this consideration, were it not that all places of deposit of Greek MSS., public and private, have been explored without any such duplicate coming to light; and thus it is far more probable, either that Stephens made a mistake in saying that his β. had been collated in Italy, or else that Beza was misinformed as to the point that this MS. had been at Lyons *long* before it was found there in 1562.

The importance of this inquiry arises from the peculiarity of the text, and the ancient readings which it preserves: another MS. would have been supposed to be a strong corroboration of this *class of text.*

At least *three* transcripts of this MS. have been made for critical use in modern times: one on vellum in the library of Trinity College Cambridge; one which Simon procured; and one made by Wetstein. This fact must be remembered lest any one of these modern copies should be supposed to be Stephens's β.

Taking the peculiarities of this MS. into consideration, it may be said that its evidence *when alone,* especially in additions, is of scarcely any value as to the genuine text; but of the very greatest when corroborated by other very ancient authority.

[1] Notes to Michaelis, ii. 701. The statement of this theorem is given in the fourth of Marsh's "Letters to Travis," Leipzig, 1795. Further remarks of Marsh on the subject of his theorem, and the correction of an error in computation, which had run through the statement of it (an error which greatly *diminished* the sum of probability as thus represented, and was thus so far *against* the theory which it was used to support), have received but little, if any, critical attention. Nor can this be wondered at; for they appeared in his "Reply to the Strictures of Dean Milner" (Cambridge, 1813), on the subject of the *Bible Society.* But whoever wishes to understand Marsh's theorem must not only use his Letters to Travis, but also the additional statement, where he points out the error in calculation against himself into which he had fallen. A pamphlet on a subject so thoroughly different is about the most unlikely place to look for anything of the kind.

The following specimen taken from Matt. v. 1—3., gives a good idea of the aspect of the MS., and the manner in which it is written:—

The Latin text is here placed for convenience *below* the Greek; in the MS. itself they stand (as has been already stated) on opposite pages.[1]

CHAP. XIV.

FRAGMENTS OF MSS. OF THE MOST ANCIENT CLASS, CONTAINING PORTIONS OF THE GOSPELS.

BESIDES these MSS. of the most ancient class, which contain a large part at least of the Gospels, there are several *fragments* which from their antiquity must be placed in the same class.

N. (J. N. Γ.) CODEX PURPUREUS.—*Four* leaves of this fragment are in the Cotton Library (Cod. Cottonianus) in the British Museum; *six* are in the Vatican; and *two* are in the Imperial Library at Vienna. The MS. to which they belonged was written in silver letters (now turned black) on purple vellum; not *paper*, as has been incorrectly stated respecting the fragments in the British Museum. The words $\overline{\text{IC}}$ (Ιησους), $\overline{\Theta\text{C}}$ (θεος), $\overline{\text{KC}}$ (κυριος), $\overline{\text{YC}}$ (υἱος), and CΩTHP were written in gold letters, which have not suffered in the same manner as the general text in silver characters has done. The leaves in the British Museum (J. of Wetstein) contain Matt. xxvi. 57—65., xxvii. 26—34.; John xiv. 2—10., xv. 15—22. The leaves in the Vatican (called by Scholz Γ.) contain Matt. xix. 6—13., xx. 6—22., xx. 29—xxi. 19.; those at Vienna (N. of Wetstein and others) contain Luke xxiv. 13—21., 34—39. The whole of these fragments were copied by Tischendorf and published in his Monumenta Sacra. The date to which they belong appears to be the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century.

The writing is in two columns; the letters are large and round; the Ammonian sections and Eusebian canons are placed in the margin; and some of the τίτλοι occur at the top of the pages still preserved. There are a few contractions besides those in common use in the most ancient books.

Wetstein employed the Cotton and Vienna fragments for purposes of criticism, though the citations which he gave were very few: he designated them respectively J. and N. Scholz was the first to use

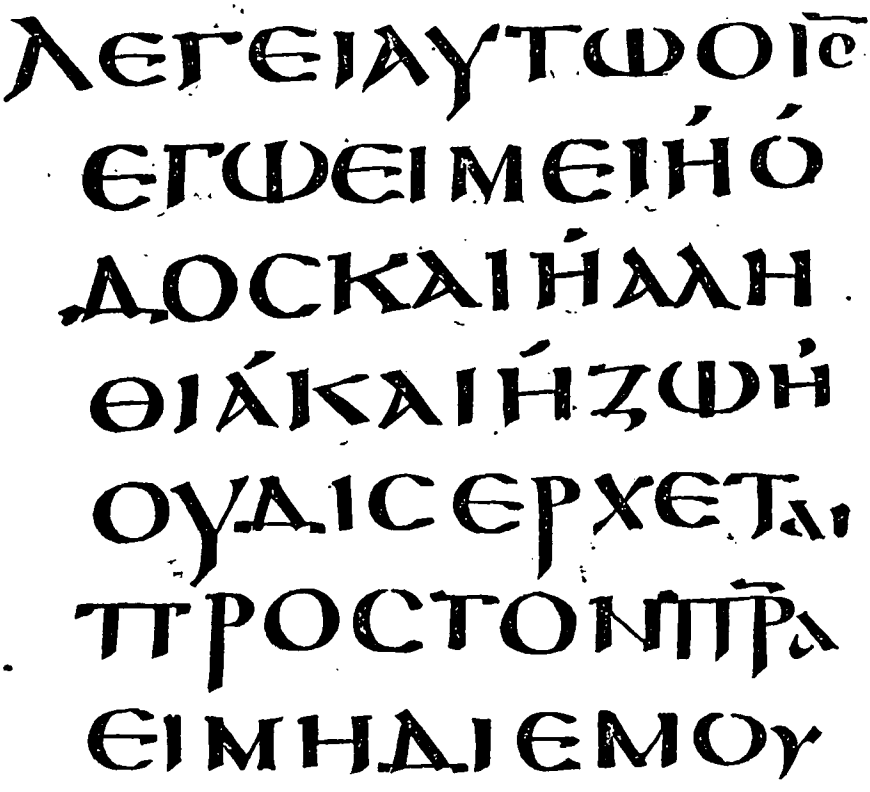
[1] Thus represented in English by Mr. Horne:—

Matt. v. 1—3.

ANDSEEINGTHEMULTITUDESHEWENTUPINTOAMOUNTAIN
ANDWHENHEWASSETDOWN·CAMETOHIM
HISDISCIPLES·ANDOPENINGHISMOUTH
HETAUGHTTHEMSAYING
BLESSED*ARE*THEPOORINSPT:FORTHEIRSIS
THEKINGDOMOFHEAVEN.

the Vatican fragments, which he employed the letter Γ. to indicate. As they belong to the *same* MS. it would be far more convenient to use the same mark of reference for them all; and this has been done by Tischendorf *of late* (not in his Monumenta Sacra or his Greek Testament): he now employs N. for that purpose. This letter has also been adopted for all the three fragments by Tregelles in his Greek Testament.

The following facsimile is taken from John xiv. 6. in one of the Cotton fragments.



In ordinary Greek characters with the corresponding literal English, thus:—

ΛΕΓΕΙΑΥΤΩΟΙ̅Σ̅	SAITHUNTOHIMJ̅S
ΕΓΩΕΙΜΕΙΉΟ	IAMTHEW
ΔΟΣΚΑΙΉΑΛΗ	AYANDTHETRU
ΘΙΑΚΑΙΉΖΩΗ	THANDTHELIFE
ΟΥΔΙΣΕΡΧΕΤΑΙ	NOMANCOMETH
ΠΡΟΣΤΟΝΠΤ̅Ρ̅Α	UNTOTHEFT̅H̅R̅
ΕΙΜΗΔΙΕΜΟΥ	BUTBYME

P. CODEX GUELPHERBYTANUS A.—This is a palimpsest in the Ducal Library at Wolfenbüttel.[1] Knittel, about a century ago, had his attention directed by De Praun to the *Codex Carolinus*, a volume in that library containing the *Origines* of Isidore of Seville, in consequence of marks of ancient writing which had been observed under the more recent; and he succeeded in deciphering part of the Gothic translation of the Epistle to the Romans, and also some portions of two uncial MSS. of the Gospels: these were all published with facsimile specimens at Brunswick in 1762. *This* MS. consists of *forty-three* leaves, containing *parts* of eight chapters of St. Matthew, of four chapters of St. Mark, of eighteen chapters of St. Luke, and of three of St. John: these leaves are in some parts wholly illegible.

The letters of P. are large, square, and upright; the initial letters of the sections are much larger than the rest; in each page there are two columns; the notation of the Ammonian sections is given in the margin, but without reference to the Eusebian canons, unless, indeed, these latter were written in *red* ink, which is often *wholly* effaced in palimpsests. This palimpsest is generally supposed, and that on good grounds, to be of the sixth century: its readings show that it belongs to the more ancient class. The firmness of the vellum fitted it for the second use which was made of it at a later period. All the parts which Knittel could read of this and the following MS. he published in common Greek characters; he also gave an excellent facsimile of one page of each MS. as it stands with the later writing partially hiding the ancient text.[2]

Q. CODEX GUELPHERBYTANUS B.—This palimpsest is the second Greek Biblical MS. which was found in the earlier writing of the Codex Carolinus: it consists of thirteen leaves, containing fragments of twelve chapters of St. Luke, and of two of St. John.

The letters are smaller than those of P., but they have a general resemblance in other respects: so too this MS. is also in two columns, and has the Ammonian sections in the same manner without the Eusebian canons. This MS. also appears to belong to the sixth century.

In P. and Q. there are found the usual ancient contractions, and the same interchanges of vowels and diphthongs, which are also frequent.

[1] Knittel traces this history of the MS. which contains these *buried treasures*, *backward* from the time that it was placed in the Wolfenbüttel Library (in 1699), to its purchase by the Duke of Brunswick ten years before, when it was at Prague, where it had been for some years; whither it was brought from Mayence, having been sent thither from the monastery of Weissenburg. He supposes that it must have been *reused* in Spain. Cardinal Mai, however, says "Atque hoc loco rem eruditis ut spero jucundam non reticebo; nempe quod codicem illum Guelpherbytanum, ex quo cl. Knittellius fragmenta Ulphilæ Gothica eruit, e numero esse *Bobiensium* docuit me per litteras vir ill. Niebuhrius: cujus dicto confirmationis per se non indigo." (Classici Auctores I. Præf. p. xliii.). If this be correct the Codex Carolinus must be one of the scattered treasures, once concentrated at Bobbio in Piedmont.

[2] This is contained in Knittel's "Ulphilæ versionem Gothicam nonnullorum capitum Epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos . . . . e litura Codicis manuscripti rescripti qui in Augusta apud Guelpherbytanos Bibliotheca adservatur; una cum variis variæ litteraturæ monimentis huc usque ineditis." Brunswick, 1762. [Tischendorf has just announced his intention of *re-editing* the text of P. and Q.]

Besides the text of P. and Q., Knittel found in the same palimpsest volume, the index of the chapters of the Gospels, in uncial Greek characters of a later date: the letters Θ, Ε, O, C, being *compressed*, a plain indication of departure from the very ancient forms.

T. CODEX BORGIANUS.—This is a valuable fragment of thirteen leaves, containing part of three chapters of St. John's Gospel, in which the Greek text is accompanied by a Thebaic translation. It is *now* in the library of the Propaganda at Rome. Giorgi published the text, both Greek and Thebaic, in 1789.

The Greek and Thebaic texts occupy opposite pages, the Greek preceding; in each page there are two columns; there is no notation of sections or other divisions; a simple point occurs as the occasional indication of a pause. These fragments have been assigned to the fifth century; the form of the letters, &c., appear to exclude a later date. It appears that the ignorant monk who brought this MS. with him from Egypt to Europe, was so wholly unaware of its value, that he lost the greater part of the leaves; those which were preserved are a *sample* of a very ancient copy.

FRAGMENTUM WOIDEANUM.—There may be here described eight leaves of Greek and Thebaic, the text of which was edited by Woide from the MS. which was then in his own possession. They appear to answer in general to the description given of the Codex Borgianus: Woide, however (Cod. Alex. Præf. p. xv.), assigns these to the seventh century, which certainly seems to be too late; for the round letters are not compressed, and the writing is altogether earlier. They seem to have been a portion of a MS. almost a counterpart of T.; the lines, however, as exhibited in the facsimile specimen, published by Ford, are rather longer. This fragment has never yet been used for critical purposes in any edition of the Greek text which has come forth; which is remarkable, since it has been so long published. (The text and specimen are contained in the appendix to the Codex Alexandrinus, Oxford, 1799.) These eight leaves contain Luke xii. 15—xiii. 32.: they may without inconvenience be designated by the letter T. in St. Luke; for this can cause no confusion with the Borgian fragments, which contain only part of St. John.

Z. CODEX DUBLINENSIS RESCRIPTUS.—In the year 1787, Dr. Barrett, one of the Fellows of Trinity College Dublin, while examining a MS. in the library of that institution, noticed some ancient writing under the more recent Greek: the ancient portions he ascertained to consist of part of Isaiah, of some orations of Gregory of Nazianzum, and a large portion of the Gospel of St. Matthew. The latter was in very ancient Greek letters, older than those (though they were also uncial) in which the other buried works had been written.

Dr. Barrett applied himself with great assiduity to the work of deciphering the portions of St. Matthew; and the parts so recovered were at the expense of the college engraved for publication. This

was, it appears, completed some years before the work was actually published: this took place in 1801.[1] Dr. Barrett appears to have read, in 1787, all that was at all legible, with great exactness; and it was under *his* instructions that the engraver worked. In the published volume, however, he gave, on the pages *opposite* the engraved plates, the text in common Greek characters, and with a subjoined collation; but with so little exactitude that his accuracy has been impugned. In fact, his own credit and the usefulness of his edition would have stood far higher if he had been content with expressing the ancient writing in uncial characters.

The palimpsest leaves of St. Matthew are *thirty-two*, forming sixty-four plates in the published edition: many parts of the pages are left blank, and in some cases the part expressed by the engraver is only half a page. The value of the text of Z. is so great that it was earnestly wished that the fragments should be re-examined, so as to ascertain whether the entire *leaves* exist, of which Dr. Barrett gave the text of but one half (whether, in fact, the rest was non-existent or simply illegible), and also to endeavour to *restore* by chemical process those portions of the palimpsest which exist but which were illegible. Accordingly, in 1853, S. P. Tregelles went to Dublin, and was permitted by the authorities of Trinity College, at the instance of Dr. Todd, the librarian, to examine the MS. and to attempt the restoration of the illegible portions. After identifying the ancient leaves which belong to St. Matthew, it was at once evident that where Dr. Barrett gave the text of but half a leaf, it was from that being the only part of which the vellum remained; for when the ancient material was devoted to its more recent use, several leaves were formed of *two* pieces, one old and one new, stuck together. The chemical restoration was completely successful; for without defacing the vellum (as was the case with the Codex Ephraemi) *all* the older writing (hardly a letter excepted) was brought clearly to light: and thus the testimony of this MS. *where it is extant*, is no longer in any important case doubtful.

In each page there is but one column, and in general the number of lines is twenty-one. The τίτλοι were marked in the margin, and the subjects of them were given (as in A.) at the top of the page. It contained the Ammonian sections. If the references to the Eusebian canons were also there, they have disappeared, through the comparative ease with which vermillion can be washed out. Like all the other most ancient documents, there are no breathings or accents; the interpunction is only indicated by a space being left and an occasional dot. A larger letter extending into the margin is found at the commencement of a new section.

Dr. Barrett assigned this MS. to the sixth century, and with him all other palæographers agree; for the form of the letters, upright, broad, and full, and all other indications, mark it as belonging to that

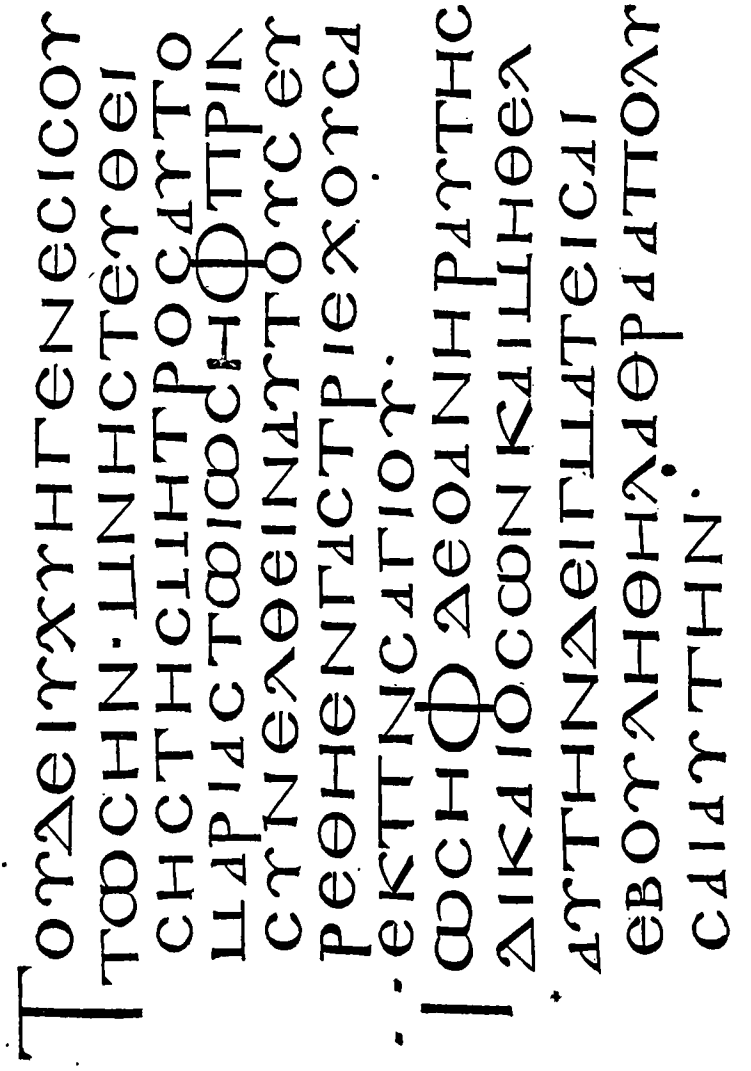
[1] Evangelium secundum Matthæum ex codice rescripto in Bibliotheca Collegii SS^me^. Trinitatis juxta Dublin: descriptum opera et studio Johannis Barrett, S.T.P., socii sen. Trin. Coll. Dublin. Cui adjungitur Appendix Collationem codicis Montfortiani complectens. Dublinii, 1801.

age. The present discolorations of the vellum (as much noticed before it was chemically restored as since) are supposed to arise from its having been formerly dyed purple. In connection with the writing of this MS. it should be observed that there is a freeness and symmetry in the strokes which is faintly represented by Dr. Barrett's engraver.

The interchanges of vowels which are common in other very ancient MSS., are met with also in this; and also some of those peculiarities of orthography which characterise the Alexandrian dialect.

The value of these fragments for critical purposes is *very great;* they are more important than the other fragments; indeed, they might take precedence of many MSS. of much greater pretension.

The following engraving represents part of Dr. Barrett's first plate, containing Matt. i. 18, 19.



The following is the same passage in common Greek characters with the literal English translation: —

V. 18. ΤΟΥΔΕΙΤΧΤΗΙΓΕΝΕΣΙΣΟΥ	V. 18. NOWTHEBIRTHOFJSCHTTH
ΤΩΣΗΝ·ΜΝΗΣΤΕΥΘΕΙ	USWAS·BEINGESPOU
ΣΗΣΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΣΑΥΤΟ...	SEDHISMOTHER
ΜΑΡΙΑΣΤΩΙΩΣΗΦΠΡΙΝ	MARYTOJOSEPHBEFORE
ΣΥΝΕΛΘΕΙΝΑΥΤΟΥΣΕΥ	THEYCAMETOGETHERSHEWAS
ΡΗΘΗΕΝΓΑΣΤΡΙΕΧΟΥΣΑ·	FOUNDWITHCHILD
ΕΚΠΝΣΑΓΙΟΥ·	BYTHEHOLYSPT·
V. 19. ΙΩΣΗΦΔΕΟΑΝΗΡΑΥΤΗΣ	V. 19. JOSEPHTHENHERHUSBAND
ΔΙΚΑΙΟΣΩΝΚΑΙΜΗΘΕΛ...	BEINGAJUSTMANANDNOTWILL..
ΑΥΤΗΝΔΕΙΓΜΑΤΕΙΣΑΙ	TOMAKEHERAPUBLICEXAMPLE
ΕΒΟΥΛΗΘΗΛΑΘΡΑΑΠΟΛΥ	WASMINDEDPRIVILYTOPUT
ΣΑΙΑΥΤΗΝ.	HERAWAY.

CODEX NITRIENSIS. — Amongst the Syriac MSS. brought from the monastery of Sta Maria Deipara, and now in the British Museum, the Rev. W. Cureton discovered a palimpsest, the under writing of which contained some books of Homer (which he has since published in facsimile printing [1]), and fragments of St. Luke's Gospel.

The portion containing St. Luke (*forty-five* leaves) was collated by S. P. Tregelles in 1854. The ancient writing is so faint that it requires a clear day, with as much light as the British Museum affords, and also an eye well and long accustomed to read ancient MSS.: in parts also a strong lens was almost indispensable; and sometimes it was difficult to trace any of the erased letters, except by holding the leaf to the light and catching the traces of the strokes by which the vellum had been scraped *rather thinner* by the style. In doing this, however, it was needful to avoid the mistake of following the letters which belong to the other side of the vellum. The more recent writing is part of the Monophysite treatise of Severus of Antioch against Grammaticus translated into Syriac; the writing of this is so black and broad, and covers the page so thoroughly, as to add considerably to the difficulty of reading the original contents of the vellum. These hindrances were such as to make much patience requisite; but after continuous study for many weeks, there was but one leaf in which more than an occasional word or letter baffled the attempt at collation and transcription.

In these fragments there are now extant, after the τίτλοι or index of ancient chapters which are contained in two of the leaves, — ch. i. 1—13., i. 69—ii. 4., ii. 16—27., iv. 39—v. 4., v. 25—vi. 8., vi. 18—30., vi. 49—vii. 22., viii. 5—15., viii. 25—ix. 1., ix. 12—43., x. 3—16., xi. 4—27., xii. 4—15., xii. 40—52., xiii. 26—xiv. 1., xiv. 12—xv. 1., xv. 13—xvi. 16., xvii. 21—xviii. 10., xviii. 22—xx.

[1] "Fragments of the Iliad of Homer from a Syriac Palimpsest. Edited by William Cureton M. A." 1851. To this work are added *six* of the pages in facsimile; the execution of which is *peculiarly* beautiful.

20., xx. 33—47., xxi. 12—xxii. 15., xxii. 42—56., xxii. 71—xxiii. 12., xxiii. 38—51.

The ancient writing is in two columns: the number of lines in each page is generally twenty-five. The letters are of very ancient form, so that the sixth century is not too early a date to assign to these fragments: they appear to belong, probably, rather to the earlier than the later part of that age. The Ammonian sections stand in the margin; the Eusebian canons, if once there, are now effaced.

The text of these fragments is ancient; agreeing generally with some of the other copies of the oldest class. The discovery of all such fragments is of importance as affording a *confirmation* of those results which criticism of the text would previously have indicated.

Tischendorf proposes to use the letter R. as a reference to indicate this MS. The small fragments which have previously been designated by this letter may easily be cited in the few places in which they can be mentioned, *by name*, without requiring any abbreviated mark of reference.[1]

Besides the Nitrian fragment of St. Luke, there are amongst the Syriac MSS. palimpsest fragments of a very small portion of St. John's Gospel. These leaves are of extreme antiquity; the letters are very similar to those of the Vatican MS., and the vellum, which is of a thin, firm, beautiful texture, has been used *more than once* for Syriac writing. The book in which these fragments were found is No. 17,136. of the additional MSS. in the British Museum. The fragments comprise only parts of John xiii. 16, 17. 19, 20. 23, 24. 26, 27., xvi. 7—9. 12, 13. 18, 19. The writing is in two columns; there is in one place the rough breathing marked, but this may probably be from a later hand. The Ammonian section in the margin has no legible Eusebian canon, nor does the vellum in the passage seem roughened as if it had been written on.

Fragmenta Palimpsesta Tischendorfiana.—Amongst the MSS. procured by Prof. Tischendorf in 1853 are some valuable palimpsest fragments of the New Testament (marked by him II. in his published description of these MSS. and fragments). The following account of this MS. is given by Tischendorf[2]:—

[1] The fragments just described have *now* (1855) been prepared by Tregelles for immediate publication, for which the Alexandrian types employed by Woide and Baber are to be used. [The intention of publishing the Nitrian fragments had been communicated by Tregelles to many, and amongst others to Prof. Tischendorf. After, however, Tregelles had made all the arrangements for the publication, and just as he had completed a re-examination of the MS. for that purpose, he received a communication from Prof. Tischendorf, stating that it would be superfluous for an edition of it to appear in *England*, because *he* was about to bring one out at *Leipsic*. If, therefore, this is *well executed* by Tischendorf, it will suffice; but if there are oversights and mistakes, such as are found in Tischendorf's RECENT publications (*e. g.* in the text of his own palimpsest, and of the cursive MS. of the Acts in his "Anecdota Sacra et Profana," p. 130. &c.), then the edition of Tregelles, with an introductory History of Palimpsests, will *also* appear.]

[2] In the catalogue of his MSS. which he circulated in 1854, when they were offered for sale; a *minimum* price having been named, and the person who made the highest offer to Messrs. Williams and Norgate (in whose hands the MSS. then were) before a certain specified day, to be the purchaser. Prof. Tischendorf having withdrawn his MSS. before

"Palimpsest fragments of the New Testament on vellum, consisting of twenty-eight leaves (*i. e.* of twenty single leaves, and of four double or of a larger form); on which Armenian [*read* Georgian] has been written over the very ancient Greek. *Seven* leaves belong to St. Matthew's Gospel (containing xiv. 13—23., xvii. 22—xviii. 3., 11—19., xix. 5—14., xxiv. 37—xxv. 1. 32—45., xxvi. 31—45.); *two* to St. Mark (ix. 14—22., xiv. 58—70.); *five* (or *four*[1]) to St. Luke (vii. 39—49., xviii. 14—25., xxiv. 10—19.); *eight* (or *five*) to St. John (iv. 52—v. 8., xi. 50—xii. 9., xv. 12—xvi. 2., xix. 11—24., xx. 17—26.); *four* to the Acts (ii. 6—17., xiii. 39—46., xxvi. 7—18., xxviii. 8—17.); *two* to St. Paul's Epistles (1 Cor. xv. 53—xvi. 9., Tit. i. 1—13.). Each page is written in two columns: two only excepted, which are written across. The number of lines varies; *twenty-nine* is the number commonly found; once there were only *eighteen.* The greater part of these leaves must be ascribed to the fifth century; others, the writing of which resembles the fragments of the Gospels commonly denoted by the letters I. N. Γ, appear to belong to the sixth century.[2] Two of the leaves of the Acts, in which the writing is across the page and partially accented, and also a third of the Acts written in an oblong uncial character, bear marks of the *seventh* century. But I doubt whether, with the exception of the three leaves of the Acts just specified, the fragments differ as to the goodness of the text. So great is the agreement of these palimpsest fragments with the most ancient and celebrated Codices of the New Testament A. B. C. D., that they may claim to take a place amongst them. This may be shown by a few examples. In 1 Cor. xv. 54—xvi. 7. in ver. 54. the reading of A. C.* 17. *τὴν ἀθανασίαν* is confirmed; also these fragments in the same passage omit with C.* 64. 71. *τὸ φθαρτὸν τοῦτο ἐνδύσηται ἀφθαρ. καί*: they agree three times with B. D.* in exhibiting the form *νεικος*. With this form others that are similarly written may be compared in these verses, as found in this palimpsest, *γεινεσθαι, αμετακεινητοι, λογειας, επειμενω.* In ver. 55. *νῖκος* and *κέντρον* are found in the same order as they are in B. C. 17. 64. 71.; there is also twice the reading *θάνατε* with B. C. D. E. F. G. 39. 67.** In ver. 2. there is the reading *σαββάτου* with A. B. C. D. E. F. G. 17. 109. (marg.); also in the same place it stands alone with B. in reading *ὅτι ἐάν*; and it has *εὐοδωθῇ* with A. C. K. and some cursive copies. It also confirms the readings *οὓς ἐάν, ἄξιον ᾖ, ἐλπίζω γάρ, ἐπιτρέψῃ*, which are maintained by several uncial MSS. and by many others. Also in xv. 53. it alone has *τὴν ἀθανασίαν*, which agrees well with the same reading, found in ver. 54. in this MS. as well as in A. C.* In ver. 58. it has *ἔργῳ κυρίου*, in common with Cod. 109. alone, which frequently agrees with the Alexandrian witnesses. In xvi. 6. it has *πρὸς ὑμᾶς γάρ*, and ver. 7. *οὐ θέλω δέ*, readings for which authorities have not been found, or at least they have not been noticed. The character

the day named, put an end to the whole transaction. [This description is also now inserted in his "Anecdota Sacra et Profana."]

[1] [That is, if the double leaves are not reckoned as two each.]

[2] These fragments on purple vellum are described above, p. 177., as (as there mentioned) Tischendorf *now* calls them all N.

of this palimpsest is similar in the Gospels and Acts to that which it exhibits in this passage of St. Paul's Epistles. Thus John xx. 18. it confirms *ἀγγέλλουσα*, found only in A. B. X.; ver. 19. *τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτων* with only A. B. L., and *μαθηταί* without *συνηγμένοι* with A. B. D. and three cursive copies; ver. 20. *ἔδειξεν* and *τὴν πλευρ. αὐτοῖς* with only A. B. D. In ver. 25. it increases the authority for the reading *τόπον* instead of *τύπον*, which A. has upheld alone amongst the uncial MSS., but which is commended by the testimony of some fathers and versions. So also Matt. xxiv. 44, 45. in those places in which the reading varies it agrees with B. D., B. D. L., B. L. Δ., and with those almost alone; for it has *ἢ οὐ δοκεῖτε ὥρᾳ*; *ὁ κύριος* without *αὐτοῦ*; *οἰκετείας* instead of *θεραπείας*. Also, in the margin of the text in the Gospels the Ammonian sections are noted; but, just as is the case in the Codex Ephraemi Syri rescriptus, without the Eusebian canons.

"Hitherto *eleven* codices of the New Testament of about an equal age have been known (A. B. C. D. P. Q. T. Z., E. of the Acts, D. and H. of St. Paul's Epistles): of which *five* (P. Q. T. Z. H.) comprise less than our fragments, and *four* (C. P. Q. Z.) are also palimpsests."

This account of Tischendorf's of his own MS. is a sufficient general description of these valuable fragments: it is, however, by oversight that he has spoken of P. and Z. as containing *less* than this newly discovered palimpsest; for there are forty-three of the ancient leaves of P. extant, and thirty-two of Z.; while of this Codex Tischendorfianus (formed of more than one ancient MS.) there are, on no computation, more than twenty-eight. (The Codex Nitriensis, noticed above, is also a palimpsest of similar age, containing *more* than this.)

Tischendorf has proposed to call this valuable MS. I.; and though in the *Gospels* there would be no great inconvenience (as the Codex Cottonianus may be more suitably cited with the Vienna fragment as N.)[1], yet in the Epistles it would involve inconvenient changes of notation: there can be no difficulty or confusion if II. is used as its designation, as it stands in Tischendorf's list thus marked.

These fragments have been edited by Tischendorf in his Monumenta Sacra, 1855. In some parts they are difficult to read, so that there may be some doubt felt in parts as to what the buried writing actually is. In the printed edition there are oversights and omissions.

CHAP. XV.

MSS. OF THE MOST ANCIENT CLASS, WHICH DO NOT CONTAIN THE GOSPELS.

THOSE MSS. and fragments of the more ancient class have now to be described which do not contain the Gospels or any part of them.

[1] That is, there would be no inconvenience in the Gospels, if I., as cited hitherto, should not be confounded with this MS.: this is a reason for some difference being made in the Gospels as well as in the other parts of the N. Test.

E. CODEX LAUDIANUS. — This is a MS. of the book of Acts in Greek and Latin; in which the text is defective from chap. xxvi. 29. to xxviii. 26. The arrangement is peculiar, for on each page there are two columns, the *former* of which contains the *Latin;* in each line there is often but one word, so that there is a kind of verbal connection indicated between the Greek and the Latin texts; sometimes there are as many as three words in a line; but still there is nothing to answer to the description of *stichometry.* Wherever an Euthalian section begins, there is (says Marsh[1]) a similar division in this MS., indicated by a larger letter projecting into the margin.

The Latin text of this MS. has been called an ante-Hieronymian version; but Michaelis very properly corrected this designation (which he had himself previously employed), calling it instead "one of those versions which differ from Jerome's edition."[2] For the importance of this MS. depends in great measure in a right apprehension of its *Latin* text, to which it was once thought that the Greek had been conformed. The Latin text contains many peculiarities and additions, and as these are also (of course) found in the Greek column, it was thought that they must be translations from the Latin and adaptations of the original. But a more thorough examination led to the manifest conclusion that the peculiarities had originated in Greek, and that the Latin was conformed to it, and not *vice versâ;* so that even though such readings are not genuine, they cannot, as to their origin, be attributed to *Latinizing*, which was once so commonly supposed to be sufficient to account for much that was not easy to be explained. Woide in his Prolegomena to the Codex Alexandrinus has discussed the supposed Latinizing of this MS. with much ability; and so convincingly, that Michaelis, who had long held the contrary opinion, was thoroughly satisfied. The passage on which Michaelis had rested as being the clearest proof of Latinizing was Acts iv. 32., where after the words *καὶ ψυχὴ μία* there is the addition *καὶ οὐκ ἦν χωρισμὸς ἐν αὐτοῖς τις*; in the same place in the Codex Bezæ is added *καὶ οὐκ ἦν διάκρισις ἐν αὐτοῖς οὐδεμία.* These Michaelis had supposed to be two different Greek translations of an addition which had originated in the Latin: but in these MSS. the Latin of this place is as different as the Greek; for the Cod. Laudianus has *et non erat separatio in eis ulla*, while in Cod. Bezæ it stands *et non erat accusatio in eis ulla;* the latter of these renderings showing that it is a non-intelligent version from the Greek of the same MS. "Nec fuit inter illos discrimen ullum," is the form in which this addition had been cited by Cyprian. Woide's examination of other passages in this MS. is very valuable and very interesting to those who wish to see *how* accuracy with regard to critical facts may be arrived at.

The *history* of this MS. is partly made up from facts and partly from conjectures possessed of more or less probability. It has been supposed that it was written in the *West*, from the fact of the Greek being subjoined to the Latin version; while, on the other hand, the

[1] Translation of Michaelis, ii. 748.

[2] Introduction, ii. 269.

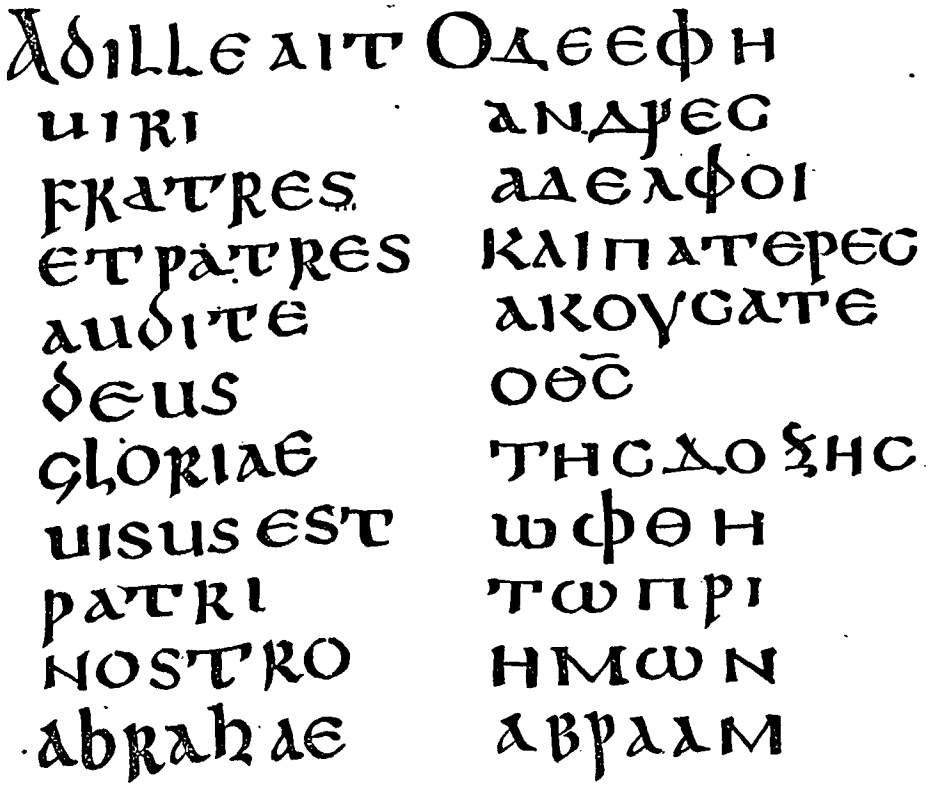
forms termed Alexandrian and the similar orthography, have been thought to indicate the East. It seems more probable that it was written in some country in which Greek and Latin both were used; if a conjecture may be hazarded the exarchate of Ravenna might be suggested, or some other place in which the power of the Byzantine emperors continued in the West. The uncial letters are large and rather rough; there are no accents or breathings; and the contractions are such as may be found in other very ancient copies. The *probable* date seems to be the close of the *sixth* century. At the end of the MS. there is a fragment (the *whole* of which was printed by Wetstein) of an edict of Flavius Pancratius *δουξ Σαρδινιας*; hence some have thought that the MS. was written in the island of Sardinia; the only conclusion, however, that is warranted is that the MS. had been in that island at some time during the period that it was governed by *duces*. Justinian (Hug says) appointed a *dux Sardiniæ* in 534, and after 749 the office became extinct, so that it is to part of that interval we must ascribe the deposit of this MS. in that island. The writing of this edict is so different from the MS. itself, that, although the *kind* of hand existed in some form (the *epistolographic*) at the same time as the uncial, it can hardly be thought but that the text is *considerably* anterior to the addition of Flavius Pancratius; this confirms the belief that it may rightly be placed in the sixth century.

Mill noticed that the peculiar readings of this MS. wonderfully accord with those of the Greek copy to which Venerable Bede referred in his *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum retractata*. Wetstein, adopting the remark of Mill, sought to prove that this was *the very same* MS. Michaelis, quoting the words of Bede, thought that it was doubtful whether his Greek copy did not stand in opposition to all the *Latin* authorities with which he was acquainted; but he adds that this MS. contains *all the seventy-four readings quoted by Bede:* it is thus not improbable that the MSS. are identical; for if that is not the case, then the one must be just the same as the other as to text. It is thus *probable* that this MS. had been brought to this country by the early part of the eighth century: we *know* that soon after the middle of the seventh century *Greek* MSS. were brought to England by Theodorus of Tarsus, when he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury. As to its subsequent history for many ages nothing is known even conjecturally. In the seventeenth century it was the property of Archbishop Laud (from whom it takes its name), and by him it was presented to the Bodleian Library, where it is now preserved. Readings taken from it were given in the editions of Fell (1675) and of Mill (1707). In 1715 Hearne published at Oxford the text of this MS.[1], to which subsequent critical editors

[1] Acta Apostolorum Græco-Latine, Litteris Majusculis. E Codice Laudiano Characteribus uncialibus exarato, et in Bibliotheca Bodlejana adservato, Descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius A. M. Oxoniensis, Qui et Symbolum Apostolorum ex eodem Codice subjunxit. Oxonii, E Theatro Sheldoniano, MDCCXV. Sumptibus editoris. 8vo. (pp. xii. and 320.) With a facsimile of the text of the MS., and the Apostle's Creed also engraved. Only 120 copies of this edition were printed, the original price being *ten*

have in general been indebted for the readings of this valuable codex. The scarcity of the impression has, however, caused the text of this MS. to be far less known than was desirable. Its importance in the question of the *Latinizing* of Greek MSS. is very great, and thus it is a most valuable witness to the character and claims of the most ancient Greek MSS. as not having been corrupted from a version.

The following facsimile of the writing of the Codex Laudianus is from Acts vii. 2.:—



shillings each. The scarcity of these copies has too much hindered them from being in the hands of critical students. Mr. Horne mentions that in 1810 a copy was sold at the auction of the Rev. Dr. Heath's library for thirteen pounds two shillings, and that another was sold at the auction of Mr. Gough's library for twenty pounds. The writer has seen various copies sold at book-auctions at from six to eight pounds; his own copy was procured for five guineas and a half, being the price at which it was marked in the catalogue of Mr. C. J. Stewart, 11. King William St. West Strand. The writer may be allowed in this place to express the obligations which he owes to Mr. Stewart, not only for much *accurate information* on sacred bibliography, and for pains that he has taken in procuring for him rare works of importance for his critical studies, but also for the aid which he has afforded him at various times during many years in *lending* him valuable works which he was unable to purchase, that they might be used in the quiet of his own room. Every student will feel how fully *such* obligations deserve ample and grateful acknowledgment.

Thus in common types with a literal version: —

AD ILLE AIT	OΔE EΦH	AND HE SAID
UIRI	ANΔPEΣ	MEN
FRATRES	ΔΔEΛΦOI	BRETHREN
ET PATRES	KAI ΠATEPEΣ	AND FATHERS
AUDITE	AKOYΣATE	HEARKEN
DEUS	O $\overline{\text{ΘΣ}}$	THE $\overline{\text{GD}}$
GLORIAE	THΣ ΔOΞHΣ	OF GLORY
UISUS EST	ΩΦΘH	APPEARED
PATRI	TΩΠPI	UNTO THE FTHER
NOSTRO	EMΩN	OF US
ABRAHAE.	ABPAAM.	ABRAHAM.

D. (in St. Paul's Epistles.) CODEX CLAROMONTANUS, in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris (No. 107.). — This is a MS. with Greek and Latin on opposite pages, containing the fourteen Pauline Epistles, with a few hiatus; most of which have been supplied at various dates. In the order of the books the Epistle to the Colossians stands before that to the Philippians; and Hebrews (as in other *Western* documents) after the Pastoral Epistles; indeed, a list of books and the enumeration of the *στιχοὶ* which they respectively contain, is interposed. This circumstance has led some apparently to consider the Epistle to the Hebrews to be from a subsequent hand; but that is clearly *not* the case, although the same scribe may have written it at a later period: the handwriting is most certainly the same.

This MS. is stichometrically arranged, with twenty-one lines on almost every page: both the Greek and the Latin texts proceeded from the same hand. The citations from the Old Testament are written in red in every part except the Epistle to the Hebrews.[1]

This MS. appears to belong to the *sixth* century; the *text*, however, being much more ancient than that age. *Where* the MS. was written is wholly uncertain, except that it may seem as though, from the scribe having been a Greek and (probably) unacquainted with

[1] Currency was given to the opinion that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written by a later hand through the statement given by Marsh, in his notes to Michaelis, ii. 727.; who, after mentioning the position of this Epistle in the arrangement, continues, "To this may be added, what neither Simon nor Wetstein have noted, that this Epistle is written even by a later hand, and was therefore wholly excluded from the canon by the original writer of the manuscript. This I mention on the authority of the same person whom I quoted before." This anonymous informant is described as "a friend who has examined the MS." In opposition to this, Tischendorf, who has collated almost every ancient MS. of the N. Test., is decided in his judgment that both are from the same hand; and so is the present writer, whose experience in the collation of MSS. has been very similar to that of Tischendorf, but who had so fully believed the statement of Marsh that he thought it needful, besides making the facsimile which Tischendorf has caused to be lithographed, to trace some lines in the Epistle to the Hebrews in justification of his rejection of the opinion of Marsh.

Latin, that it must have been in the East; but even if that was the case, the exemplar from which it was taken appears to have been western; for the Latin text is a pretty faithful representative of this form of the Greek. It is, however, more like a *translation* than the Latin which accompanies the Greek of the Codex Bezæ or of the Codex Laudianus. Few MSS. (if any) have passed through the hands of so many correctors. The original writer made several alterations; then the whole of the Greek text was corrected (in the seventh century apparently) by the first reviser. Two others (who may be distinguished by the difference of their handwriting) made a few changes: one of these seems to have only touched the Greek text. But the fourth corrector made the most alterations; he went over the whole of the text, adding the breathings and accents to the Greek, and erasing whatever displeased him. His writing is the most clearly discernible of all the revisers, by the sharp narrow letters in ink still tolerably black, looking like the uncial characters of the ninth century or later. His changes of the text are more than *two thousand*. Besides these four correctors, other hands may be traced as having made occasional alterations; one of these, comparatively recent, has *restored* in several places the original reading (or what seemed to this corrector to be such) which had been previously altered.

The modern history of this MS. commences with the mention which Theodore Beza makes of it when in his possession. He says that he procured it from Clermont in the diocese of *Beauvais*, and hence it received the name which he gave it, Claromontanus. Wetstein, who chose to accuse Beza of having given a wholly incorrect account of the history of his MSS., conjectured that this Codex had been taken from the monastery of Cluny when it was plundered by the Swiss, and that Beza's *other* MS. (the Codex Bezæ) had come from Clermont *in Auvergne*, and that he had by accident or design confounded the MSS. and the two places in France of the name of Clermont. These conjectures are wholly unimportant as far as this MS. itself is concerned. How long it remained in the library from which it passed into Beza's hands is of course wholly unknown. After Beza's death this MS. passed into the library of the brothers Jacques and Pierre du Puy; the former of whom was librarian to the king of France: he died in 1656, and previous to that year (by purchase) the MS. was deposited in the Bibliothèque du Roi.

In the early part of the eighteenth century thirty-five leaves were cut out of this MS. and sold by John Aymon; all of these except one were purchased in England by the bibliographical Earl of Oxford, who was wholly unaware of their history. The remaining leaf was sold in Holland, and Stosch, who had purchased it, returned it to its proper place in 1720.[1] The portion bought by Lord Oxford was restored in 1729, and it still remains in a separate volume in its

[1] On this leaf is now written "*Feuillet renvoyé de Hollande par Mr. Stosch. Mars* 1720." The name of this person has often been incorrectly copied *Stosel*.

English binding, with an inscription commemorating its restoration.[1] It was, indeed, stated publicly in print in the beginning of 1850 that *this portion* had been again stolen from the Bibliothèque, but the writer found, on examination in the summer of the same year, at the place, that this was wholly a mistake, and that the book was quite safe just as he had seen it in 1849. But as the leaf which Stosch had returned still remained loose, exposed to danger from the dishonest hands which have done too much injury to that library, the present writer caused it to be fixed in its place, to guard against any such misfortune.

Beza made some critical use of this MS.; it was also examined in some places by John Morinus; and readings extracted from it are given by Walton (as sent to Archbishop Usher by the brothers du Puy) and by Curcellæus, and after them by Mill. In 1715 and the following year Wetstein collated the MS., which seems to have been the first time that this was done throughout.[2] Griesbach examined it during his literary visit to Paris, and he gives in his Symbolæ Criticæ corrections of some of Wetstein's citations; he also took some pains to determine *who* the different correctors were as to the *order* in which they exercised their skill on this MS. In recent time it was entirely transcribed by Tischendorf; and the results of his examination were first given in his edition of the Greek New Testament in 1849. In that year, previously to the publication of this edition of Tischendorf, Tregelles had collated the whole of the MS., distinguishing, as far as seemed practicable, the corrections of the different hands. In 1850 he again examined the MS., comparing the readings noted by Tischendorf with his own collations, so as to be as certain as possible with regard to the *original writing* and the corrections and erasures. The results of all this comparison were communicated to Tischendorf, and in 1852 there appeared his facsimile edition of both the Greek and Latin texts. Sabatier had indeed published the latter, but without sufficient exactitude.

Those who are unacquainted with this MS. have objected, that as it has been altered so many times, it must be difficult to ascertain the *original* readings. To this it may be sufficiently answered, that, though *difficult*, it is quite possible; and that Tischendorf and Tregelles in their separate examinations of the *several thousands* of corrections and erasures, differed in hardly a single case respecting the original reading[3], even though as to the *later* changes (in so vast a number) they varied several times in judgment.

This MS. is thoroughly *Wetstein* (in Griesbach's sense of the term)

[1] Foreigners who do not understand English titles (especially as described in French) have thought that there must be some mistake in seeing the restorer of these leaves designated as Robert Harley, Earl of Oxford, as *Milord d'Oxford et Mortimer*, and as *Milord d'Oxfort, Seigneur Anglois.*

[2] The part which was then severed from the MS. was collated for Wetstein by Nieuwenhuis of Amsterdam: this was done apparently thirty or more years after the time when Wetstein had carried on his own collations at Paris.

[3] See as to a few points of difference, "Historical Account of the Printed Text," p. 164.

in its text. Its importance in connection with other very ancient documents is very great, and often it has a kind of determining value when A. B. C. differ amongst themselves: there are passages in which it accords with B. in maintaining readings which are the best attested by the ancient versions and early citations. Like the rest of the Codices Græco-Latini, it was charged with *Latinizing*, and thus it was some time before it received the attention which it deserved. It is, in fact, one of the most valuable MSS. extant: none of the texts published by Tischendorf is so important with the single exception of the palimpsest Codex Ephraemi (C.).

E. (in St. Paul's Epistles) CODEX SAN-GERMANENSIS, now at St. Petersburg.—This MS. is described in this place, not as possessing a claim on the ground either of *antiquity* or importance, but simply because it is a transcript of the Codex Claromontanus just mentioned; and therefore it will be best considered in juxtaposition. Like its archetype it is in Greek and Latin; and both are written in uncial letters, exhibiting that kind of general resemblance which may easily result from *imitation*. It is *probably* not older than the ninth or tenth century. The peculiarity of this MS. is, that it was copied from the Codex Claromontanus *after* that MS. had received some of the corrections of the later hands; so that the scribe of this has confused readings, and has introduced in places partly what belonged to the one and partly what was introduced by the other. Instances of this were given by Wetstein and Griesbach, such as prove that the writer was too ignorant to have any conception of the meaning of what he was writing. A MS. such as this has of course no independent value as a witness; its only importance seems to be that it shows the condition of the archetype from which it was taken at the time when it was made. This MS. is now defective in part of the eighth and eleventh of Romans, almost the whole of the first Epistle to Timothy, and from Heb. xii. 8. to the end.

It was long preserved in the Abbey of St. Germain des Prez at Paris [1], (whence it takes its name); but when much of that monastery was burned in the latter part of the last century (having been converted by the republicans into a saltpetre manufactory), and the MSS. in general transferred to the Bibliothèque du Roi, this and some others disappeared for a time, but it came to light again at St. Petersburg, where it is kept in the Imperial library.[2]

[1] Marsh says, "There is another more ancient Codex San-germanensis of St. Paul's Epistles, which has never been collated. It is probably only a fragment, as it contains no more than thirteen leaves, but is supposed by Montfaucon to be as ancient as the fifth century." (Notes to Michaelis, ii. p. 785.) This seems to be the same MS. as the Coislin fragments (with the number of leaves not quite accurately stated) next described (H). It is important to ascertain *what* MSS. are meant when they are spoken of thus indefinitely as unknown or uncollated. The Coislin MSS. were deposited at St. Germain des Prez up to the time of the destructive fire.

[2] It was purchased at Paris by a Russian nobleman named Dubrowsky; and in 1805 it was identified by Matthæi as being the same MS. that had been known as the Codex San-germanensis: thus the story that it was stolen by the Russians when at Paris in 1814 or 1815 is a mere fancy or fiction.

H. (of St. Paul's Epistles). FRAGMENTA COISLINIANA (No. CCII.).—Of this MS. fourteen leaves only have been preserved; they are written stichometrically, with a subscription (see p. 85.) referring to a comparison with the copy at Cæsarea written by the hand of Pamphilus himself: this *may* have been *copied* from another MS. on which this was noted; but the MS. itself is almost, if not quite, as ancient as the time of Euthalius, from whom this subscription proceeded. Montfaucon places it in the fifth or sixth century; Tischendorf in the latter. The uncial letters of this MS. are large and square: when rather faded the whole (except the subscriptions written in vermillion) was gone over again, most coarsely, by a corrector who reblackened the letters in such a manner as thoroughly to destroy their elegance. Montfaucon published the text of these fragments in 1715 in his Bibliotheca Coisliniana: a few corrections of the text thus given have been stated by Tischendorf.

These fourteen leaves were used at Mount Athos in 1218 as part of the covers of another book; the rest of the MS. had probably either perished previously, or else it was then destroyed in a similar manner. After the fire at St. Germain des Prez, twelve leaves only were found; the other two however were at length known to have been transferred to St. Petersburg, and they are described amongst the MSS. of the Russian Imperial Library.

CHAP. XVI.

LATER UNCIAL MSS. OF PECULIAR IMPORTANCE.

THE MSS. of the Gospels next require consideration, which, though in *age* they stand amongst the later uncials, accord in *text* with the more ancient copies.

L. CODEX REGIUS; 62. (so numbered among the MSS. of the Bibliothèque du Roi or Impériale at Paris). This MS. was used partially by Robert Stephens, who denoted it ἡ, as being the *eighth* of the codices collated for his large edition of the Greek Testament (1550). Since the time of Stephens many others have examined or collated this MS. Wetstein was peculiarly inaccurate in his collation, or else the extracts which he made were printed (nearly forty years afterwards) with great want of exactitude. Griesbach collated the greater part of the MS. with considerable care; and at length the whole was transcribed by Tischendorf, and *published* in his Monumenta Sacra Inedita (Leipsic 1846): the text of this MS. forms, in fact, the most important and valuable part of that work.

This MS. contains the four Gospels; a few leaves only being lost: the defects are Matt. iv. 22—v. 14., xxviii. 17. to the end; Mark x. 16—30., xv. 2—20.; John xxi. 15. to the end. The letters are upright and compressed; each page contains two columns; accents

occur, but they are often very inaccurately placed. There are various marks of punctuation; but there is no *system* observed in the pauses or divisions indicated. The usual contractions are found, as well as some others; mistakes in orthography, omissions of letters, &c. are frequent. The τίτλοι, Ammonian sections, Eusebian canons, and indications of ecclesiastical lessons, are given in this MS., as is the case with most of the later uncials. Tischendorf attributes this MS. to the eighth century; Griesbach, Hug, and other critics, to the ninth; and this seems to be the more probable date.

The value of this MS. is not, however, to be estimated from its date, nor from the orthographical accuracy of its execution: the character of its *text* speaks for itself to all who compare the readings with those of the other ancient MSS.; for in spite of all the incompetence of the copyist he has preserved readings in this MS. which are only found in a few other documents—those, however, being the most ancient and valuable. It has been thought that Egypt was the country in which it was written, partly from the Alexandrian forms (which in themselves prove nothing, though in other parts they might hardly have been found in the eighth or ninth century), and partly from the supposition that the scribe was but little acquainted with the language in which he was writing. It is evident that the MS. from which this was copied was one into which several corrections had been introduced; and thus it seems that some things in the text of this were inserted from the margin of the archetype.

X. Codex Monacensis.—This MS. is now in the University Library at Munich (having formerly belonged to Ingoldstadt, and afterwards to Landshut). It contains the four Gospels, with various defects. They now stand John, Luke, Mark, Matthew; but before the beginning of John there are two injured and blackened leaves, containing part of Matthew, from vi. 3. to ver. 10. The text of the Gospels (except that of Mark) is interspersed with a commentary taken from Chrysostom and others. The text is in small upright uncial letters, which, though some of them are compressed, seem as if they were *partial* imitations of those used in very early copies. The commentary, however, which stands continuously in the same columns as the text, is in cursive letters; and, from the arrangement, the whole must be of the same age. It all belongs probably to the tenth century. Each page of this MS. contains two columns; there are no divisions such as τίτλοι; and no mark of its having been intended (as, indeed, the arrangement would almost preclude) for Church use. Some of the readings of this MS. were communicated by Dobrowsky to Griesbach, who therefore gave it a place in his list. Scholz collated it, but with very little exactness; and it was subsequently collated (independently) by Tischendorf and by Tregelles.

The *text* of this MS. is commonly ancient. The interspersed commentary *may* sometimes have affected the readings; but that this is not uniformly the case is shown by the fact that the commentary has sometimes a reading wholly different from that in the text. The commentary does, however, prove the absence or the contrary of

particular *passages.* Some of the portions in which this MS. is now defective have been supplied on paper, and in a later hand.

On a loose leaf in the beginning of the MS. there is a memorandum, showing that it was given to the library of the Jesuits' College at Ingoldstadt, by Gerard Vossius, the provincial superior of that order for Germany: its previous history appears to be unknown. From the same memorandum it seems that the MS. had been for some time in the last century kept at Innsbruck. (The date is Œniponti, 14 April. 1757.)

Δ. Codex Sangallensis.—This MS. was published in 1836, by Rettig, in a lithographed facsimile edition: previously no use had been made of its text for critical purposes. It is preserved in the library of St. Gallen, in Switzerland. It contains the four Gospels in Greek with an interlined Latin version, written on vellum in a very peculiar character. There is one hiatus only, John xix. 17—35.

The words in the Greek text are divided by a point; often, however, omitted or incorrectly placed. Frequently initial letters are found much larger than the others in the same line; and such letters are *painted* with a spot of some colour, by way of *ornament* as it would appear. In the beginning of St. Mark's Gospel there are traces of accents and breathings; elsewhere they are not found. The Latin text is not a later addition made to the Greek, but it proceeded from the same writer or writers: it is not the old Latin, nor yet the Vulgate; but it seems to have been formed from the Vulgate and the Greek text, by a copyist whose ignorance was great. In places it is a kind of *construing* of the *parts* of the Greek words: it has thus *no value* independently. It only shows, in some places otherwise doubtful, what the Greek text was intended to be, and how it should be read.

The margin of this MS. contains not only such sections, &c., as were customary, but also grammatical and other annotations of various kinds: some of these have a dogmatical object. It has been supposed from variations in the handwriting that this MS. was written by different scribes; but if this be the case, all must have been of the same general character, of the same want of skill, and belonging, even as to their graphic abilities, to the same school. Mistakes of all kinds are frequent; and the omissions of the article, and errors of the same sort, show a writer whose mind and *ear* had no familiar acquaintance with the structure of Greek. From the handwriting, especially that of the Latin text and the marginal notes, it has been thought probable that the copyist was an Irish or Scottish monk: this probability is greatly increased by the circumstance that a MS. closely allied to this, the Codex Boernerianus (G. of St. Paul's Epistles) contains at the foot of one of the pages *a few lines in Irish.* But there is no reason why we should infer that it was written in Ireland; for Irish monks inhabited many monasteries on the continent; and that of St. Gallen itself was founded by them: there then it may very probably have been written. Whoever compares this MS. with the Codex Boernerianus (as exhibited in the

facsimiles of each) would at once suppose them to be closely connected. This opinion is confirmed by the *notes* in the margin of each being often identical; and thus they have been rightly regarded as parts of the same book. A farther proof of this was found when Tregelles in 1850 compared Rettig's facsimile with the Codex Boernerianus at Dresden; for as Rettig has given *all* that the Codex Sangallensis now contains, there are several leaves in lithographed facsimile which are *additions* to the MS. in a later hand: several leaves are thus prefixed to the MS. containing other writing; the hand, &c., was found to be precisely the same as that which wrote one leaf now prefixed and eleven now at the end of Codex Boernerianus. Thus these MSS. once formed *one book;* and when separated, some of the superfluous leaves with additional writing attached to the former part, and some to the latter.

Thus, arguments which had been used to show that Codex Boernerianus belongs to the ninth century apply equally to the Codex Sangallensis.

The claim of this MS. to be distinguished from the general body of the later uncials depends mostly on the text of St. Mark's Gospel, in which portion there is a very frequent adherence to the best and most ancient authorities: it may also be separated from other MSS. in the Gospels, as being part of the *same* book as G. of St. Paul's Epistles.

It is remarkable to find in this MS. readings which are found in B. and in but a few others, in the midst of a text often showing no peculiar goodness. Its origin is sufficiently obscure; but it seems from this MS. and Codex Boernerianus, that there must have been, in parts at least, in the West, a Greek text current, possessing peculiarities of its own, and supporting many ancient readings, especially in St. Paul's Epistles and in the Gospel of St. Mark.

F. (of St. Paul's Epistles). Codex Augiensis, in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.—This MS. contains the Epistles of St. Paul in Greek and Latin; that to the Hebrews being only in Latin. This version is not, as is commonly the case in the Codices Græco-Latini, a non-Hieronymian translation, for it is a very good copy of that of Jerome. The beginning of this Codex is defective, so that it now commences in Rom. iii. 19. In a few places the Greek text is blank, the Latin by the side being only supplied. It formerly belonged to the monastery of Augia Major, in Switzerland, near Constance, whence it received its name. Wetstein saw it at Heidelberg, and collated it imperfectly and inaccurately; and afterwards, through the information which he gave, the celebrated Bentley purchased it in 1718. After his death, in 1742, it passed with other books and papers into the hands of his nephew, Richard Bentley, who left it to the college where it is now preserved, in the library of which it has been deposited ever since the year 1787.

After the Epistle to the Hebrews there is, in the same hand, a long extract from a Latin writer (*parts* of which were published by Wetstein in his description of the MS.); and as this was supposed to be Rhabanus Maurus, it was held that the MS. could not be older

than the ninth century. But as this is a mistake, the MS. may be well attributed to the eighth.[1] The Greek must have been copied from an exemplar containing an old text of the class which Griesbach termed Western. In many respects the orthography is very defective and barbarous, and the formation of the letters of the Latin column is of the kind which has been termed Anglo-Saxon, so that there can be no doubt that it was written in the West. Dots are introduced between many of the Greek words; sometimes each word is thus separated; in other places two or three are thus divided off; and often they are so placed in the Latin column as to answer precisely to their location in the Greek. Occasionally, however, words are divided by this dot, as CTN·CTOIXIN, CTN·MϵIMHTAI; and this too is found not only when some reason might be imagined in the composition of the word, but also in other places; thus O·COI stands for ὅσοι. A space is very often left between two letters, and then a small curved line placed below connects them together. These peculiarities, and the confusion of vowels and the use in one or two places of the Latin P for the Greek Π, show that the acquaintance of the scribe with the latter language must have been extremely slight. At times, indeed, the *reading* of this MS. is quite uncertain, for the writer was so little conscious of the different value of the Greek Ω and O that he used them without discrimination; and thus we cannot be certain, when the use of the one or the other of these letters would form a different word, *which* of the two was the one that he intended: all that can be done in such cases by a collator or critical editor is to record what the MS. does read as a fact, giving information of the uncertainty of its testimony. In general these orthographic variations may be passed by without notice, because they do not affect the reading of a passage at all.

Bentley valued this MS. highly, and he intended to have used it as an authority of weight in the Greek Testament which he proposed to edit: his collation of it is only to be found amongst his other materials in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. It had long been thought that Wetstein's collation was both defective and inaccurate, and yet it was not until 1842, a century after the death of Bentley, that one more complete was made. In that year the MS. was thoroughly collated by Tischendorf, and three years afterwards by Tregelles, who also collated the Latin text, which is far superior to that generally current.

If different parts of the Codex Augiensis are compared, it may seem as if it had been written by several hands from the variety in the character of the Greek; but if the leaves are looked at consecutively (and not in the order in which some of them are *now* transposed), it will be seen that the changes are so gradual as to in-

[1] Marsh, following Semler, gave currency to the opinion that the passage was from Rhabanus Maurus. Tischendorf, in his "Anecdota, Sacra et Profana" (p. 215.), cites from a note written in this MS. respecting the passage quoted, "imo potius conveniunt iis quæ Cumianus Rabani l. d. Pœnitentiarum mensura qui .... vixit. anno 640." The Rev. Fenton J. A. Hort states, however, "Tischendorf has not been too careful in his transcript of the note at the end of F. The name is certainly '*Cumianus Fota*' (or *Fata*) '*in*,' and the omitted word after 'qui' is '*auctor*.'" Thus "Fota in" was turned into "Rabani."

dicate the same hand having become more practised (or more wearied) in tracing Greek letters. Altogether this is one of the most valuable MSS. of the Greek Scriptures which this country possesses.

The subscription in the front of the last leaf now pasted to the binding, "Monasterium Augiæ in Belgis ubi institutus est Goddeschalcus," is in the handwriting of Bentley.

G. (in St. Paul's Epistles). CODEX BOERNERIANUS, now in the library of the King of Saxony at Dresden. It belonged during part of the seventeenth century to Paul Junius of Leyden, at whose death in 1670 it became the property of Peter Francius; at the sale of whose books, in 1705, in passed into the hands of Dr. C. F. Boerner, from whom it takes its name. Küster first published readings from it in his reprint of Mill's Greek Testament. In 1719 it was borrowed by Bentley, who kept it at Cambridge for five years. Amongst his papers there is a transcript of the whole of this MS. (the writing being a kind of imitation of the codex itself). He did not return it to Boerner until he had made fruitless attempts to acquire it by purchase. The Greek text is accompanied with a Latin translation arranged interlinearly. As soon as the readings of this MS. and the Codex Augiensis (F.) were at all known, it was suspected that one must be the transcript of the other; because, even though the collation of neither was at all perfect or exact, there was enough to show a striking, if not convincing, resemblance. And thus it was so much an established point in the minds of some critics that F. and G. were copied the one from the other (just as we know that E. is a transcript of D.), that they only differed as to *which* were the copy, forming their judgments on this point according to their opinion of the relative ages of the documents.

This MS. was published by Matthæi in 1791, so that the means of an exact acquaintance with its text and of comparison with F. became far greater. The differences between the two MSS. are such as to show that the one is not a transcript of the other. The Latin in this is not the Vulgate of Jerome, but a translation generally depending on and modelled to the Greek over which each word is written, as far at least as the copyist's want of skill admitted. In every epistle there is *some variation* between the two MSS., and that of such a kind as to show that the one (in either case) could not have been copied from the other; the variations being just such in each case as would have led copyists astray. But though neither of these is a transcript of the other, the relation between the two as to text is more close than could have been supposed from the collation given by Wetstein; and thus it may be deemed certain that the Greek of each of these MSS. was a copy (mediate or immediate) of a more ancient codex; from which the copyist of each of these departed at times by mere error.

The general description of the Codex Sangallensis (Δ of the Gospels) applies equally to this MS., to which it was once joined: and whatever shows the history of the one will apply equally to that of the other.

It seems as if the writer of this MS. had thought of subjoining the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans to that to Philemon; for on the same page there is the heading *προς Λαουδηκησας· αρχεται επιστολη.* The epistle, however, is not added; and in the Codex Augiensis this heading has no place. After Rom. xiv. 23. there is a vacant space in this MS., which is not in the Codex Augiensis.

From some of the marginal remarks it seems as if the Codex Boernerianus had been copied for certain polemical purposes: thus in some places (such as 1 Tim. ii. 4.) there is the note *contra goddiscalcum*, referring no doubt to the controversy with Gottschalk in the ninth century, when points connected with *grace, predestination*, &c. were under discussion. Other passages are noted as being *contra Græcos.*

How little acquaintance the copyist had with Greek is shown by the introduction of the Latin *h* as the rough breathing; thus 1 Tim. iv. 2. *hυποκρισι* for *ὑποκρισει.* This small measure of knowledge of Greek is the best proof how little ground there is for charging him with having altered and rewrought his Greek text to conform it to the Latin.

This MS. of course is not a distinct authority from F. as to the readings of St. Paul's Epistles: *together*, however, they are valuable as a united testimony to the readings of the ancient and valuable codex from which they must have alike sprung.

CHAP. XVII.

THE OTHER LATER UNCIALS CONTAINING THE GOSPELS.

THE remaining uncial MSS. and fragments require but a brief description.

E. CODEX BASILEENSIS, now in the public library at Basle (K. iv. 35.; formerly B. vi. 21.).—This MS. contains the four Gospels with a few hiatus. It is written in round, full uncial letters, one column only on the page, with the Ammonian sections; but instead of the Eusebian canons there is a kind of Harmony of the Gospels noted at the foot of each page, by a reference to the parallel sections in the other evangelists. This MS. appears to belong to the eighth century, and the additions of a subsequent hand seem to indicate that they were made in the ninth. It appears that it was formerly used as a church MS. at Constantinople, and it may be considered to be one of the best specimens of what has been called the Constantinopolitan class of text. It was presented in the fifteenth century to a monastery in Basle by Cardinal de Ragusio. Wetstein collated this MS., and this was also done (independently) by Tischendorf, Müller of Basle, and Tregelles.

F. CODEX BOREELII.—This MS. takes its name from its former possessor, John Boreel, ambassador from the United Provinces to

King James I. Soon after Boreel's death, in 1629, some man of learning, whose name is unknown, made extracts from this MS. as far as Luke x. This collation was communicated to Wetstein by Isaac Verburgen in 1730. Wetstein could not ascertain where the MS. was in his time. But after having been unknown for nearly two centuries it was discovered in 1830 at Arnhem. Soon after this discovery had been announced by Prof. Heringa, he made a diligent and careful collation of its text. Some part of this codex appears to have been lost since the time when the extracts were made which Wetstein used; so that *his* citations in such parts still retain their value. Heringa's collation with a description and facsimile of the MS. appeared in 1843, after his death, under the editorial care of Vinke. The MS. is now in the library of the University of Utrecht. The letters of this MS. are large, upright, compressed uncials; it is written with two columns on each page, with the usual indications of sections, &c., but without the Eusebian canons. It is supposed to belong to the tenth century: some have thought the ninth, but that is probably too early.

G. Codex Seidelii I.—A MS. of the four Gospels brought by Andreas Seidel, with H., from the East. La Croze afterwards purchased both these MSS. and gave them to Wolf of Hamburg. G. is now in the British Museum; it contains the four Gospels, but with several chasms. It is written in double columns, in such uncial letters as were common in the tenth century. Wolf collated this MS. as well as H., and he published the results in his Anecdota Græca, vol. iii. He had previously (in 1721) sent a copy of his collation of these MSS. to Bentley, and also a small *piece* of each MS. as a specimen. These fragments are now amongst Bentley's papers in the library of Trinity College Cambridge.[1] This MS. has been recently collated by Tischendorf and also by Tregelles.

H. Codex Seidelii II.—The history of this MS. has been given as far as it is known in connection with G. From the time of Wolf's death it has been deposited in the public library at Hamburg; though from this fact not having been generally known, this codex was long classed amongst *lost* MSS. It contains the four Gospels (commencing in Matt. xv.) with various chasms. It is neatly written with one column on each page; the letters apparently being of the ninth century. Wolf's collation was very imperfect and very incorrect, but no other was executed before that of Tregelles, who collated the MS. and compared Wolf's extracts with it in 1850. Its readings on the whole are better than those of the MSS. with which it has a general affinity.

K. Codex Cyprius (No. 63. in the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris).—This MS. of the four Gospels takes its name from the place from which it was brought in 1637. It was then deposited

[1] See as to the curious *history* of these fragments "Account of Printed Text," pp. 159. 160.

in the library of Colbert, whence it passed into its present locality. The uncial letters of this MS. are large, upright, and compressed; in each page there is one column; the number of lines varies greatly in some of the pages, for occasionally the letters are very large. There is a pretty frequent insertion of a point as a mark of interpunction; this has been supposed to occur at the end of an ancient στίχος. The writing, &c. may be taken as proofs that the MS. is not older than the middle of the ninth century. Wetstein used readings taken from this MS. with no great accuracy; Scholz, though he valued it very highly, collated it with so little care that his testimony is worth but little. The comparison of the more recent independent collations of Tischendorf and Tregelles leaves little ground for doubt as to its readings. It was of some importance to correct errors previously made, since this MS., undue as are some of the praises which have been bestowed upon it, contains many good and valuable readings.

M. Codex Campianus. (No. 48. Bibliothèque du Roi.)— This is a beautiful little MS. of the four Gospels, written in double columns in very neat uncial letters. It was presented in 1706 to Louis XIV. by the Abbé des Camps. It is supposed to belong to the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth. It was used by Wetstein, re-examined by Scholz, copied by Tischendorf, and collated by Tregelles. It contains many good readings. Besides the indications of sections in the margin, there are also scholia; some of these are in the most minute writing. Besides accents and breathings, the words are marked with a musical notation.

S. A MS. of the four Gospels in the Vatican Library (No. 354.). The subscription says that it was written by Michael, a monk, in the year 949 of our era. This MS. is, therefore, one by which the date of others may be in some measure estimated. It is written in compressed uncial letters, rather large in size, and such as would independently have been expected in a MS. of the date contained in the subscription.

Birch has been the only collator of this Codex. He gave the results in the notes to his edition of the four Gospels, and again in the Variæ Lectiones as published separately. He states that he collated the MS. *twice* with care. Except in places in which we have to judge from his *silence*, and not from direct *testimony*, we can hardly be in doubt as to the readings of this copy. The text is, as might be supposed, Constantinopolitan in character.

U. Codex Nanianus. — This copy of the four Gospels is now in the Library of St. Mark, at Venice. It is beautifully and elaborately executed with ornaments in gold and colours. The letters are in general an imitation of those used before the introduction of compressed uncials; but they do not belong to the age when full and round writing was customary or natural, so that the stiffness and want of ease is manifest. This codex is supposed to belong to the

ninth or tenth century. Its first collator was Münter, and Birch published the extracts thus communicated to him. It was again collated in 1843 by Tischendorf, and in 1846 by Tregelles. It contains Alexandrian readings in some places, but the general text is Constantinopolitan.

V. CODEX MOSQUENSIS.—In this MS. there are the three first Gospels, and that of St. John as far as vii. 39., in uncial letters; the latter Gospel has been completed by a later hand in cursive letters. The date of the earlier portion is supposed to be of the ninth century. It was collated by Matthæi in 1779, and he states that it was then defective, Matt. v. 44—vi. 12., and ix. 18—x. 1. Four years afterwards he found that it had received other injuries, for Matt. xxii. 44—xxiii. 35. and John xxi. 10. to the end, had also disappeared. This MS. belongs to the Library of Holy Synod at Moscow. Matthæi collated it twice; and on his extracts, as given in his Greek Testament, subsequent editors and critics have relied. He also gave a facsimile of the writing of the MS. The text is of the usual Constantinopolitan character.

Γ. CODEX TISCHENDORFIANUS IV.—Tischendorf has recently proposed to use Γ. as the designation for critical purposes of the MS. which is No. IV. in the catalogue of those which he procured in 1853. No inconvenience need arise from this notation, for the Vatican fragments, denoted Γ. by Scholz, are far more suitably quoted by the same designation as the other portions of the same MS. now at Vienna and in the British Museum.

This MS. is ascribed by Tischendorf to the ninth century; it now consists of 157 leaves of a large quarto form. On each page there is one column, and the form of the letters and general aspect resembles especially the Codex Cyprius (K.). This MS. contains the Gospel of St. Luke entire, but with the last ten leaves much injured by damp: the Gospel of St. Mark is only defective from chap. iii. 35—vi. 20.: of St. Matthew there are but a few leaves, containing vi. 16—29., vii. 26—viii. 27., xii. 18—xiv. 15., xx. 25—xxi. 19., xxii. 25—xxiii. 13., and of St. John vi. 14—viii. 3., xv. 24—xix. 6. The text of this MS. agrees in general with that of the other later uncials; in some peculiar passages it has such readings as are found in the more important MSS. Tischendorf has himself collected this MS., and also (by his permission) Tregelles during the time that it was in England.

Λ. CODEX TISCHENDORFIANUS III.—The notation Λ. has been proposed by Tischendorf to designate the MS. No. III. in his catalogue, to which reference has already been made. The fragment to which he had previously applied this reference does not need any special notation.

This MS. is attributed by Tischendorf to the eighth century. It consists at present of 157 leaves, containing the whole of the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, together with the subscription to that of

St. Mark, so that it doubtless once included all the Gospels. In each page there are two columns; the uncial letters are small, neat, sloping, and compressed. The variety of reading is considerable, so that although Constantinopolitan in its general character, it contains by no means a settled text. Occasionally there are scholia added, some of which have an importance as affording evidence in criticism. Tischendorf collated this MS. himself, and Tregelles subsequently by his permission.

FRAGMENTS.

O.—This letter was used by Wetstein and others to denote a fragment of St. Luke's Gospels (xviii. 11—13. and part of ver. 14.) given to Montfaucon by Anselmo Banduri. Tischendorf, however, considering that fragment to be only part of a lectionary, has substituted for it another fragment.

Fragmentum Mosquense.—Eight leaves containing John i. 1—4., xx. 10—13., 15—17., 20—24. Four of the leaves contain nothing but repetitions of the beginning of St. John's Gospel. Matthæi edited these fragments, and gave a facsimile: they appear to belong to the ninth century. They belong to the Library of the Holy Synod at Moscow (No. CXX.), having formerly been attached to the binding of a MS. of Chrysostom.

R.—This letter was used by Griesbach and Scholz to denote a Tübingen fragment containing John i. 38—50.: Tischendorf, however, considered that fragment to be only part of a lectionary, and, therefore, in his Greek Testament (1849) he substituted a *Fragmentum Neapolitanum rescriptum;* of this he was able to read *one page* containing Mark xiv. 32—39. The palimpsest leaves in the whole MS. appear to be twelve or fourteen; the writing being of the eighth century.

The inconvenience of using *letters* of reference to denote *very small fragments* is shown by the changes of notation which take place from time to time; for Tischendorf *now* calls the Neapolitan fragment W^b., and he uses R. to denote the Codex Nitriensis mentioned above, p. 183. To the *latter* arrangement there can be no objection if it be well understood; but it is always better to refer by *name* to the very small fragments, which can only occasionally be cited.

W. (appended to No. 314. in the Paris Library [1]).—Two fragments of St. Luke's Gospel, containing ix. 36—47. and x. 12—22. Tischendorf, who ascribes these two leaves to the eighth century (which seems at least sufficiently early), published them in his Monumenta Sacra Inedita, 1846.

Y.—Fragments in the Barberini Library at Rome (No. 225.); containing St. John xvi. 3—xix. 41.. Attributed to the eighth century by Tischendorf, who inserted it in his Monumenta Sacra Inedita.

Θ. *Codex Tischendorfianus,* in the University Library at Leipsic.

[1] It will be well once for all to mention that this library, whether designated Nationale, Impériale, or known by its old name *Bibliothèque du Roi,* is one and the same. The changes of its name have led to inconsistency in the references to it on the part of critics.

—Four leaves brought from the East by Tischendorf, containing parts of St. Matthew's Gospel, xiii. 46—55. (mutilated), xiv. 8—29., xv. 4—14. He considers this fragment to belong to the seventh century: published in his Monumenta Sacra.

Besides these fragments Tischendorf gave a place in the list prefixed to his Greek Testament in 1849, under the designation of A. (now otherwise appropriated), to two fragments of a Codex Sinaiticus, which he read in part of the cover of an Arabic book in the monastery of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai. One of these contains Matt. xx. 8—15., the other Luke i. 14—20. Supposed to belong to the *ninth* century; published by Tischendorf, in the Wiener Jährbucher, 1846.

CHAP. XVIII.

THE OTHER LATER UNCIALS CONTAINING THE ACTS, EPISTLES, OR APOCALYPSE.

H. of the Acts. CODEX MUTINENSIS (No. 196.).—This MS., which is supposed to belong to the *ninth* century, is in the Ducal Library at Modena. The ancient writing is defective from the beginning as far as chap. v. 28., also from ix. 39—x. 19., xiii. 36—xiv. 3., xxvii. 4. to the end. This latter imperfection was supplied by a hand of the eleventh century, and the other defects by one much more recent. This MS. also contains the Catholic Epistles in cursive letters. Collated by Tischendorf, also by Tregelles.

F. of the Acts.—Wetstein thus designated a few passages in the Acts written (in the seventh century apparently) in the margin of the Coislin MS. (No. 1.) of the octateuch. Tischendorf found in the same MS. similar scholia from the Gospels and Epistles (which he designates F^a.), and all that he could thus notice (but few in number), he inserted in his *Monumenta Sacra.*

G. of the Acts and Catholic Epistles, J. of St. Paul's Epistles. CODEX PASSIONEI (formerly belonging to the cardinal of that name), now in the Bibliotheca Angelica (of the Augustine monks) at Rome.—This MS. appears to belong to the *ninth* century; it is defective as far as Acts viii. 10., and at the end it breaks off Heb. xiii. 10. It was examined by Blanchini, and afterwards by Birch; Scholz collated it, but with little exactitude; and Fleck states that he did the same in 1833. It has since been collated with care by Tischendorf, and also by Tregelles.

J. of the Catholic Epistles, K. of St. Paul's.—This is the Moscow MS. called by Matthæi in his Greek Testament "g." This MS., is ascribed to the ninth century: its readings are only known from the collation of Matthæi, who appears to have given them with great care. In St. Paul's Epistles it is defective from Rom. x. 18—1 Cor. vi. 13., 1 Cor. viii. 7—11. In the Catholic Epistles it is entire. The text is accompanied by a Catena. It was

brought to Moscow from the monastery of St. Dionysius, on Mount Athos: it now belongs to the Library of the Holy Synod (No. XCVIII.).

There is also at Moscow a very ancient fragment, containing Heb. x. 1—7., 32—38., described by Matthæi and collated by him in his larger Greek Testament. Tischendorf suggested that this might be designated L., but it will be more convenient to refer by name to so small a fragment.

B. of the Apocalypse. Codex Basilianus, No. 105., formerly belonging to the Basilian monastery at Rome, now in the Vatican Library, No. 2066.—This MS. contains homilies of Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, and, amongst them, the whole of the book of Revelation, which is of importance as it is found in so very few ancient documents. Blanchini gave a facsimile of this MS. in his Evangeliarium Quadruplex, with a description of the Codex. Wetstein requested Cardinal Quirini to procure him a collation of the entire text; and accordingly extracts were sent to him, but too late for the greater part to appear under the text in its place in the Apparatus Criticus. In this collation so many portions were passed over in entire silence, and from others so few readings were noticed, that it was soon judged that the MS. had been either very defectively collated, or else it was very imperfect. Tregelles, when at Rome in 1845, made inquiries to know if this MS. were entire; and he was allowed, in proof that there is no hiatus, to copy the first and last lines of each page, so as to show that all goes on continuously. He was also allowed to trace in facsimile four pages, which he selected from those parts from which but few readings had been noted; but nothing more was permitted, so that he was disappointed in his endeavour to procure an entire collation. Before this time, however, that most successful collator and publisher of MSS. Tischendorf, had, while occupied in the Vatican, noted the variations of this MS. from the text of his own first edition of the New Testament; and thus, though he was not permitted to *transcribe* the MS. for publication, he was able to give the *text* in his Monumenta Sacra in such a form as to be in general worthy of confidence: though Tregelles, in examining Tischendorf's edition with his own extracts and facsimile pages, found in one of the latter two oversights of small importance on Tischendorf's part.[1] The Leipsic professor is really entitled to the thanks of Biblical scholars for the pains which he took in obtaining the readings of this MS.,—the only ancient document besides Codices Alexandrinus and Ephraemi (A. and C.) containing the book of Revelation. This MS. seems to belong to the *eighth* century; care must be taken not to confound it with B., *the* Codex Vaticanus, in which the Revelation is a modern supplement. The uncial letters of this MS. are of a peculiar form.

FRAGMENTUM UFFENBACHIANUM: Two leaves containing the

[1] Rev. xvi. 9. The MS. does *not* read την before εξουσιαν. 12. it reads thus: τον μεγαν εφρατην (*sic*). See "Account of the Printed Text," pp. 156, 157.

beginning and the end of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which, though reckoned by the editors amongst the cursive MSS., and numbered 53., belong more properly to those in uncial letters, as the characters, though peculiar, are almost entirely *separate*, and are certainly by no means cursive, in the common acceptation of the term. This MS. formerly belonged to Uffenbach, and it is now preserved in the library of the Johanneum at Hamburg. In its original state it consisted of six leaves of vellum: the four inner ones are now gone; those which remain contain chap. i. 1—iv. 3. and xii. 20. to the end: the writing is in double columns, and it is all written in *red* ink, which, though common in titles, and for the first few lines in each book in Biblical MSS., is peculiar when used throughout.

Imperfect descriptions of this curious fragment had been given by Bengel, Wetstein, and others; and Dr. H. P. C. Henke, in 1800, published a full examination of it, together with such a facsimile as gives a fair notion of its appearance and of the form of the letters.

It resembles the later uncials in having the accents and breathings, and being devoid of the subscribed iota: the mark of interrogation (;) occurs once, chap. iii. 17., after the word ἐρήμῳ; This MS. may probably belong to the tenth century; but there can be but little doubt that it is a transcript of one much older, as some of its readings are historically known to have had an early existence, through now they are not found in other MSS. These fragments were twice collated by Tregelles.[1]

In the Codex Harleianus, 5613. in the British Museum, Griesbach noticed two leaves appended to the cover which in description &c. are almost entirely counterparts of the Uffenbach fragment: almost the only difference is, that the lines in each page are not precisely the same in number. They contain 1 Cor. xv. 52—2 Cor. i. 15., an 2 Cor. x. 13—xii. 5. Griesbach designated these fragments in his Greek Testament 64. in St. Paul's Epistles.

Tischendorf has just (1855) published the text of both of these fragments of MS. in his recent volume "Anecdota Sacra et Profana."

CHAP. XIX.

IMPORTANT MSS. IN CURSIVE LETTERS.

It is not possible to give a full description of MSS. in cursive letters in a work intended as an Introduction to Textual Criticism; and a mere list of them would be of little use in any work in which they were not cited or otherwise employed: indeed, with regard to the great majority of these documents, but little is really known,

[1] From some Italian writing on one of the leaves of the Uffenbachian fragment, it might seem either as if this copy of the Epistle to the Hebrews had preceded the Homilies of Chrysostom on that book; or as if the existing leaves had once been used as the *covers* for a copy of those Homilies. In support of the former opinion, it may be added that on the last page of the fragment there is what printers would term *a set-off* of a large Π, evidently the initial letter of some book.

except the fact of their existence, the place in which they are kept, and the general character (formed commonly on a very rough estimate) of the text which they contain.

The following is the summary given by Dr. Davidson of these MSS. in general: —

"Upwards of five hundred cursive MSS. of the Gospels, ranging in date from the tenth to the sixteenth century, have been inspected more or less cursorily, or at least mentioned. More than two hundred of the same kind contain the Acts and Catholic Epistles; upwards of three hundred the Pauline Epistles; one hundred have the Apocalypse. Very few, however, have been properly described and fully collated. By far the greater number have been *hastily inspected.*" (Biblical Criticism, ii. 324.)

A few, however, from this numerical mass may be selected from brief description.

These will be the cursive MSS. to which any particular importance attaches either on account (i.) of the goodness of the readings, or (ii.) of the use which has been made of them in the formation of the text, or (iii.) those that have become well known through some peculiarity.

1. (so numbered in the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles).—A MS. in the library at Basle (formerly B. vi. 27., now K. iii. 3.): it contains all the New Testament except the Apocalypse. It was known to Erasmus, who, however, used it very little, from finding that its text differed much from other copies with which he was well acquainted. It was for a considerable time in the possession of Reuchlin, who borrowed it from the Dominican monks of Basle, who had received it from Cardinal de Ragusio. Erasmus's sub-editors, Œcolampadius and Gerbelius, had a much higher opinion of this MS. than he himself had: they wanted in his third edition to introduce many readings from it, which he prevented, considering that it had been altered from the Latin. Wetstein was the first who thoroughly examined this MS.; in the first edition of his Prolegomena (1730), he spoke highly of its text, and strongly opposed the opinion of Erasmus that its readings had been altered from the Latin. He says on this subject, "Cujus rei tamen, ut quovis pignore certare ausim, hic nullum vestigium est" (p. 57.); and he states also, most truly, that in the *Gospels* its text agrees mostly with the most ancient codices and patristic citations. Thus it may be concluded that if Wetstein had at that time formed a critical text, or expressed a general judgment on the value of readings, he would have anticipated the critical results to which now those who have specially laboured in this field are seeking to direct. But in the next twenty years, Wetstein's critical judgment was so thoroughly changed, (might it not be said *distorted?*) that in the Prolegomena actually prefixed to his Greek Testament, he said (p. 44.), that he not only recalled his former opinion, but now thought the MS. to be interpolated in unnumbered places. It should be remembered that, in the interval, he had formed no new or increased acquaintance with its readings, only he had elaborated

a theory in accordance with which every one of the most ancient copies, and every MS. which accorded with them, was condemned as Latinizing. Wetstein also observes that the variations of this MS. from the common Greek Testament were almost equal to all that are found in all other MSS. put together. In making this remark he could hardly have remembered the Codex Bezæ (D.). The character of this MS. differs in the different parts: the Acts and Epistles contain a text of no particular importance, while the *Gospels* (now bound in the *end* of the volume) present the characteristics to which so much attention has been paid. Wetstein collated this MS. twice; others had previously examined it; and in recent years the *Gospels* have been collated (independently) by Tregelles and by Dr. Roth: a recomparison with the MS. itself, of the readings in which these two collations differed, has taken away almost every point on which there could be any doubt; and these independent collations show that even if it were accurately *examined* by Wetstein, the readings which he noted were not correctly printed; for his collation was incorrect in more than twelve hundred readings. The copy of the Gospels noted 118. (in the Bodleian Library; Marsh 24.), part of which was collated by Griesbach, appears to be in text a duplicate of this MS., either transcribed from it or from its archetype. Codex 118. is supposed to belong to the thirteenth century, while *this* on good grounds has been assigned to the *tenth*. There are thus uncial MSS. of the Gospels more recent than this cursive copy; but none of the later MSS. of that class is comparable to this, as to the goodness of text in the Gospels.

33. Codex Colbertinus 2844., now in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris (33. in the Gospels, 17. in St. Paul's Epistles, 13. in the Acts and Catholic Epistles).—Perhaps this is the most important of the Biblical MSS. in cursive letters extant: it is also one of those which has suffered most from damp and decay. It contains part of the Prophets and all the books of the New Testament, except the Apocalypse: their *order* is now most confused; but by examining the *writing*, it is clear that they were once arranged as usual: the differences in the ink, &c. at the different dislocations is now very manifest; but when the parts are looked at as *originally* arranged, the changes are almost imperceptibly gradual. Part of almost every leaf has been destroyed through the decay caused by exposure to damp. The MS. is on vellum, in folio size, and belongs to the eleventh century. Larroque appears to be the first known collator of this MS; and the readings which he extracted were communicated by Allix to Mill, who inserted them in his Greek Testament, whence Wetstein transferred them to his pages. Griesbach re-examined the first eighteen chapters of Matthew's Gospel and also some places in the Epistles, making extracts of about 300 readings. Begtrup afterwards made some use of the MS.; and at length Scholz states that he collated it entirely. This must, however, have been in a very cursory manner, or else his notation must have become confused; for he cites out of this codex readings which are

utterly unlike those really found in it, to say nothing of omissions, and those often of importance.

In 1850 Tregelles collated the whole of the MS., re-examining the results with the citations of Larroque and Scholz, and then comparing again every discrepancy with the MS. itself. It is very manifest how it is that a document of such internal excellence should have been so much neglected. Its condition is such as to render the task of collating it peculiarly difficult: in fact, there are many palimpsests which, without any chemical restoration, are far easier to read. Not only has damp destroyed parts of the leaves, but they must have been so stuck together that, in separating them, the vellum is often so defaced as to be illegible. This is especially the case in the book of Acts; for there the leaves were joined so firmly to each other, that when separated, the ink has adhered rather to the opposite page than to its own; and thus there are leaves the writing of which can only be read by observing what has *set off* (as it would be said of a *printed* book) on the opposite page. In this manner, by patiently reading the Greek *backwards*, many pages were collated, of the text of which *nothing* was legible on the page itself. There are also in this decayed portion of the MS. parts wholly defective *now;* the readings of which are preserved in the *set-off*. Unless this were understood, it might seem as if citations were inadvertently made from non-existing portions of the MS.: the *ink* exists of parts, the *vellum* of which has perished.

It is surprising to observe the number of readings in which this MS. (sometimes in company with one, sometimes with a few others, and often alone), accords with the most ancient documents. This fact shows its importance as a witness of the *ancient* Greek text.

69. CODEX LEICESTRENSIS.—This MS. belongs to the town council of Leicester. (69. Gospels; Acts and Catholic Epistles 31.; St. Paul's Epistles 37.; Apoc. 14.) It formerly belonged to William Chark or Charc (who was deprived of his fellowship at Peterhouse, Cambridge, for Presbyterianism), and then to Thomas Hayne, who in 1640 (not 1669 as stated by Wetstein) gave it to its present owners. It is in folio size; paper and vellum are used indiscriminately in its construction; and the writing is rather rough and inelegant. It is ascribed to the fourteenth century. It is defective as far as Matt. xviii., and besides some other injuries, it has lost the latter part of the Revelation: this part must have been more injured in recent years; for while others have described the deficiency as being only from Rev. xxi. 1. to the end, *now* all is lost after chap. xix. 10., and of this last leaf part is gone. Mill collated this MS., and published the results in his appendix. A farther collation, made by Jackson and Tiffin (which had passed into the hands of Cæsar de Missy), was used by Wetstein; and a more complete collation made by Jackson has remained in MS. in the library of Jesus College, Cambridge.

In 1851, through the kind intervention of GEORGE TOLLER, Esq., then Mayor of Leicester, this MS. was lent for collation to Dr. Tregelles on due security being given for its preservation. He

was thus able to collate it at leisure, and to recompare with the MS. itself such collations as had been already made and *published*. The text of the MS. is worthy of such attention; it is of far higher value than not only the mass of the recent cursive copies, but also than the greater part of the later uncials: it is only surprising that this document should have been treated with so much neglect, as not to have been known through any complete published collation. Besides that which has been made by Tregelles, Dr. Dobbin has recently announced that the Rev. F. H. Scrivener is now engaged in a similar examination of the MS. itself.

38. of the Apocalypse (Cod. Vat. 579.).—This is a MS. on cotton paper of about the thirteenth century. The codex contains the book of Revelation in the midst of some patristic writings. The readings of this MS. are known almost exclusively through Birch's collation. Scholz inspected the MS., and Tregelles succeeded in noting a few readings (some of them of moment), which had not been extracted by Birch. A thorough collation, or what would be still better a transcript suited for publication, is a desideratum; for there is no cursive MS. of the Apocalypse which exhibits such a close adherence to ancient authorities, and thus it is a most valuable auxiliary to Codices A. and C., the latter of which is defective in several places in the book of Revelation. Birch states that the MS. was written by a sufficiently learned and skilful copyist, who must have had by him another MS. besides his archetype, from which he introduced some readings, and noted some in the margin. Lections of this MS., which Birch was disposed in some cases to attribute to transcriptural error, are amply defended by the proof which we possess of their having been in widespread use before the age in which our common text of the Apocalypse assumed the form in which we find it in the mass of the later copies. That gleanings of important readings have been left for those who may labour on this MS., even after the harvest gathered by Birch, may be seen from the following specimens obtained by Tregelles on a very cursory inspection. Rev. i. 5. the MS. reads with A. and C. λύσαντι; ver. 6. ἐποίησεν ἡμῖν βασιλείαν. This MS. is in value for the book of Revelation what 33. is to the rest of the New Testament.

A MS. obtained by Tischendorf (in Egypt apparently), in 1853, containing the Acts of the Apostles, deserves to be mentioned amongst the most valuable of the cursive documents. It is on vellum of a small quarto size, and it is now defective from ch. iv. 8—vii. 17., and from xvii. 28—xxiii. 9. A subscription to the MS. states that it was written by "John the Monk," in the year answering to A.D. 1054. The agreement of this MS. with the most ancient and authoritative codices is most remarkable; and where such copies as A. B. and C. differ from one another, *this* MS. far more often than not contains the reading which has the highest claim on the attention of a critical editor. Its excellence thus can hardly be estimated too highly, and it may be regarded as undoubtedly a copy of some very ancient and authoritative uncial MS: it differs sufficiently from the other copies with which it must be classed to

show that it cannot be regarded as a mere duplicate of either of them. This MS. is numbered VII. in the catalogue of the MSS. which Professor Tischendorf offered for sale on certain conditions in 1854. According to the terms then proposed, Dr. Tregelles became its purchaser; but Professor Tischendorf withdrew his MSS., and cancelled the conditions on which they had been offered. Since then, however, this MS. has been secured for the Library of the British Museum (No. 20,003), and thus it is not lost to this country. Tischendorf collated it while it was still in his possession, and this has also been done by Tregelles.[1]

The five cursive MSS. thus described appear to be those which are *known* to possess distinctively the highest value: there are, no doubt, others, the text of which is hardly known, which merit a more careful examination. In the Gospels some other cursive MSS. may be considered to approach in value to those already mentioned. Such as—

13. The MS. in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris (No. 50., formerly 2244.); a quarto on vellum of the twelfth or thirteenth century, containing the Gospels with five chasms.— Küster gave some readings from this MS. (but with no great accuracy); from him they were taken by Wetstein. Griesbach gave a good description of the MS. in his Symbolæ Criticæ; and he *collated* three chapters, Matt. xiii. xiv. xv., and looked cursorily at other parts. It was subsequently examined by Begtrup: but there is no complete or dependable collation which can be used; the greater part of the readings cited from it cannot be *confidently* quoted without re-examination.

22. The CODEX COLBERTINUS, 2467. (now No. 72. in the Bibliothèque Impériale) of the four Gospels, with some chasms. It is on vellum, and is ascribed to the eleventh century. It was examined by Wetstein, whose collation is the only real ground on which we have to rely for what we *know* of its readings. It was more recently examined by Scholz. It appears as if it had been altered in places as to its reading by later hands, or at least that more recent readings had been added. From what we know of the text of this MS., there is enough to raise the desire that it should be *accurately* collated; for thus and thus only can we know certainly whether it has such a resemblance to the ancient documents as to merit a place amongst the monuments of the ancient text. This appears to be the case in some passages of characteristic reading.

209. The CODEX VENETUS 10., a vellum MS. of the fifteenth century (designated 209. in the Gospels; in the Acts and Catholic Epistles 95., in St. Paul's 108., and in the Revelation 46.); formerly the property of Cardinal Bessarion. From the description it would seem as if it had been written by different hands. The *Gospels* alone claim notice here; for it is only in that part that the text has any characteristic excellence. Indeed, it has been conjectured that in

[1] The collation of Tischendorf has just been published in his "Anecdota Sacra et Profana."

that part the Vatican MS. was used as an archetype. Birch laments that, from want of sufficient time, he was not able to *collate* this MS., which however he examined in some parts. He was indebted to Engelbreth for the greater number of the readings which he published. Fleck has more recently published part of a collation made by Heimbach; but none who have had any experience of Fleck's want of accuracy, whether in making collations or in editing those formed by others, will feel any confidence in these new extracts from this MS. What is needed is a thorough collation of the Gospels, such as will give full certainty of the readings.

The MSS. which have been brought forward in connection with the passage 1 John v. 7. deserve mention, not on account of their value, but because of the degree of notoriety which they have acquired.

Codex Montfortianus. (No. 61. in the Gospels; 34. in the Acts and Catholic Epistles, 40. in St. Paul's Epistles, and 92. in Tregelles's edition of the Apocalypse).—This MS. derives its present name from its former owner Dr. Montfort, who possessed it before it came into the hands of Archbishop Usher. Montfort was a doctor of divinity at Cambridge in the seventeenth century. A previous owner was William Chark (or Charc), who in 1572 was deprived of his fellowship at Peterhouse, Cambridge, because of his Presbyterian sentiments, and who afterwards became (in 1582) preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn. A still earlier owner was Thomas Clement; and before him it belonged to one Froy, a friar. From Archbishop Usher it passed into the library of Trinity College, Dublin, where it is still preserved. The MS. was written by different hands: more than one person seems to have copied the Gospels; the Acts and Epistles are from an entirely different hand; and so again is the Apocalypse. Either the parts were once wholly independent of each other, and thus it formed three separate books, afterwards conjoined only because of similarity of size and material; or else, the other parts were *added* at later times to the Gospels, and thus the present codex was produced. This is so far important, that it relates to the *date* of the MS.; whatever may be the age of the *Gospels*, the other parts are more recent. Now the Revelation agrees, as Dr. Barrett showed, in such a manner with the Codex Leicestrensis of that book, as to prove that it was transcribed from that MS.; and as both codices were once in the possession of the same William Chark, it is probable in the highest degree that the Revelation was copied to complete *this* MS., which must have seemed so far deficient in his time, *i. e.* in the latter half of the sixteenth century. This is confirmed by the corrections, &c. in the margin of the Codex Montfortianus having been made from the Leicestrensis by the same hand. Dr. Dobbin also states that the *titles* to the books of the New Testament in each of these MSS. were added by the same hand. This is apparently stated from *memory*, and therefore it might be objected that it is not conclusive without an examination of the MSS. *together*. But even if any

one feels *doubt* on the subject, he must admit the resemblance, and that the identity of hand is probable. Thus it is pretty clear that the MS. was completed, as it now exists, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, by the addition of the Revelation and the readings now found in the margin. If there had never been any particular reason for discussing the age of this MS., there would apparently have been no difference of opinion; but the Gospels would have been ascribed to the end of the fifteenth century; the Acts and Epistles to a period a little later; and the Apocalypse to the latter half of the sixteenth century,—not because of the writing of this part of the MS., but simply from the *history* of the text of that book as here found in connection with Chark, the former owner of this MS., and of the Cod. Leicestrensis. But as the occurrence of the passage 1 John v. 7. in this MS. has given it a kind of importance that it could not otherwise have possessed, its antiquity has been by some greatly overstrained, and even its *material* has been questioned, as if it were not sufficiently evident that it is written on paper and not on vellum. It has often been said by those who have examined it, that it is written on *glazed* paper; but this is only true of one place, namely the leaves containing 1 John v. 7., and the glazing is either some kind of size which has been used to preserve and strengthen the part which was so often examined, or else it has arisen from the frequent handling of those two pages.

Erasmus, in his two earliest editions of the Greek Testament, did not insert the text 1 John v. 7., as not finding it in the MSS. which he had seen: this was charged against him as a serious fault; and he promised that *if* any Greek copy were found containing the text, he would insert it. Before the appearance of his third edition in 1522, he heard of a certain *Codex Britannicus* containing the words; and on its authority he redeemed his promise by making the addition, though certainly without being convinced of its genuineness. The close verbal agreement of the text, as thus printed by Erasmus, with the Codex Montfortianus is almost in itself a proof of its identity with the Codex Britannicus of which he had heard; and this becomes all the more evident when it is borne in mind that no other MS. containing the text in such a form as this has been found, though the libraries of Europe have been well searched: and farther, this MS. seems to have originated in England, and never to have left this country until its removal to its present location, Dublin. Also the resemblance is *not* confined merely to the words of this verse, for Erasmus had received from England a copy of the seventh, eighth, and part of the ninth verses, which in his Annotations of 1522, and also in "Apologia ad Stunicam," are printed (with two errors[1], indeed, which his Greek Testament corrects); and here there is so much peculiarity as to show that the identity is complete. The *non-insertion* of the *article* before the witnesses, either heavenly or earthly,

[1] These errors were repeated in each impression of this note, and of the "Apologia." They consisted in the omission of *οἱ* before the second *μαρτυροῦντες*, and the omission of *ἅγιον* after *πνεῦμα*. But as the note refers to the Greek Testament which accompanied it, it is worse than folly to argue (as some have done) on this difference.

was a pretty plain indication that the MS. had not been copied by any one whose vernacular tongue was Greek; and this was a good intimation of Latin origin or something of the kind. Erasmus suspected that the text of the heavenly witnesses had been introduced by translation from the Latin Vulgate: he also pointed out that in the extract which he had received the omission of the final clausule of ver. 8. was in accordance with the copies of the Vulgate then current (and this is a strong proof of the identity of his Codex Britannicus with Codex Montfortianus). The Latin influence in this passage is also just as plainly marked in the introduction of Χριστὸς instead of πνεῦμα in the end of ver. 6.,—a reading which is found in no other Greek copy [1], and which sprung up from the confusion in Latin MSS. of the contractions $\overline{\text{SPS}}$ and $\overline{\text{XPS}}$.

Thus this place with the context affords abundant evidence that this was the MS. to which Erasmus referred, and that in *this passage* the copyist was influenced by the Latin Vulgate, introducing, as he did, not a few things which *could* have no *Greek* origin. Hence the conclusion is manifest that in this place he followed not any Greek copy whatever, but the Latin, with which he was more familiar. This may have been done, as it was by the Complutensian editors, from honest ignorance and misconception; or it may have originated from a definite design. It is singular, at least, that the Complutensian editors and this copyist should both have omitted the conclusion of the eighth verse; a procedure which in this case looks certainly rather suspicious.[2]

An imperfect collation of this MS., as far as the latter part of the Acts, made while it was in the possession of Archbishop Usher, is printed in the last vol. of Walton's Polyglott. Dr. Barrett collated the remainder of the MS. and published it at the end of his edition of the Dublin palimpsest Z.: he pointed out the identity of text of this MS. and the Codex Leicestrensis in the Apocalypse, and also drew attention to the close resemblance of many of the readings in the Acts and Epistles to those of a MS. in the library of Lincoln College, Oxford (No. 39. St. Paul's Epp., No. 33. Acts and Cath. Epp.)—a resemblance sufficiently great to lead to the supposition that the one may have been used *in part* as the exemplar from which the other was taken. Recently Dr. Dobbin has carefully collated the portion of the Codex Montfortianus which was not re-collated by Dr. Barrett; and he has also taken some pains to ascertain what were the MSS. used in its formation. In doing this he has collated the Lincoln College MS., and he states that the resemblance is quite as great as would have been supposed from what Barrett had noticed.

[1] For Scholz is wholly incorrect in citing the same reading from Cod. Passionei (G. of the Catholic Epistles), as the present writer can testify, and as may be seen by Blanchini's facsimile of this very passage from that MS.

[2] The connection of England with Spain in the former part of the reign of Henry VIII., through the dependants, &c. of his first queen, Catharine of Aragon, must be remembered in connection with this subject. Edward Lee was engaged in the same cause as Stunica; and though the latter would not have resorted to mere fraud in order to overwhelm Erasmus, the former will not be deemed incapable of this by those who know his dishonest controversial writings.

The *proofs* of identity of text which he *gives* are by no means conclusive; for they are almost all of them particulars in which *very many* MSS. agree: some of them indeed are such as are found in the generality of copies; so that coincidences of this kind prove nothing; they might indeed seem to weaken the cause which they are brought forward to uphold. And thus the conclusion at which Dr. Dobbin arrives is one which cannot be said to rest on true logical data; for he supposes that he has shown that the Lincoln College MS. is the archetype of the Epistle in the Cod. Montfort. (the very point which for *his* argument required unexceptionable proof), and then, as the Lincoln College MS. does *not* contain 1 John v. 7., he thinks that he has proved its insertion in the Montfort MS. to be an unjustified addition. *This* conclusion is quite correct, though this *process of proof* is not sufficient. The relation of this MS. to that of Lincoln College was a fact previously known, and such it still remains, even though this could hardly be demonstrated from the new evidence on the subject, at least from that part of it which has been published.[1]

To conclude all that need be said of the Codex Montfortianus: the Gospels (which in part appear to have been copied from MSS. still at Oxford) cannot be much older than the year 1500, even if not more modern. The Epistles and Acts were afterwards *added;* and this *could* not have been done *much* before the time when this MS. was used as evidence against Erasmus: and as it is *certain* that the copyist here altered the Greek, and *made it suit* the Latin, and as it was brought forward just when it was needed (having been in that sense *found,* while so many other MSS. remained in obscurity), and no similar copy having ever since appeared which has not been proved to be a forgery, it is hardly too severe a conclusion, if we believe that the Epistles were written at that time, and added to the Gospels, in order to meet Erasmus, and to *compel* him to insert the text. And thus, whether by mistake or fraud, from this MS. the text 1 John v. 7. (with a few corrections for the sake of grammatical propriety) has been established in the common text, and has been introduced into the greater part (if not all) of the modern translations of Holy Scripture.

The only part of this MS. which possesses any *critical* value is the *most recent,* i. e. the Apocalypse; for as the Codex Leicestrensis is defective at the end, this transcript from it of that book has been the means of preserving the readings of that part which is now defective.

The following facsimile was copied (by permission) for the Rev. T. H. Horne from that which appeared in the Rev. A. Clarke's "Concise View of the Succession of Sacred Literature," (London 1807,) and which was traced by the Rev. Dr. Barrett of Trinity College, Dublin.

[1] "The Codex Montfortianus: a Collation of this celebrated MS. in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, throughout the Gospels and Acts . . . By Orlando T. Dobbin, LL.D., T.C.D., M.R.I.A." Bagsters. 1854.

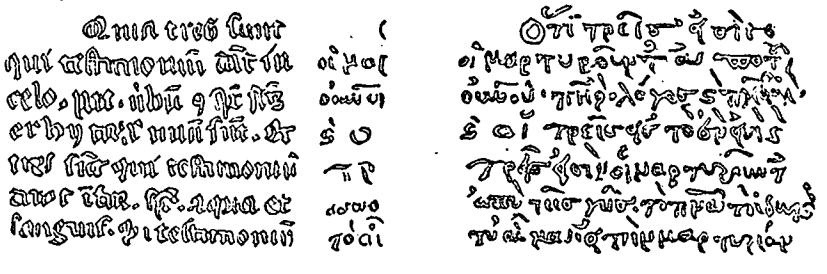
ὅτι τρεῖς ἐισὶν οἱ μαρτυ-
ροῦντ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ. πήρ, λόγος, καὶ πνα ἅγιον,
καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρῖς, ἕν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυ-
οῦντ ἐν τῇ γῇ, πνα, ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα, καὶ τὴν
μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ
θυ μείζων ἐστίν, ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι
μεμαρτύρηκε περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.

In English, literally thus,

for there are three that bear witn[ess] in heaven, father, word, and holy spirit, And these three are one· and there are three that bear witn[ess] on earth, spirit, water, and blood· if we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater, for this is the witness of God, which he hath testified of his son.

Codex Ottobonianus (No. 298. in the Vatican Library); a MS. containing the Acts and Epistles, to which attention was directed by Scholz (who designated it 162. in the Acts and Catholic Epistles; 200. in those of St. Paul). This MS. is simply remarkable for its having been found to contain 1 John v. 7. *in any form.* It does not, however, confirm the Codex Montfortianus *at all* in this passage (unless it be in the want of grammatical propriety); and it affords a farther proof, if any such could have been wanted, that *both* these forms of the text in Greek are mere translations from the Vulgate. This MS. is, however, at least the more respectable of the two.

The following facsimile contains the one passage an account of which this MS. is at all an object of interest or curiosity



It was copied from the tracing made in 1829 by Dr. Wiseman (then Vice-President of the English College at Rome, now a Cardinal), for the late Dr. Burgess, Bishop of Salisbury, by whose permission it was used by the Rev. T. H. Horne.

As reference has been made to the *form* of the passage in this MS., and as the contracted writing is not easily read by those who are not familiar with mediæval Greek MSS., the passage contained in the facsimile is subjoined in ordinary characters.

Quia tres sunt	Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν
qui testimonium dant in	οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ
celo, pater, verbum, et spiritus sanctus	οὐρανοῦ· πατὴρ, λόγος.καὶ πνεῦμα ἁγιὸν
et hi tres unum sunt. Et	καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εισι· καὶ
tres sunt qui testimonium	τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες
dant in terra. Spiritus aqua et	ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς. τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ
sanguis. Si testimonium	τὸ αἷμα· εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν

The Greek letters between the two columns appear to be partly faded or scaled off, so that but a portion of them seems to have been traced by Dr. Wiseman: perhaps they could not be explained with certainty without subjecting the MS. itself to a very close inspection; they *look*, however, like part of a scholion relating to the passage itself which has thus been introduced so peculiarly into the Greek. Scholz,. who first drew attention to this singular MS.[1], does not appear to mention anything respecting the scholia interposed between the columns. On *this* account the MS. deserves a reinspection, which the writer was not able to give; for while he was in Rome (1845-6) this codex was removed from its place in the Vatican for the use (it was understood) of the late Cardinal Mai in the Altieri Palace.

Other Greek MSS. said to contain 1 *John* v. 7.—The other MSS. mentioned by any writers as containing this passage may be passed by very briefly. None require *any* notice but those which can be produced; for MSS. the existence of which is merely *rumoured*, are found almost invariably to be *non-existent*.

The *Codex Ravianus* at Berlin certainly *contains* this passage; but the MS. itself is nothing whatever but a modern transcript taken almost entirely from the Complutensian Polyglott with a few readings introduced from the text of Erasmus. The very handwriting is an imitation of the Complutensian Greek types. The real character of this MS., which some in the last century were so incautious as to quote as though it possessed authority, was very fully shown by Griesbach and Pappelbaum.[2] This MS. is now preserved at Berlin simply as a literary forgery, and not as the precious monument of the sacred text which it was once described as being. It is uncertain *who* formed this MS., and whether Rave himself took a part in the fraud, or whether he was himself the dupe of others. A learned man who had not made MSS. his study might be thus misled.

Codex Regius Neapolitanus.—This MS. (173. in Scholz's list) requires to be mentioned here, in consequence of that editor having in his Greek Testament cited it as *containing* the passage in question, though taken (he says) from the Latin. It is, therefore, of some im-

[1] "Biblisch.-Kritische Reise in Frankreich, der Schweitz, Italien, Palästina und im Archipel, in den Jähren 1818, 1819, 1820, 1821, nebst einer Geschichte des Textes des N. T. von Dr. Joh. Mart. Augustin Scholz. Leipzig und Sorau. 1823." p. 105.

[2] See Griesbach's Symbolæ Criticæ, i. p. clxxxi. seq., and the extracts from Pappelbaum, given by Bp. Marsh, in his "Letters to Travis" (Appendix), pp. 241—252., where he shows that Travis had, by partial extracts, represented Pappelbaum as bearing a testimony the very reverse of that which he really had given.

portance to notice *how* the passage appears in this codex; and this we are able to do from the exact statement of Birch.[1]

In Codice Neapolitano Regio textus hujus commatis cum additamentis, *recenti charactere in margine* scriptis, sequenti modo reperitur:

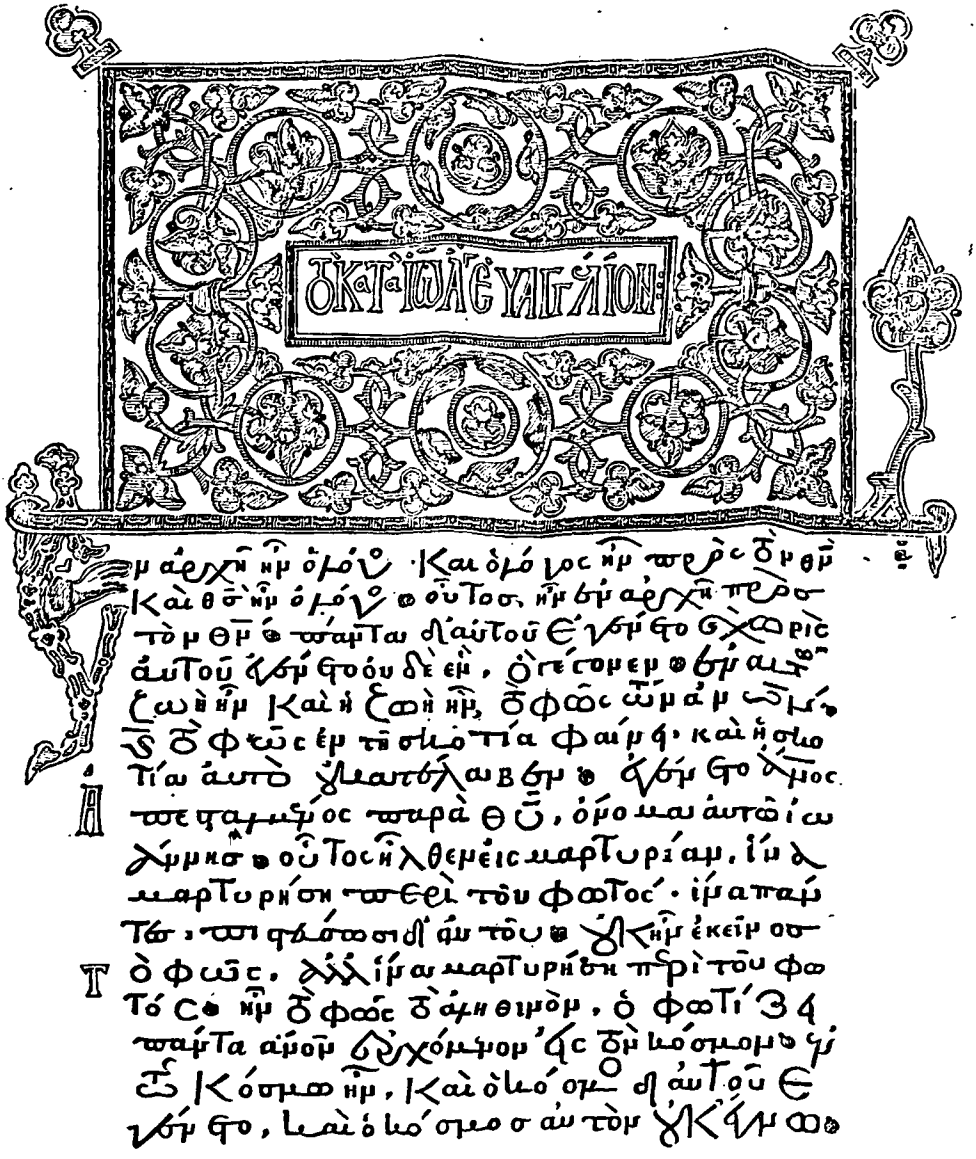
. . . . . ὁτι τρεις εἰ
σιν οἱ μαρτυρουντες* το
πνα και το ὑδωρ, και το
αἱμα, και οἱ τρεις εις το
ἑν εισι.

* εν τῳ ουρανῳ, ὁ
πτρ και ὁ λογος
και το ἁγιον πνα.
και οὑτοι οἱ τρεις ἑν
εισι. και τρεις εισι
οἱ μαρτυρουντες εν
τῃ γῃ

Other MSS. which were formerly referred as though they might be authorities for this clause, such as one of those at Wolfenbüttel, are in fact only transcripts of some *printed* Greek Testament; though executed, probably, without any dishonest intention. They require no specific notice.

The following facsimile of the CODEX EBNERIANUS (105. in the Gospels of Westein's notation) gives a good idea of Greek calligraphy of the twelfth century. This MS. is quarto form, on vellum: it consists of 425 leaves, which contain the whole of the New Testament with the exception of the book of Revelation. It was formerly the property of Hieronymus Ebner von Eschenbach of Nuremberg (from whom it takes its name), and it now belongs to the Bodleian Library. There have been added by a *later* scribe, Joasaph, a calligraphist, tables of lessons and a menology or Greek calendar. The writer of these portions has given the date A.M. 6999; which, according to the computation of the Greeks, answers to the A.D. 1391. The volume is bound in massy silver covers, in the centre of which Christ is represented seated on a throne and in the act of pronouncing a blessing. Above his head stands the following inscription in square letters in the same style as the capitals of the MS.: —Δεσποτα ευλογησον τον δουλον σου ελαχιστον Ιερονυμον Ιουλιελμον και τον οικιαν αυτου. "Lord, bless the least of thy servants, Hieronymus Gulielmus, and his household."

[1] Variæ Lectiones ad Act. App. Epp. Catholicarum et Pauli, p. 106.



This passage (as will be seen by those who at all know the letters used in Greek cursive MSS.) is taken from the beginning of St. John's Gospel.

Though this MS. is not one possessed of any particular importance, it once acquired a degree of attention in connection with the discussions on the authenticity of the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel. Those who impugned that portion alleged that *in this* MS. it was defective, and thus it seemed to give them some authority for the opinion which they readily had formed on dogmatic grounds. To this it was answered that, as chap. ii. commences with τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ

γεννηθέντος, it was certain that something must have preceded, and thus the absence of chap. i. from a single MS. proved nothing to the purpose. But the supposed defect in this codex was an opinion which had its origin in a misunderstood statement of Schoenleben, who described the MS. in 1738. He said, "Primum *caput* A. his verbis incipit: Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ γεννηθέντος." Others, who did not understand the peculiar arrangement of the notation of the τίτλοι, were misled by the remark of Schoenleben (who himself seems to have had but a dim notion what the division meant), and thus they concluded that the first chapter was omitted. See above, p. 31, 32., for Griesbach's clear account of the ancient τίτλοι, which he introduces in connection with this very MS. It only remains to add that this MS. does *not* omit the first chapter, so that all theories and arguments based on such supposed omission fall to the ground.

CHAP. XX.

MSS. CONTAINING LECTIONARIES.

As the New Testament became more and more appropriated to liturgical use, MSS. containing such portions as were employed in public services, and in which they were arranged in the order in which they were then read, multiplied from the hands of the copyists.

A Lectionary containing sections from the Gospels has been called *Evangeliarium* (or by Wetstein and others *Evangelistarium*), and the name Πραξαπόστολος has been applied to one containing portions from the Acts and Epistles: the name ἀπόστολος has been often employed to designate lessons from the Epistles of St. Paul alone.

It is not easy to form a definite judgment as to the time when Lectionaries first came into use, or when it was thought more convenient to substitute the extracted passage read on the festival or Lord's day for the whole volume, with an index of the lessons to be employed in public worship on particular occasions. The earliest existence of such books that we can definitely *prove* seems to be the middle of the fifth century, when we know that they were formed by Claudius Mamercus of Vienne in Gaul, and Musæus of Marseilles[1]: these, however, may be only the introducers of such Lectionaries into that particular district. The much earlier formation and use of the *Dia Tessarōn* of Tatian is a plain proof that if it had been thought desirable the Christian communities would have formed *selections* from the New Testament for reading on particular occasions. It seems, however, very doubtful whether any Lectionary exists that can claim a higher antiquity than some of the uncials of the second

[1] "Die ältesten bekannten Sammlungen werden den Galliern Claudius Mamercus von Vienna, und Musäus v. Massilia (*Sec.* v. *Med.*) zugeschrieben. *Gennadius de Scrip. Eccl.* c. 79. sagt von letzterm: *excerpsit de S. S. lectiones totius anni festivis diebus aptas.*" — Reuss, Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften des Neuen Testaments, § 384.

class; none probably are older than the eighth century[1], and few amongst them can claim anything like even that antiquity. Thus they do not possess, even on the score of *age*, any claim to the same attention as that which belongs to very many other documents. One remark may be here needed: the writing of Lectionaries might often mislead those who are unacquainted with their peculiarities; for in these documents uncial letters were retained far longer than in others, and there is habitually a kind of antique style adopted;—partly probably from a notion of ecclesiastical propriety, and partly, it may be, from the need of *large letters* in books which had to be read aloud by those whose *eyes* would often be impared by age.

The value of Lectionaries is far less for critical purposes than some formerly supposed. For in point of *age* they do not lead our inquiries back nearly as far as they are conducted by some other documents; and as to *text* they commonly adhere with a kind of *general* agreement to the latter rather than the earlier readings. There is also a great deal of inconsistency and uncertainty in the readings which they contain; for the same Lectionary will have, not unfrequently, the same Scripture portion more than once; and in such repetitions there is no certainty that the same text will again be found. Some, indeed, did expect that in documents of this kind the received reading of the Greek Church would be transmitted and preserved with a tolerable degree of accuracy, and *à priori* this opinion was plausable.

"The notion that a pure and primitive text might be found in the lectionaries and service-books of the Eastern Church is in itself both plausible and perfectly rational. It had crossed the mind of one in whom the love of these studies amounted to a passion — the master passion of an unhappy life. At the opening of his long career as a collator of Scripture manuscripts, Wetstein eagerly seized the first Evangelisterium in the Colbert Library[2], 'sperans,' says he, 'me inventurum constantem et publice receptam in Ecclesia Græca Lectionem.' Yet what was the result? 'At eventus expectationi meæ non respondit, *nam et ipsos inter se*, et a nostris editionibus non raro dissentire deprehendi.' (Wetst. Proleg. N. T. p. 81. ed. Lotze.) How natural the presumption, yet how complete the failure!"[3] The conclusion to be drawn is, that there was *no* received or authorised reading in the Greek Church which so generally prevailed as to exclude variations: so that this class of documents afford very strong evidence against the theory of Scholz; for if, in the patriarchate of Constantinople, not the least variation was permitted in sacred books or sacred rites, the Lectionaries prepared for public reading would of course be the most precisely uniform. The supposed fact that they *must* be so, is disproved by the simple circumstance that they *are not* so.

[1] And this has been said to be the earliest date at which they were introduced amongst the Greeks.

[2] "Cum primum multa Evangelistaria A°. 1715, in Bibliotheca Colbertina vidissem avide ad illa cum editis conferenda me accinxi, sperans me inventurum," &c. *ut supra.*— Wetstein Proleg. p. 62.

[3] Scrivener's "Collation," Introd. p. xviii.

Lectionaries have an importance in pointing out where the appointed lessons began and ended; and as these portions had been thus appropriated, at least by common custom, before they were written out in separate books, it is obviously probable that the readings in such places should be somewhat affected. And this we find to be the case; for in some of the later uncials the introductory words of the lesson have found a place in the text, and also those which were at times added in order to avoid too abrupt a close: and this (from the cause assigned) may also be found in some documents older than any existing Lectionaries. A point of connection between Lectionaries and simple MSS. of the sacred books, is found in the indications given in some of the latter, where lessons commenced, and where they concluded; together with introductory words placed in the margin or at the top of the page: occasionally, indeed, the introductory words so placed contain readings which had belonged to the older text, and which had been preserved in liturgical use. Thus in Cod. Passionei (J. in St. Paul's Epistles, G. in the Acts), in Acts viii. 18., the reading in the *text* stands *Θεασάμενος δὲ ὁ Σίμων ὅτι διὰ*, and as this is the beginning of a lesson, there stands before *ὅτι διὰ* a mark of reference to the upper margin, where we find *Ἰδὼν ὁ Σίμων*, and these words were in reading to be substituted for *θεασάμενος δὲ ὁ Σίμων*. The reading of the margin is here the best attested as ancient; and it may be taken as a proof that the *text* of such a MS. and the liturgical marks and references were not originally connected together: the one belongs wholly to the same class as do Lectionaries.

There are also passages which were read in other connections in public services, or which were wholly omitted; and at times a lesson was formed out of several passages: traces of some of these things may be found also in continuous MSS., arising, as it appears, from the ancient custom. To this may not improbably be traced the omission in some ancient documents of the highest class of the two verses, Luke xxii. 43, 44. (which are, indeed, attested by Justin Martyr, and other extremely early writers). In the Lectionaries these verses are not read in their own place, but in a lesson from Matt. xxvi. The portions appointed for use at particular festivals are often differently combined; the beginning and end not being the same; and at times what was omitted from the middle of a lesson on one occasion was read continuously on another.

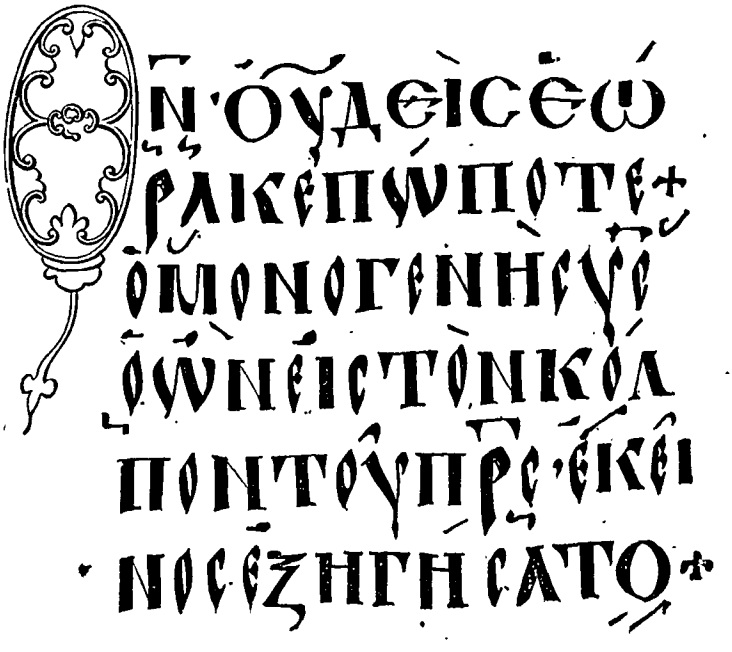
From these remarks it will be seen that there is a degree of uncertainty about the text of Lectionaries, which detracts greatly from their being estimated on the same rank as continuous MSS. of the same age. It is almost certain that by a full and searching examination of these documents enough data could be found to discriminate those amongst them that are worthy of notice: but as it is, it is well to remember that we are under no necessity to resort to these MSS. as witnesses of the text, since we can use those containing the sacred books continuously written which are both anterior in point of date and of proved character. The most important fact to which the attention of the student of Textual Criticism is directed with regard

to Lectionaries is the *contents* of the lessons; since the beginnings, &c., might affect what we find in other documents. Matthæi, in his larger Greek Testament, has prefixed to the respective volumes a useful index of the sections found in Lectionaries, and of the different arrangement of the portions in their use on different occasions: in his smaller edition he gives in the margin the indications of the sections and of the portions passed by; also how the parts read were introduced, much in the same manner as is found in MSS. prepared for liturgical use, or to which these arrangements had been afterwards added.

The best known Lectionaries as to their readings are two Evangeliaria at Moscow which were collated by Matthæi (called by him *b.* and *h.*), and whose readings are given in his larger Greek Testament: both of these are in uncial letters. Two others, the former also in uncial letters, are included amongst the MSS. which Mr. Scrivener has collated with such care (called by him *x.* and *y.*); and from these a considerable acquaintance with the character of such documents may be formed.

The entire number of Evangeliaria enumerated by Scholz is 178; of these 121 were first examined for critical purposes by him: in the Acts and Epistles he specifies 58 Lectionaries, of which 38 had not been previously used.

The subjoined facsimile is from the Codex Harleianus No. 5598. (in Scholz's catalogue called No. 153.): it is a beautiful specimen of the Greek ecclesiastical writing of the tenth century. The subscription on the last page states that it was written A. D. 995. by Constantine a presbyter. The MS. is of course on vellum: on the first leaf the letters are gilded, and throughout they are coloured and ornamented.



In ordinary Greek types, with a literal English version in parallel columns, it is as follows:—

ΘN̄ΟΥΔΕΙΣΕΩ	GD̄NOMANHATHSE
ΡΑΚΕΠΩΠΟΤΕ·	ENATANYTIME·
ΟΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΗΣT̄Σ	THEONLYBEGOTTENSN̄
ΟΩΝΕΙΣΤΟΝΚΟΛ	WHOISINTHEBO
ΠΟΝΤΟΥΠ̄ΡΣΕΚΕΙ	SOMOFTHEFH̄RH
ΝΟΣΕΞΗΓΗΣΑΤΟ·	EHATHMADEHIMKNOWN·

CHAP. XXI.

ON THE ANCIENT VERSIONS IN GENERAL AS SOURCES OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM

THE ancient versions have to be considered here simply in *one* of the aspects in which they may be viewed; just, indeed, as the MSS. have been treated, not in connection with the testimony which they bear to the diffusion of Christianity and the early use of the sacred books, but simply as witnesses to the words and syllables which copyists have transmitted. And just in the same manner have we now to do with the history of the versions: little as this is known in many instances, that little is here of importance in its critical bearing on the *text* of Scripture; but even in this aspect it is neither possible nor desirable to keep out of sight the higher interests connected with the facts stated. The history of the versions, however told, is an evidence of the diffusion of the revelation given by God through the apostles of Christ, and thus it is so far a narrative how the profession of the doctrine of Christianity was diffused in early times, not only amongst the Greek-speaking population of the East, or the Greek-reading portion of the more educated in the West, but also amongst those who retained their vernacular tongues, and who used in them the revealed word of God in a translation.

The value of the testimony of versions to the genuine ancient text is considerable; for although they have been subjected to the same casualties of transcription as has the text of the original Greek, and though at times they have been remodelled in some sort of conformity to the Greek copies then current, yet in general they are representatives of the Greek text from which they were formed. The casualties of transmission would rarely, if ever, affect documents in different languages in a way precisely similar, and we may in this manner account for not a few divergencies in the versions as they have come down to us: yet when we find an avowedly ancient translation according in peculiar readings with some of the more ancient and valuable of the ancient MSS. it is an important proof of the *antiquity* at least of such readings; and thus if they are not genuine, the *proof* must be sought in the counter evidence that may be adduced.

Some, indeed have decried the use of versions as though they could not be trusted in particulars of direct evidence, and in support of this they have pointed to errors which they contain, and to proofs of the incompetency of translators. And yet admit all that can fairly be said on this head, and what remains? Surely this, that indefiniteness of rendering occasionally found, and owned mistakes in particular passages, do not invalidate the general character of such a translation, nor yet the certainty of its general testimony.

We may form a very just apprehension of this by a comparison with modern versions: no one, probably, would assert as to these that any one of them is uniformly and precisely exact in the renderings that it gives; and yet in the very points in which the testimony of ancient versions has been decried, is there one modern translation, worthy of the name, that is not decided, — that does not show whether the Greek from which it was taken does or does not read such or such words or sentences? For this is the mode in which the question of the value of versions is regarded: when the case is one of the omission or addition of whole clauses, and when ancient versions are fully supported by ancient MSS. of the highest character, it has been said, "it is extravagant to claim for translations so high authority, that they should be held competent to overthrow the positive testimony of MSS. of the original."[1] The subject under discussion in connection with which this remark is made, is whether the words *καὶ τὸ βάπτισμα ὃ ἐγὼ βαπτίζομαι βαπτισθῆναι* ought or ought not to stand as part of the text in Matt. xx. 22. Is it not certain that the occurrence of this clause in the modern versions is a sufficient proof that they were made from a Greek text which contained them? And so their absence from *six* (a twofold majority) of the best of the ancient versions is ample proof of the fact in favour of which it is adduced; namely, that the Greek text from which such versions were made did *not* contain them; and thus in different parts of Syria, Egypt, Æthiopia, North Africa, and Italy, the passage was not found in the Greek copies which were diffused. If the accordance of such versions with good MSS. be not held as sufficient to counterbalance the testimony of *certain* "MSS. of the original," then we might well ask for new rules of documentary evidence to apply in ordinary cases.

It has indeed been objected that versions are not sufficiently *literal* to enable us to apply their testimony with *certainty* in various cases: thus in Matt. xviii. 35. the common text after *καρδιῶν ὑμῶν* has the words *τὰ παραπτώματα αὐτῶν*, which are omitted in some good MSS. and in six of the best old versions: while to the latter class of testimony it has been objected that "a version need be very literal indeed to be relied on in a case like the present."[2] But would this be admitted with regard to any modern version? Should we not think it a reflection on any translator in this day, if he showed such constant inexactness that we held it as uncertain whether in

[1] Mr. Scrivener's "Supplement," note on Matt. xx. 22.
[2] Ibid., note on the passage.

this case he had followed the Stephanic and Elzevir reading retained by Scholz, or that approved by Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles? — whether, in fact, he did or did not give at the close of the verse the words "*their trespasses?*" It does not need much argument to discuss a point like the present: and modern versions cannot claim, on the ground of their definiteness on such points, the praise of being *peculiarly* literal. The combined testimony of versions in such a case as this, is about the simplest form of their application that can be conceived. They show what the Greek sentence contained, or the contrary, from which they were made.

It may be easy to point to passages in which versions differ from every known Greek authority; but even if every thing of the kind that could be collected to the disparagement of every ancient version or of all unitedly, should be gathered together, it would only prove the admitted truth that ancient translators were not more infallible than those in modern times; and the application of this consideration would be modified by two facts; *first*, that translators, even in their mistakes and false renderings, often show *what* they must have translated from and *how* the error arose; and, *secondly*, by our knowledge that versions have been just as obnoxious to mistakes of copyists as have the MSS. of the original.

In Heb. x. 23. we find in our common English version, "Let us hold fast the profession of our FAITH without wavering: for he is faithful that promised." Does not this look as though it were formed from a Greek text in which τῆς πίστεως ἡμῶν must have been read? And yet such words are not in the common text, they are cited from no collated MS., and of course, therefore, they have not found a place in any critical edition: in our version they are simply a mistake: τῆς ἐλπίδος is the reading of the Greek.[1] In Acts xv. 22. in our translation we read "to send CHOSEN men." This of course suggests the notion that there was in the original a passive participle agreeing with "men:" and yet there is nothing of the kind; our translators had before them ἐκλεξαμένους ἄνδρας ἐξ αὐτῶν πέμψαι, and they rendered as though they had ἐκλεχθέντας. The verse really stands, "It pleased the apostles and elders, with the whole church, that they should choose men from among them and send them to Antioch;" or, if it be needful to retain the Greek construction somewhat as a schoolboy would do, "that they [*i. e.* apostles, &c.], having chosen men, should send them to Antioch."

Would these instances from our common version show that it is not in general a good witness to the Greek text from which it was taken? Here is a case of difference of reading, and one in which a

[1] "Faith," in this passage of our English Bibles, seems to have been merely an *erratum* of the first edition, formed by the eye of the compositor resting on "*faith*ful" immediately after. Press-correctors are familiar enough with this cause of error. A word, or part of a word, gets put into the wrong place; this commonly produces nonsense, and then it catches the attention of the corrector; but when (as in this passage) it makes sense, it requires (as many can testify) a far closer attention, and a greater exactitude of eye and mind, in order to extrude the erroneous word.

different construction is suggested; and yet these admitted facts are no proofs that the Greek readings followed by the translators cannot be identified in almost every case: we know what clauses they recognised as part of the text, and there can hardly be a reading about which we can be in any doubt, — and that too in passages in which the exactitude of rendering is the least.

When a translator mistakes similar words, his version shows what the error was that he made, and thus it is a witness to the text in spite of the mistake. Modern versions frequently introduce *Italic supplements:* the ancients had no such device, and therefore additions of this kind, or paraphrastic circumlocutions, found in the old versions, must not be regarded as wider departures from the original than our Italic supplements.

But if modern translations are sufficiently literal to be such close witnesses to the text from which they were formed, this is *far more* the case with the ancient versions in general: they follow the Greek from which they were taken with an almost scrupulous exactitude, and they so often preserve even the order of the words that they can be quoted as authorities on such points. At times, of course, the translator may have failed in vigilance, he *may* have passed by words which are omitted in no Greek copy, and he may have confused the text from which he was rendering, just in the same manner as was done by Greek copyists. But the admission of all this in the fullest manner does not afford any ground for the statement that the testimony of versions is of little moment in a question of the insertion or omission of a whole clause, or that "a version need be very literal" if it is to show whether important words were or were not recognised by the Greek text from which it was taken.

Allusion has been already made to the condition in which different versions have been transmitted to us: this may show the kind of caution that is needed in employing them critically. A copyist of a version, if he possessed any acquaintance with the original, was in danger of *correcting* by the Greek text with which he was familiar; and thus he might introduce mixed readings: this is an addition to the usual causes of transcriptural mistake; and for all these allowance must be made. We are, however, often able to revert to *very ancient* copies of versions, and then, just as is the case with such MSS. of the originals, we are brought back to the condition of the text nearly or quite identical with that in which the translation first appeared.

The critical use of versions commenced with the first publication of the Greek text in print. In the editions of Erasmus and the scholars of Complutum use was made of the Latin Vulgate as a collateral witness to that of Greek MSS.; and this was fully brought out in the annotations of Erasmus, and the controversial publications of his rival editors. In the same century the Peshito Syriac version appeared in print, and by the Latin translation of it which was made by Tremellius, it was in a measure available for Beza: that editor, however, was not one in whose line it was to use such materials to any extent or with any aptitude.

By the publication of Walton's Polyglott much was done to draw attention to the combined evidence of versions; for there, in the New Testament, the Greek is accompanied by the Latin Vulgate, by the Syriac, and by the Æthiopic, the Arabic, and (in the Gospels) the Persic,— all of which had been previously published separately; and as to the oriental versions were added Latin translations, they were in a measure available for many who could not otherwise have used them.

Mill in his Greek Testament (1707) endeavoured systematically to use the ancient versions so collected; but as he had only the Latin rendering of most of them to guide him aright, he was misled whenever that was erroneous. He was also furnished with readings from the Memphitic version, which had been collected from MSS. by others. Whatever mistakes were made by Mill, it is due to him to say, that he it was who put the versions as a class in their proper place in the statement of evidence. Abortive as was the attempt of Bentley to prepare a Greek Testament, he rendered good service to the right use of versions by pointing out how the common Clementine Vulgate might be rendered more conformable to the version as it left the hands of Jerome; and, in compliance with this, Bengel and Wetstein quoted at times *MSS.* of the Vulgate: this is the more frequent with the latter of these critics; and he, too, himself collated (though too hastily) the MS. of the later or Harclean Syriac. A little before the appearance of Wetstein's Greek Testament, Sabatier, Irici, and Blanchini did much to bring into light texts and collations of the *old* Latin in its various forms; and of these Griesbach before many years availed himself. The critical knowledge of versions was increased by the publication of the Harclean Syriac, by the discovery of the Jerusalem Syriac Lectionary by Adler, by the collation of Thebaic MSS. by Woide, Münter, and Giorgi, and by the publication of much of that version, and by the edition of the Armenian Scriptures from a collation of MSS. by Zohrab. The use of the Sclavonic, and the discovery from time to time of varying Arabic texts, did little or nothing to increase the evidence of this class as to the *earlier* readings.

These versions, collated by various persons, were mostly employed in Griesbach's second edition, and hence became the common materials of subsequent critical editors, such as Scholz and Tischendorf (Lachmann's plan excluded all except the Latin): what each one did in their collation, or who contributed to the knowledge of each, will be stated when they are respectively described.

One of the latest as well as the most important additions to the evidence of this kind is the Syriac version noticed amongst the Nitrian MSS. in the British Museum by the Rev. W. Cureton, and which through his kindness has been rendered available for Dr. Tregelles's Greek Testament, in which a collation of its readings is given, and where it stands as one of the most important witnesses of this kind.

CHAP. XXII.

THE ANCIENT LATIN VERSIONS PRIOR TO THE VULGATE OF JEROME.

ONE of the regions in which a vernacular translation of the New Testament was first needed was that part of the West in which Greek was but little known; and thus, it appears, originated the oldest Latin version; not in Italy, part of which was replete with Greek colonies, where the knowledge of Greek was so extensive amongst all the educated classes, but in North Africa, where Roman colonies and Roman influence had caused its adoption.

To this most ancient Latin version either the name of *Ante-Hieronymian* may be given, as contrasted with the revision of Jerome, or the *Old* Latin, in opposition to the Vulgate of that father, which soon was widely used, and became in a few centuries *the* version of the Western Church. This nomenclature will avoid assumptions which have been made without a groundwork of fact, and which have misled writers not a few.

By whom this translation was made is wholly unknown; the date is quite uncertain; we can only say that it had come into existence before the close of the second century. It is already found in the citations given in the writings of Tertullian, some of which are anterior to that time: also as Tertullian seems, without reasonable doubt, to have used the Latin translation of Irenæus which we still possess, in which the old Latin version has left visible traces, we must say that it existed as *the Latin version* of that age, and that it was well known to that contemporary of Irenæus who translated his writings from the Greek.

It has been already said that this version originated in the Roman province of *North Africa*. This opinion was expressed by Wetstein[1] and maintained by Eichhorn[2] and others, on the ground of the character of the Latinity found in it, and in the version of the Old Testament from the LXX., to which this translation belongs as a part of the same work.

[1] He says of Mill, "Italicæ versioni h. e. indoctis, nescio quibus interpretibus, *certe Idiotis Afris*, plus tribueret," &c. (Proleg. 176.) How the *Vetus Latina* was thus designated by writers on critical subjects will be explained below.

[2] See his "Einleitung in das Alte Testament," ii. 406. ed. 1823, and his "Einleitung in das Neue Testament," iv. 355, 356., where he collects some of the strong probabilities which may be urged in favour of Africa. Cardinal Wiseman says (Essays, i. p. 42.) that Eichhorn was the first author who had made such a conjecture; but it was the opinion of Wetstein and others in his day. Wiseman also says that Eichhorn "attempts no demonstration of his grounds;" but this is hardly an exact statement, for the German critic *names* the same heads of argument as those which have been so fully elaborated by Wiseman himself. Eichhorn (in the former of the passages above referred to) said, "Endlich, schrieb wohl je ein geborner Italiäner von Kentnissen und Bildung in den ersten Jahrhunderten nach Christus so fehlerhaftes und barbarisches Latein, als der Verfasser dieser Uebersetzung?" On this, Wiseman remarks, "Against the term barbarism we must protest; and we have the suffrage for so doing of the celebrated lexicographer Gesner, who used to say that he considered the Vulgate as a classical author, since it enabled him to survey the Latin language in its full extent." Sed pace Cardinalis doctissimi, de versione *vetere* Latinâ locutus est Eichhornius, de *Hieronymianâ Gesnerus*.

The fullest investigation of this subject is that of Cardinal Wiseman in "Two Letters" first published in 1832-3[1], and now comprised in his collected Essays (vol. i.).

He first points out that the early Christianity of Italy was rather Greek in language than Latin; the names of the bishops were mostly *Greek*, showing that it was to that nation they belonged, and that thus the religion of Christ must in Rome have long been a foreign thing. And so too the Christian writers of the early centuries were in Italy not Latin but Greek.

The following is the clear and lucid statement of Mr. Westcott, in which he adopts and restates Cardinal Wiseman's arguments:—

"——Rome itself under the emperors was well described as 'a Greek city;' and Greek was its second language. As far as we can learn the mass of the poorer population—every where the great bulk of the early Christians—was Greek either in descent or in speech. Amongst the names of the fifteen bishops of Rome up to the close of the second century, four only are Latin; but in the next century the proportion is nearly reversed. When St. Paul wrote to the Roman Church he wrote in Greek; and in the long list of salutations to its members with which the Epistle is concluded, only four Latin names occur. Shortly afterwards Clement wrote to the Corinthians in Greek in the name of the Church of Rome; and at a later date we find the Bishop of Corinth writing in Greek to Soter, the ninth in succession from Clement. Justin, Hermas, and Tatian published their Greek treatises at Rome. The apologies to the Roman emperors were in Greek. Modestus, Caius, and Asterius Urbanus bear Latin names, and yet their writings were Greek. Even farther west Greek was the common language of Christians. The churches of Vienne and Lyons used it in the history of their persecutions; and Irenæus, though he lived amongst barbarians, and confessed that he had grown unfamiliar with his native idiom, made it the vehicle of his treatise against heresies. The first sermons which were preached at Rome were in Greek; and it has been conjectured with good reason that Greek was at first the liturgical language of the Church of Rome."[2]

This probability in favour of Africa, Wiseman confirms by proofs drawn from the character of the language, which points to that country, and from the absolute certainty that such a translation was recognised by Tertullian as current in that region, and was used by him. The African linguistic peculiarities of this old version are very

[1] "Two Letters on some part of the Controversy concerning the Genuineness of 1 John v. 7.: containing also an Inquiry into the Origin of the first Latin Version of Scripture, commonly called 'the Itala.'" These "Letters were first published in the 'Catholic Magazine,' in 1832–3. They were republished in Rome in 1835, with some additions." "With a few verbal changes, they are left in the same form." Advertisement prefixed to these Letters as republished in the first volume of "Essays on various Subjects, by his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman," 1853. These "Letters" are cited above, from the edition of the Essays.

[2] "A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament during the first four Centuries. By Brooke Foss Westcott, M.A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge." Cambridge: Macmillan & Co. 1855. (pp. 269, 270.)

numerous, and are collected with much care (pp. 47—63.). The combined evidence of all the characteristics of language—in all their varieties of peculiarities of words, constructions, and inflections—is very strong to any who really apprehends their bearing: to maintain the contrary would involve in difficulties innumerable.[1]

But to prove the African origin of a Latin version used in the early ages would be of but little value as to the general question, if there then existed *more than one* translation; if, for instance, each country where Latin was at all used, had possessed its own Latin text; and the proof of African origin is of importance as one step towards a demonstration of the *unity* of the old Latin version. The evidence on this point is especially connected with the fact that the characteristics of the African version are found in the citations made by Latin writers, who all use the peculiar terms of this translation. "In the quotations of all the fathers, whether Italian, Gaulish, or Spanish, we find these extraordinary words. If each church used a different version, still more if every one who thought himself qualified presumed to translate, is it credible, nay, is it possible, that all, of whatever country, of whatever abilities or education, would have used the same words, and adopted similar forms, and these most unusual, found only in writers of one province, some in no writer except these several versions? Can any one believe, for instance, that the verbs, *glorifico, clarifico, salvifico, magnifico, justifico, mortifico, vivifico,* should have been invented or adopted by a variety of authors translating independently, when we consider that they are to be found in no Italian author before the Vulgate came into general use? Why did no one among the supposed innumerable translators say *justum reddere, vitam dare,* or use any other such phrase? Only one solution, it seems, can be given to these queries,—to suppose the version to have been the production of one man, or of several of the same country and age, who gave to it that uniform character which it has in all the fragments that we possess of it."[2]

This, then, may be considered as the result of inquiry and investigation; that in the second century there existed a Latin version of the New Testament books, made in Africa, and used by the African fathers,—a version exhibiting the characteristics of the Latin

[1] It is remarkable that, with this evidence before him, Mr. Scrivener should call the African origin of the old Latin version, "Wiseman's *conjecture.*" He says ("Supplement," p. 26. *note*), "This is not the place to investigate the truth of Dr. Wiseman's conjecture, which Lachmann implicitly adopts, that the first Latin version was made in Africa." A reader might think that Wiseman had thrown out a conjecture and given no reasons, and that Lachmann had added nothing. Mr. Westcott clearly and exactly says, "Lachmann has reproduced his (Wiseman's) arguments, with some new illustrations," p. 269. *note.*

[2] Wiseman's Essays, i. 65. It is proper to add, that although the list of peculiar words brought together by Wiseman is quite sufficiently convincing on the subject for which they are collected, yet his question why none of the translators should have used *justum reddere,* is of quite a different character. We might ask, Why did none of them use another word or expression? But as to *justum reddere,* it could not have been expected that any one would employ the term who had not subscribed "omnia et singula, quæ de peccato originali et de justificatione, in sacrosancta Tridentina synodo definita et declarata fuerunt amplector et recipio." It is too much to expect from translators of the second century, that they should adapt themselves to the dogmas put forth in the sixteenth at Trent.

dialect of the Libyan province; and which, when a Latin translation was needed by other regions, was more widely diffused and used. The history of the version of the Old Testament into Latin from the LXX. does not specifically belong here; but in the discussion of the subject the general unity of the old Latin version from the LXX. of the Old, and the original of the New, must not be lost sight of or forgotten. For it is in part from the linguistic characteristics of the Old Testament in this Latin version that its origin and use can be clearly and definitely traced out.

Also, as to the unity of the old Latin version, the expressions of Tertullian have been rightly rested on as showing that he knew and recognised *one translation*, and that this version was in several places (in his opinion) opposed to what was found "in Græco authentico."[1] This version must have been made a sufficiently long time before the age when Tertullian wrote, and before the date of the Latin translator of Irenæus, for it to have got into general circulation. This leads us back *towards* the middle of the second century at the latest: how much *earlier* the version may have been we have no proof; for we are already led back into the time when no records tell us anything respecting the North African church.

Whether this version contained all the books of the New Testament or not may be reasonably questioned, although the full discussion of the subject belongs rather to the history of the canon than to this place. But if some of the disputed epistles were not at first contained in it (and the variety of rendering makes this very probable), then we possess a strong argument for the high antiquity of the old Latin version.

To prove that the early Latin Christians used *many* versions and not merely *one*, recourse has been had to two arguments: first, supposed facts; second, supposed testimony.

The supposed facts are, the discrepancies between different citations of the same passage on the part of fathers who used one or more ante-Hieronymian Latin texts. Such variations may be easily collected, and they seem at first to present a goodly array of overwhelming *facts*. But to what does all this variation amount? Only to this, that differences had crept into the Latin version; and that thus while still *one* in its general texture, there were points of difference in different copies. If this mode of argumentation were legitimate and convincing, we might show that different existing Greek copies *could* not have sprung from the same original; still less (on such principles) could this be the case if the citations of Greek fathers be taken into consideration. Why then must we apply so different a rule and measure to Latin citations? We cannot be sure that they did not express Scripture ideas in their own words as often as the Greeks did: we may be certain that various readings would find their way into Latin copies, even though all springing from one original MS. of one version.

[1] Adv. Prax. c. 5.; De Monog. c. 11. The passages are sufficiently cited, with appropriate remarks, in Westcott on the Canon, pp. 273–5.

The supposed testimony is found in some statements of Augustine and Jerome. The former of these says, "Qui scripturas ex Hebræa lingua in Græcam verterunt, numerari possunt: Latini autem interpretes nullo modo. Ut enim cuivis primis fidei temporibus in manus venit codex Græcus, et aliquantulum facultatis sibi utriusque linguæ habere videbatur, ausus est interpretari."[1] And farther on he says, "In ipsis autem interpretationibus *Itala* cæteris præferatur, nam est verborum tenacior cum perspicuitate sententiæ."[2]

The deductions drawn from these passages have been, 1st, that there was actually in the early days of Western Christianity no one acknowledged Latin version, but that every one who had any real or supposed competency (or at least, *many* such persons) made versions for themselves, and that these were pretty extensively used.

2nd. That amongst the confusion of Latin versions there was one known and recognised by the name of the *Itala*, and that this possessed some characteristic excellence.

Also 3rd. It has been concluded (even though it is quite inconsistent with the other deductions) that the different forms in which the old Latin has come down to us might properly be called the *Itala*, and thus this name, or the *Vetus Itala*, has been for a century and a half allowed to occupy a place in critical nomenclature[3], and to it have the *different* Latin texts been referred that have been discovered or published. And this supposed special version was considered by Sabatier and others to have been peculiarly the old translation used and sanctioned at Rome.

These deductions from the words of Augustine may, however, be so met as to show that he intended nothing beyond what is warranted by the known facts of the case. He lived and wrote at the close of the fourth century; and when he spoke of the great variety of Latin copies and Latin readings, his testimony of course related to his own time, to that which was then a patent fact. How then had this wide variation of copies arisen? Not from the *translations* having been themselves separate and distinct, but from the circumstance of their having been so *altered* by copyists and by revisers who possessed some little knowledge of Greek, that there was no unity left amongst them in their reading. And this variation seems to have been increased by some of those who sought to remedy the confusion; for they *revised* the old Latin by Greek copies of a much more recent date than those which had been at first employed when the translation was executed; and thus a mixed text was produced. In some respects copies thus formed may have been preferable; for there might be a greater exactitude in the Latin phraseology; but this had been obtained by a great departure from the original character of the version, as given in Latin readings possessed of *very early* Greek authority, and by the obscuring of many of its *African* features, which, in spite of any supposed barbarism, pos-

[1] De Doctrina Christiana, ii. 11. [2] Ib. cap. 15.

[3] It was previously thus recognised in the Preface to the Papal Vulgate, two centuries and a half ago.

sessed the prestige of a monument of the early Christianity of the West.

And this is just what we find in existing MSS. of the Gospels. For while in certain respects there is an identity of rendering so as to show a common origin, there is in some a kind of systematic departure from the older readings and from some of the older renderings. These copies belong in fact to the time when the Greek text, from being widely multiplied in consequence of new demands, was passing into its *transition state;* and when Latin scribes, aware of incorrectness in the Latin copies before them, sought to remedy the evil, not by procuring more accurate Latin exemplars, but by adapting what was before them to the then modern Greek copies: in this they were probably little aware how much they were departing from the text of those ancient Greek copies from which the Latin had been at first made.

If the language employed by Augustine be thought too strong to be thus understood, it may suffice to remark, in reply to such a suggestion, that it is not at all stronger than those of Origen and others when speaking of the Greek copies themselves.

The supposed testimony of Jerome to the existence of several Latin versions is found in his preface to the four Gospels, where he says, "Si Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant, quibus? tot enim sunt exemplaria quot codices." But this, if taken in its connection, supports the opinion that there was but one *version*, however altered; and thus it affords a good light as to the meaning of any thing similar in Augustine.

Thus then the early citations, early testimonies, and existing MSS., when rightly considered, conspire in proving that there was *one* early Latin version, and one only; that this was altered by some in two ways—by transcriptural variation, and by defective revision with Greek copies.

The word ITALA has been mentioned as occurring in a quotation from Augustine. Now it only needs that the passage in that father be carefully read to show that this name *cannot* be applied, as it has for so long by some, either to the special old Latin translation, or to the various forms in which that version may now be found. It would be needless to insist on this, were it not that there is still a kind of inveterate traditionary habit which leads some to speak of the *Italic* version, or of various Italic versions, when all that is intended is one or more Latin exemplars differing from and anterior to that of Jerome.

Amongst competent critics there is now but little difference of judgment as to what this *Itala* must be. Augustine's Christian training had much to do with Upper Italy, the region of which Milan, where he had so long resided, was the capital: and thus in contrast to the confused variety of African exemplars, which had sprung up without any *systematic* revision with the Greek, he referred to the more learned and exact recensions of the Latin text to which he had been accustomed at Milan, and which he continued to quote and use. Some specimens of Augustine's variation in

reading from the African fathers, and his adherence to those of Upper Italy, have been collected by Wiseman.[1] He says, "In the portion examined, I doubt whether a single instance can be produced, where the African writers stand in united opposition to those of Italy, without St. Augustine siding with the latter. . . . . While the fathers of different countries agree sufficiently to prove that they all used the same version, their occasional separation into national classes proves the existence of distinct geographical recensions. And the fact that St. Augustine always agrees with the Italians, added to the historical proofs already given, demonstrates that he used the Italian recension and not the African."

In addition to these arguments of Wiseman, Lachmann shows by comparison, that very habitually there is an agreement between the readings of the Codex Brixianus of the Gospels, a document belonging to Upper Italy, and those of Augustine when *both* differ from the common tenor of the old Latin.[2] This enables us to speak with a certain degree of definiteness as to the class of text to which the long-misused name of *Itala* ought to be restricted.

It must not be supposed that the existing Latin codices, which contain variously altered texts, are of necessity actual *revisions* of the old African version. Many of them have sprung from the admixture of what had been really *revised*, with some of the previously existing forms of text; and some from the influence which, after the latter part of the fourth century, was exercised by the Vulgate of Jerome, which was gradually finding its way into general use.

Also the revision of the old Latin with Greek copies in the fourth century was not always done on the same principle or with MSS. of the same class (*i. e.* with those marking the *transition state*); for there are manifest traces of the influence of Greek copies which were more *Alexandrian* (to use the nomenclature of Griesbach) than the basis of the old Latin itself had been.

The Latin text which accompanies some Greek MSS. is at times peculiar in its character; for instead of being the old Latin placed in juxtaposition with the Greek, it is occasionally a version which has been accommodated to the accompanying Greek readings, and that, too, with the sacrifice in places of all Latin idiom.

In the following list of the more important or better known MSS. of the *old Latin* in its various forms, the notation of reference is employed which was commenced by Lachmann and has been adopted and extended by Tischendorf and Tregelles.

[1] Essays, i. p. 33. In connection with the whole subject, there is much that is interesting in the preceding pages. It is shown how completely and thoroughly the mind and *memory* of Augustine, who, in his early days in Africa, had despised the Scriptures because of the rudeness of their style, had become imbued with them before he quitted Upper Italy. He had, in fact, learned them in a form which would almost of necessity remain fixed in the mind for life; just, indeed, as our Authorised Version is still indelibly impressed on the remembrance of many, even amongst those who have so far rejected it as the vernacular teacher in this country, as to have gone over to the Romish camp.

[2] See Lachmann's Gr. Test vol. i. præf. p. xiv. In all that follows there is much that is valuable, as showing the systematic introduction of alterations into Latin copies.

MSS. OF THE GOSPELS.

a. Codex Vercellensis.—A MS. of the fourth century, said to have been written by the hand of Eusebius Bishop of Vercelli, where the codex is now preserved. The text is defective in several places, as might be supposed from its very great age. It was transcribed and published by Irici at Milan, in 1748[1], and it was also inserted by Blanchini, as occupying the first place in his Evangeliarium Quadruplex.[2] The former edition is, however, the more satisfactory of the two, and it often furnishes the true reading of the MS., especially in places where the leaves are torn and mutilated, and the remaining letters are rather inaccurately given by Blanchini. This MS. is probably the most valuable exemplar of the old Latin in its unaltered state.

b. Codex Veronensis.—This MS., preserved in the city from which it takes its name, is probably somewhat more recent than *a.* It has several chasms. The text was published by Blanchini; it is a good exemplar of the old Latin.

c. Codex Colbertinus.—This is a MS. of about the eleventh century, preserved amongst the other Colbert MSS. in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris. It is only in the *Gospels* that we are concerned with it in this place; for in that portion it contains a remarkably pure African text: the *rest* of the New Testament has been added in the MS. from Jerome's version. The part containing the Gospels (which are entire) was published by Sabatier[3], who had the discernment to prefer this MS. as an exemplar of the old Latin to several of much greater pretensions and higher antiquity which he had himself examined and collated.

These three MSS., *a. b. c.*, are the only copies of the old Latin used by Lachmann as *authorities* in the Gospels in his Greek Testament.

d. The Latin part of the Codex Bezæ, or Cantabrigiensis (see p. 169.).—The text of this copy is almost entirely adapted to the Greek by which it is accompanied. It is of very little importance in criticism, except in those places in which the Greek is defective. It is also worthy of citation when the Latin and Greek readings differ. The Latin text of this MS. was published by Kipling together with the Greek.

e. Codex Palatinus.—A MS. at Vienna, perhaps of the fifth century. It is written on purple vellum; many portions are deficient. It was published by Tischendorf.[4] It contains a mixed text, in which the Italian revisions may be traced, though it often accords with the best copies of the old Latin.

[1] Sacrosanctus Evangeliorum Codex S. Eusebii Magni . . . . ex autographo Basilicæ Vercellensis ad unguem exhibitus nunc primum in lucem prodit opera et studio JOANNIS ANDREÆ IRICI. Mediolani, MDCCXLVIII.

[2] Evangeliarium Quadruplex Latinæ versionis antiquæ seu veteris Italicæ, nunc primum in lucem editum ex codicibus Manuscriptis, aureis, argentis, purpureis, aliisque . . . . a JOSEPHO BLANCHINO Veronensi. Romæ, CIↃDCCXLVIIII.

[3] Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinæ versiones antiquæ seu vetus Italica . . . . opera et studio D. PETRI SABATIER. Remis, M.DCC.XLIII.

[4] Evangelium Palatinum Ineditum . . . . nunc primum eruit atque edidit CONSTANTINUS TISCHENDORF. Lipsiæ, 1847.

f. Codex Brixianus.— A MS. of about the sixth century, containing a text that is important as a monument of the *history* of the old Latin in its various stages. The text, which is defective in but few places, stands as part of Blanchini's Evangeliarium Quadruplex. This is the copy to which reference was made above as containing a text of the same kind as that which was used by Augustine; and thus, though the MS. itself is more recent than the age of that father, and though the text was probably somewhat farther changed and modified, it more resembles what he designated ITALA than any other MS. which we possess. Its *literary* value is thus much greater than its critical.

ff^1. Codex Corbeiensis 1.— A MS. which formerly belonged to the ancient and famous abbey of Corbey in Picardie. Martianay edited from this MS. the Gospel of St. Matthew, which was the first time that critical attention was thus directed to the New Testament portion of the old Latin.[1] This was also inserted in Blanchini's Evangeliarium Quadruplex, and the various readings were given by Sabatier. As it is described as only containing St. Matthew, it is rather confusing that Sabatier should also apparently cite it in the other Gospels; probably some *other* copy is intended.

ff^2. Codex Corbeiensis 2.— A MS. defective in the first eleven chapters of St. Matthew. Its readings are cited in the three other Gospels by Blanchini and throughout by Sabatier.

The text of *ff*^{1} and *ff*^{2} is in each case mixed: they occasionally preserve good readings, but at the same time there is often a great deal of revision which must have proceeded from a rather officious scribe.

g^1 and *g*^{2}. Two Codices San-germanenses (formerly in the library of the Benedictine monastery of S. Germain des Prez at Paris).— The readings of *g*^{1} were cited in the Gospel of St. Matthew by Martianay, and after him by Blanchini. Both were collated by Sabatier throughout the Gospels; though he is often silent as to the readings of *g*^{2}: perhaps this is in places in which it is defective, since it is his custom to cite the Latin MSS. both *for* and *against* the readings discussed. The text of both these MSS. is mixed.

h. Codex Claromontanus, now in the Vatican Library. — In this MS. the Gospel of St. Matthew alone is ante-Hieronymian; the other Gospels are the text of the Vulgate. This codex was examined by Wetstein, collated by Sabatier, and published (as far as the ancient text is concerned) by Mai.[2] About six chapters are defective; it retains much of the unaltered Latin version, though in some measure intermixed; in some respects it is peculiar in the character of the revision which it has undergone.

i. Codex Vindobonensis, a MS. at Vienna containing fragments of the Gospels of Luke and Mark. It appears to belong to the fifth century, and in text it is one of the very best monuments of the old Latin in its unaltered state. Readings from this MS. were given

[1] Vulgata Antiqua Latina et Itala versio Evangelii secundum Matthæum . . . . studio et labore D. JOHANNIS MARTIANAY. Parisiis, M.DC.XCV.

[2] See his Scriptorum Veterum Collectio Vaticana, vol. iii. p. 257. *seq.* 1828.

by Blanchini, and the entire text was published by Alter and Paulus; but as this was done in certain German periodicals, the text of this MS. has not been in general practically available for critical purposes.[1] It seems to confirm usually the readings of *a. b. c.*

k. Codex Bobbiensis. — This MS. like the other literary treasures once at Bobbio, has been removed from the monastery from which it takes its name: it is now at Turin. Its date is considered to be the fifth century. The extant portion contains parts of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. The text had been copied and edited by Fleck with his accustomed inaccuracy: it was retranscribed by Tischendorf, who published a portion in the Wiener Jahrbücher.[2] Tischendorf speaks of the text of this MS. as though it belonged to the "Itala;" it ought rather to be considered as representing a peculiar revision of the old Latin, in which there is an evident use of a Greek text more Alexandrian than that which had been the original basis of the Latin version. It has besides many peculiarities. Passages are abridged in a manner which seems arbitrary. In places, the conclusion of St. Mark's Gospel for example, *k.* preserves in Latin readings which we know independently to have been very ancient: it may thus be regarded as a type of a text which would have been of very great value if it had come down to us more free from the changes made by copyists; but even as it is, and with all its imperfections, it has great value, especially in places in which it supports the reading of a few of the best and oldest Greek MSS. It is to be regretted that Lachmann only knew the readings of *k.* from Fleck's most incorrect edition.

l. Codex Rhedigerianus. — A MS. at Breslau: it has many chasms. This codex was described by D. Schulz in a Programme published in 1814[3], who then extracted readings, and corrected errors which had been contained in an account previously published. Afterwards, in 1827, D. Schulz also inserted the readings throughout in the edition of the first volume of Griesbach's Greek Testament, which appeared at Berlin under his care and supervision. The text is mixed in character.

m. The Latin readings contained in a MS. "Speculum" belonging to the library of the Monastery of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme at Rome.[4] This MS. was described by Wiseman in his "Letters,"

[1] Lachmann rightly says that a text so put forth was hid rather than published. "Latuit me codicis evangeliorum purpurei litteris argenteis scripti pars non exigua Neapoli olim Vindobonam advecta, cujus ectypon in temporariis quibusdam libellis occultatum potius quam vulgatum quod nunquam videram, occupletioribus intentus neglexi," — Præf. in N. T. i. p. xii. Others have been similarly hindered from using the text of this MS.

[2] This was in 1847. The account of Tischendorf's literary labours was continued in the Anziegeblatt of that periodical for several of the quarterly numbers; but when he had begun to insert the text of the Cod. Bobbiensis, the periodical seems to have been discontinued, leaving the text of that MS. incomplete. At all events, that quarterly journal was not, after that time, obtainable in England through the usual channels.

It is much to be regretted that the text of *k.* and also of *i.* is not published accurately in some accessible and purchaseable form.

[3] At Breslau, where Schulz was then a professor.

[4] This library is sometimes known as the Bibliotheca Sessoriana, the Church of Santa Croce having been built, it is said, by Constantine and Helena on the site of the Sessorian

to which reference has been made above; and he endeavoured to substantiate a claim on its behalf that it is an actual work of St. Augustine. Cardinal Mai published extracts from this MS. in his Spicilegium Romanum, vol. ix. (1843), and at length he edited the whole of the text in his Patrum Nova Collectio, vol. i. part 2. (1852). Wiseman attributed the MS. to the sixth or seventh century[1], and he rightly judged that the Scripture quotations belong rather to the African than to the Italic class. Mai, on the contrary, ignoring, it would seem, all that investigation has done to attribute the name "Itala" to the only class to which it could properly belong, speaks of this Speculum as though it would be of singular service in the restoration of the Vetus Itala. This work contains a large number of heads of Christian doctrine arranged in chapters, and under each a number of citations from the Old and New Testaments are strung together, without any remarks or additions. It is thus equal almost, if not quite, to a MS. of the old Latin itself of the same age. The citations are generally *African* (in contradistinction to *Italian*) in their character, and thus they stand *opposed* to those contained in the acknowledged works of Augustine. This MS. has the peculiarity that 1 John v. 7. is cited in it twice,—a proof that it must have found its way into some copies as early as the date of this copy. The citations in this Speculum have not been used as yet in any critical edition of the Greek New Testament; they are, however, introduced, under the notation *m.*, given above, into that which Tregelles has now in the press. This MS. belongs to the other parts of the New Testament as well as to the Gospels.

MSS. OF THE ACTS.

d. Codex Bezæ or Cantabrigiensis, as in the Gospels.

e. Codex Laudianus.—This is the Latin text of the Greek MS. of the same name cited as E. in the Acts (see p. 187.). It is not so much a Latin *version* as a literal interpretation of the Greek which stands by the side.

k. A Codex Bobbiensis, now at Vienna. It is simply a few palimpsest fragments of the Acts and Catholic Epistles, which Tischendorf copied, and edited in the Wiener Jahrbücher.

In the CATHOLIC EPISTLES the only MS. of the old Latin which can be cited, besides *k.* just mentioned, is—

ff. Codex Corbeiensis, from which Martianay published the Epistle of St. James.

Palace. The catalogue of the Codices Sessoriani is given by Mai, in his "Spicilegium Romanum," vol. v. p. 237. *seq.* (part 1.), 1841. This MS. is No. 58.

[1] In 1841 Mai had said (Spicil. Rom. v. p. 239.), "Cod. 58. langob. sæc. ix., saltem ix., S. Augustini Speculum." In the year 1843 (Spicil. Rom. vol. v. part 2. p. iii.), he corrects this—"quem olim alieni catalogi sententia vel potius conjectura fretus, longobardicum dixi, sæculi ferme noni, sed deinde inspectum quadratis ferme litteris scriptum agnovi, et sexto potius vel certe septimo sæculo addicendum judico." The facsimiles published by Mai and Wiseman seem to the writer to give the MS. a more antique character than the MS. itself exhibits, so far as may be gathered from a very brief inspection which Cardinal Mai allowed him to have while he had the book in his hand.

MSS. OF ST. PAUL'S EPISTLES.

d. Codex Claromontanus, the Latin text of D. (see p. 190.). This is far more of a *translation* than is the Latin text in general of codices Græco-Latini; in many respects it has considerable value in criticism.

e. Codex San-germanensis, the Latin text of E. (p. 193.); possessed of no independent value, as being but a transcript of *d.*

g. Codex Boernerianus, the interlined Latin text of G. (p. 199.): it is barbarous in the extreme, and it is only occasionally that it possesses any critical value.

For the Apocalypse there exists no MS. simply containing the old Latin version: the citations of Primasius in a great measure supply the want of such a copy, as they comprise the greater part of that book.

The MSS. which have been described differ greatly in value, and some of them are known far less than others. Indeed, when the text of a codex has not been published, our means for estimating its value are confined to the actual citations that have been given. There are also other MSS. of portions of the New Testament, which are but little known, and the importance of which is comparatively small: it is needless to specify them here.

As a hint towards a classification of the Latin copies, differing from that of Jerome, it was pointed out by Lachmann that they might be regarded as being, 1st, *African* in text (that is, the old version without *designed* alterations), such as *a. b. c. i.*; or, 2nd, *Italian*, that is, the carefully revised text of Upper Italy, replete with readings of the fourth century, such as are also found in the Gothic executed in that age; of this *f.* may be taken as a specimen; or, 3rd, Codices interpolated by private copyists, that is, by the admixture of different kinds of text; to this class most of the MSS. enumerated above appear in part to belong. To these may be added another class, such as the text of *k.*, the character of which has been described above.

For all *critical* purposes the *first* class is indescribably of the most value; the *second* is also of importance as showing what was read in the fourth century, and the kind of Greek MSS. used in Upper Italy for purposes of revision. This gives the Codex Brixianus its value in connection with the *history* of the text, and this makes us regret that we do not possess several monuments of the Italic revision pure and unmixed. The mixed or interpolated texts are *comparatively* void of importance; they demand notice, however, because they *may* (and they often *do*) contain readings which sprang from Italian revision.

It is by taking all the published or carefully collated Latin texts together, that we can trace our way backward, so as to find with tolerable certainty what was the Latin version (of the *Gospels* at least) as made in the second century.

There must have been in Africa a jealousy of all revision of the commonly received Latin translation. This may be in part accounted for from the churches there having been accustomed to Latin and to Latin only. While in Italy, Greek was so well known, that the

notion of revision by means of Greek copies, which were long read in some churches (as may be probably judged), was one comparatively familiar to the minds of the Christian people.

This is shown by a well known fact, which, though it bears somewhat indirectly on the question of the *New* Testament in Latin, must be considered equally cogent; for the Old and New Testaments formed in the old Latin *one* translation. The fact thus alluded to is that mentioned by Augustine, where, writing to Jerome, he dehorted him from continuing his version in Latin from the Hebrew. Up to this time the Latin-speaking Christians and the Latin-reading churches had employed a version made from the Greek LXX. But when Jerome was producing, book by book, his very superior version from the Hebrew text itself, the fear of innovation possessed many minds, and amongst others that of Augustine himself. In order to show Jerome the evil which might arise from his innovation, he tells him what had happened in a certain city where the bishop had introduced his new version of Jonah. "A certain brother bishop of ours, when he introduced the reading of thy version in the church over which he presides, something attracted notice in the prophet Jonah, which thou hadst rendered in a manner very differently from that which was habitually familiar to the minds and memories of all, and which was consecrated by use through such a succession of ages. Such a tumult arose amongst the people, especially from the contention of the Greeks, and from their vociferating a charge of falsification, that the bishop was compelled (it occurred in a city) to require the testimony of the Jews. But, whether from ignorance or malice, they replied that in the Hebrew copies there was found the same that the Greeks and Latins had and used. What next? Why the poor man was forced, after much danger, to be willing to correct this as though it had been false in order not to remain without the people."[1]

We find that the passage in Jonah was that which related to what in our version is termed the "gourd;" and that the old Latin from the LXX. had rendered this by *cucurbita*, but which Jerome had translated, not very happily, *hedera*. This is shown by some of the later correspondence between the Bishop of Hippo and the recluse presbyter at Bethlehem.[2]

This reference to the dread of innovation so strongly felt in the

[1] "Nam quidam frater noster episcopus cum lectitari instituisset in ecclesia, cui præest, interpretationem tuam, movit quiddam longe aliter, abs te positum apud Jonam prophetam, quam erat omnium sensibus memoriæque inveteratum, et tot ætatum incessionibus decantatum. Factus est tantus tumultus in plebe, maxime Græcis arguentibus et inclamantibus calumniam falsitatis, ut cogeretur episcopus (ea quippe civitas erat), Judæorum testimonium flagitare. Utrum autem illi imperitia an malitia, hoc esse in Hebræis codicibus responderunt, quod et Græci et Latini habebant atque dicebant. Quid plura? Coactus est homo velut mendositatem corrigere volens, post magnum periculum, non remanere sine plebe." — Aug. ad Hieron. Ep. lxxxi. (ed. Bassani, ii. col. 213). Anno 403.

[2] See Jerome's Letters to Augustine, Ep. lxxv., in the works of the latter (ed. Bassani, ii. col. 236.), and Augustine's reply: "Illud apud Jonam virgultum si in Hebræo nec hedera est nec cucurbita, sed nescio quid aliud, quod trunco suo nixum, sustentandum adminiculis erigatur, mallem jam in omnibus Latinis cucurbitam legi." — Ep. lxxxii. (ii. 268.).

province of North Africa may suitably close the account of the old Latin version of the New Testament; for it has an important bearing on two questions that have been considered, the original *unity* of the old Latin version, a point equally affecting the Old Testament and the New; and the African retention of the original readings. If *many* versions had been in use, difference as to a word could have surprised no Christian audience; if licence of revision and correction had been introduced into Africa as it had been in Italy, all ears would have been accustomed to many changes. *This* alone might direct us to the region in which revision was carried on, and might confirm us in ranking the MSS. of the old Latin which contain an *unaltered text* (wherever written) as part of the African family.[1]

After the revision of Jerome has been described, a better estimate may be formed of the *critical* value of the *old* Latin in its various forms.

CHAP. XXIII.

THE REVISION OF THE LATIN BY JEROME — THE VULGATE.

THE practice of revising the Latin version was thus in full vigour in Italy before the last quarter of the fourth century. This probably led Damasus, bishop of Rome, to desire that something more systematic should be executed, something that should be a remedy for the existing confusion, and not that which might increase it, as the *Italic* revision appears to have done in some measure. Also, as the Italic revision had introduced so different a kind of text from that which had been in use previously, it may have been thought desirable to revise in the opposite direction, *i. e.* by following copies of a similar kind to those which had been the original basis of the Latin text now so much confused: at all events, this was the direction that things took. It is very likely that Damasus may have wished that Rome should take a more independent position as to its literary theology than had been previously the case, that it should not be any longer depending in such respects on Milan or Carthage. In fact, the circumstances of the Roman Church were utterly changed from what they had been in the second and third centuries; it was no longer a *Greek* Church in the capital of the West, but it had become the centre of the Latin-speaking Christian community.

It appears that the revisions of the old Latin version had extended to the Old Testament as well as to the New, and just as widely then did Damasus desire to apply his remedy against confusion of text by a more systematic work.

Jerome, the presbyter from Dalmatia, was then at Rome, having returned for a while from his life of study and reclusion in the East to the city of his early training. Damasus applied to him as being one who possessed the competent learning, abilities, and application:

[1] In speaking of Augustine's use of the word *Itala*, no notice was taken of the *corrections* which some sought to introduce, — *usitata*, or *illa*: for all change is needless.

this was about the year A. D. 382; and in two years he presented the bishop with the first part of the work which he had thus undertaken as to the New Testament, the four Gospels.

In the epistle with which this revised *edition* (in the ancient sense of the word) was accompanied, we learn some particulars as to the condition of the Latin text at Rome, and the manner in which the Gospels had been revised. He speaks of the compulsion which had been laid on him to undertake the work, and how he felt that it was like taking the place of a judge to define, with regard to the copies of the Scriptures dispersed through the world, what was accordant with the "Greek verity" and what was not; a pious toil indeed, but an enterprise of peril, to judge others, and yet to expose himself to be judged by all; to change the language of one now grown old, and to bring back the world in its hoary hairs to the first rudiments of children. For who, whether learned or unlearned, who should take the book into his hand, and find what he read differ from that to the taste of which he had been accustomed, would not immediately cry out against Jerome, calling him a falsifier and guilty of sacrilege, because of his daring to add, change, and correct anything in ancient books? Two things consoled him under this anticipation, — that he was commanded to undertake it by Damasus, whom he terms "summus sacerdos," and also that the copies of those who might blame him did not themselves agree in what they read. "For if reliance be placed on Latin copies, let them answer, on which? for there are just as many exemplars as codices, and if the truth be sought on the ground of numbers, why should we not turn to the Greek original, and correct what was rendered amiss by vicious interpreters, what was more perversely amended by unskilled presumers, or what was added or changed by drowsy copyists?" Then, after saying that he does not *now* refer to the Old Testament, &c., and that he rejects certain MSS., defended though they were by the perverse contention of a few persons,—"when the Scripture previously translated into the tongues of many nations showed the additions which had been made to be false." "This present preface promises simply the four Gospels, the order of which is Matthew, Mark, Luke, John, [*i. e.* the *Greek* order, in opposition to the Latins, who placed them, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark,] amended by a collation of Greek MSS., but ancient ones. And lest they should differ much from the accustomed Latin reading, we have so guided the pen that those things only being corrected which seemed to affect the sense, we have suffered the rest to remain as they were."

It will readily be admitted that Jerome showed not only great discernment in his apprehension of the condition of the Latin text, but also in the mode of applying a remedy. While others were revising the Latin by just such copies as they were then receiving (in that age of multiplying MSS. of the Scriptures) from Greece, Alexandria, or Antioch, Jerome had recourse to codices of known antiquity, such no doubt as had long been in circulation in the West; and thus his revision of the Gospels did not depend on the conflicting readings of the fourth century, but on something much earlier, on

MSS. which *in kind*, at least, resembled those used long before, when the version was first made.

In the remarks prefixed by Jerome to the Eusebian canons, he gives some further account of the mode in which the Gospels had been corrupted. "In our copies everything is mixed; in Mark are found many things belonging to Luke and Matthew; again, in Matthew many things belonging to John and Mark; and so on in the rest are those things which are peculiar to the others." This would (he thought) for the future be remedied by the Eusebian canons, showing as they do what is *peculiar* to each Gospel, and what is found in any three or two of them, and, in such case, in *which* three, or *which* two.

The Gospels, then, being thus completed in 384, the next work on which Jerome was engaged is said to have been the *rough* revision of the Latin Psalter with the Greek which is still extant as the Psalterium Romanum; and thus other occupations filled a good part of his time during the few years that passed before he withdrew to his cave at Bethlehem. But in this time he seems to have completed his revision of the remainder of the New Testament; a revision less complete and uniform than that of the Gospels, and in which many parts seem to have received hardly any alterations from his hand. This may probably have arisen from the rest of the books having been less altered by copyists and revisers than was the case with the Gospels. There is good reason for supposing that in books so much less familiarly read as were the Epistles, the innovations introduced by accident or design would be so much the less. Also, in the Epistles the Greek copies were as yet much more in their original condition, so that any of the *Italic* revisers would have far less motive for introducing change.

The commentaries of Jerome show how he restrained his hand from correcting all that he thought might be amended; for there he mentions readings which he prefers, though in his revised Latin version they had not found a place. In his commentaries he refers at times to the Codices of Origen and others, such as Pierius and Pamphilus: these MSS. may have supplied him with information which he did not possess when in earlier years he had carried on his revision at Rome; or it may be that even then he would have restrained his pen from correcting too much.

It is very probable that the form in which the *old* Latin was circulated at Rome in the time of Damasus, and in which it was there publicly read in the church services, differed in some degree from the copies used whether in Africa or in Upper Italy: this may be the cause of some of the differences in phraseology, otherwise unexplained, between the old Latin as it has come down to us and the version or revision of Jerome.

One feature in the work executed by Jerome must not be passed by in silence. He undertook merely a revision of the *renderings*, to make them conformable to the Greek copies; but he went farther; and though (especially in the parts least revised) much remains of the African Latin and phraseology, he certainly made the translation far

more accordant with the propriety of Latin speech than had previously been the case. Jerome and Augustine, at the end of the fourth century, showed more skill in the expression of Latin than had the translator of the second: and yet in that earlier age, a sufficient degree of educational training might have been found amongst the Christians to have produced a work which would have stood far higher as to its Latinity than either the old version or the revision of Jerome. In proof of this we need only refer to such a writer as Minucius Felix.

There can be little doubt that the authority of Damasus gave a certain sanction at once to the work of Jerome *at Rome*. Even there, however, the old version also kept its ground for a time; and this was the case all the more, from the fact that in the twenty-one years (384—405) after Jerome had completed *this* work, he was engaged in translating the whole of the Old Testament *from the Hebrew;* and as his whole labour of translation was looked on as one work, and as there was a strong feeling of opposition to the innovation with regard to the Old Testament, this caused a great slowness in receiving and using the revision of the New.

The retention of the old version at Rome in the following century is shown by the use made of it by the celebrated bishop, Pope Leo I., who, in an Epistle to Pulcheria, even quotes from it the *addition* which it contains after Matt. xx. 28. In consequence of the co-ordinate use of both the old and the new versions, there is a class of Latin MSS. in which a text is formed from an admixture of both; these may be regarded as Jerome's work, in their general complexion, but interpolated from other copies, rather than *vice versa*. Of all the forms in which ancient Latin texts have come down to us, *these* possess by far the least critical value.

In the latter half of the sixth century, Cassiodorus compared in part the older text with that of Jerome, connecting apparently the readings of the two together.[1] This may have conduced in a great measure to intermix the two in the manner just mentioned; for the propensity of copyists to introduce readings into the text from the margin, &c., is one of the most certain of the phenomena connected with various readings and their formation.

By the end of the sixth century it seems probable that the revision of Jerome had established itself in the West: we know that Pope Gregory I. employed his version of the Old Testament; and the general reception of the two seems to have gone together. From that age this version became by adoption *the Latin Vulgate*, occupying the place and even receiving the name which had once belonged to the *Versio Vetus*. In all the Western Church, thus, the work of Jerome was received, and for the next nine hundred years it was from his labour that the nations which had belonged to the Latin portion of the Roman empire, or which owned the supremacy of the Romish see, received all that they knew of the Holy Word of God; and it is to the Latin Vulgate, declared authoritative by the Council of Trent in the sixteenth century, and revised and sanctioned by the

[1] See Eichhorn's Einleitung in N. T. vol. iv. § 52. p. 381., and the passage there cited in the note from Cassiodorus.

Popes at the close of the same age, that all the Roman Catholic nations still refer as the form in which they own Holy Scripture.

Were it not for the wide circulation of the modern Clementine Vulgate, and for the frequent allusions made to it, and were it not that the existing materials have been but little used for its correction, there might be no occasion, in a purely critical work like the present, to trace the *history* of Jerome's revision, and to show its relation to the Vulgate published under Papal sanction. But this would be in this case a serious omission, especially in the department of criticism, because of this version having been long known only in the form which it had assumed in the course of ages. It will not, therefore, suffice, as it might otherwise have done, to refer to the existing monuments which preserve to us this ancient version, almost uninjured, as it passed from the hands of Jerome himself.

Just as Jerome had to complain of the confusion occasioned by ignorant copyists and correctors with regard to the old version, so might those who came after him lament as to the condition of his own revision; especially after it became the text generally adopted in the Western Church, when the *old* translation would have become entirely obsolete, were it not for portions that had been imbedded in Church services and liturgical forms.

In the eighth century much confusion had already been introduced into the Latin text in common use; and an endeavour was made by Alcuin of York, in the latter part of that age, to remedy the defect. Alcuin's efforts were aided not a little by Charlemagne, who enacted that "libri canonici *veraces*" should be found in the churches. This edict would have its effect throughout all the regions of the West under the sway of the powerful Frankish monarch. Perhaps Alcuin's own personal influence would procure acceptance for his labour in his own native country.

It might seem from the manner in which Charlemagne speaks of the work of revision, that he had himself assisted in it: it at least shows the earnestness of the monarch that it should be accomplished. Some have imagined that a new revision with the original was intended; but of such an undertaking there is no trace: it may be regarded as certain that what was proposed and executed was the revision of certain copies, so as to form a kind of normal text; and that all that was intended, was to restore the text in such books to the same condition as that in which it had been left by Jerome.

There are various MSS. extant which are claimed to be the Bibles of Charlemagne or Alcuin; and in all probability several of them are really coeval monuments of this revision; and some may be even those which were prepared under the joint direction of the monarch and the scholar. One of these, now in the British Museum, is commonly known as "Charlemagne's Bible," and it is a good MS. of the eighth century.[1] Verses added by the transcriber testify that it

[1] This is the same copy that was examined and described by Hug (Einleitug, § 123.). It was then in the possession of "Herr von Speyer Passavant" of Basle. An account of the MS., and how it was obtained for the British Museum from Von Speyer, has been published by Sir Frederick Madden.

contains Alcuín's recension, and an examination of the text shows how very often it adheres to the original rendering or reading of Jerome in opposition to the modern Vulgate.

There is another MS. which deserves to be particularly mentioned here amongst those which claim to rank as originals of the text of Alcuin. This is one of the Codices Vallicellenses at Rome, of which Blanchini gave a description and a facsimile specimen.[1]

Had it been possible for Charlemagne and Alcuin to have devised any means for the perpetuation of the work thus undertaken, the Bible of the West might have continued in the same condition: but as copyists could never be brought to use some MS. of *known* accuracy and antiquity, as the exemplar from which they copied, the text, up to the time of the invention of printing, was always subject to the same vicissitudes and fluctuations. These were only checked occasionally by the influence of some prelate or learned man, or by some academie body. Thus in the eleventh century Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, emended copies of the Scriptures; and also Stephen Harding, the Cistercian abbot, thus occupied himself.

In the two following centuries *Correctoria* were prepared and put forth by various bodies, such as the theological faculty of the University of Paris, Hugo de St. Cher on behalf of the Dominicans, and also the Franciscans, and Carthusians. Such a *Correctorium* could only be applied to places in which errors had been already observed; and its only real use at the time was to warn copyists to avoid such mistakes. To us they supply not a little information as to the state of the text historically; and if a *Correctorium* tells us not to read *so*, but *so*, it shows that the question had been raised. These Correctoria afford, at times, good evidence *against* the modern Vulgate, showing that it exhibits a Latin text which has suffered even since the thirteenth century.

When, about the middle of the fifteenth century, the art of printing gave the first evidence of its existence and its powers by the publication of the Latin Bible, of course it was wholly out of the question to suppose that any critical care or skill was brought to bear upon the *text* thus multiplied. For about the first seventy years, nothing further seems to have been thought of but to multiply copies for sale — unless indeed the Latin text of the Complutensian Polyglott be a partial exception. The labour of Erasmus was not directed to the *restoration* of the Vulgate, but to the formation of a version which should (he hoped) take its place. Indeed, that scholar was so impressed with the corruption of the Vulgate, and with its contrariety

[1] Hug, after mentioning the verses found in an Alcuinian Codex at Amsterdam, says, "Andere, wie der Codex Vallicellens. bei Blanchini; jener der Väter des Oratoriums zu Rom; einer, dessen Baronius zum Jahre 778 erwähnt, dessen Aufenthalt in der Chiesa Nuova ist" (then citing certain Latin verses). To prevent the perpetuation of that inconvenient mistake, the multiplication in reference of the *same* MS., it may be well to state that *all* these seemingly *three* copies are *one* and the same. The Church of St. Philip Neri, at Rome, is that of the Fathers of the Oratory (founded by him); it is commonly called "Chiesa Nuova," and *there* is the "Bibliotheca Vallicellensis." To make this MS. into three, is just like the manner in which a *name* is sometimes twisted into three synonymes, to puzzle or amuse children.

to classical Latin, that he thought that it could not be the actual version of Jerome.

Robert Stephens was the first who endeavoured critically to restore the Vulgate to the condition in which it was left by Jerome. His first edition appeared in 1528; the most important of his editions was that of 1539-40. But as in that age the study of the Hebrew and Greek originals had revived, others busied themselves with revising the Vulgate with the original languages; and thus were produced either Latin texts entirely new, or else revisions which differed much from the text then in common use, as well as from the version as left by Jerome.

Such was the condition of things as to a text of the Latin Scriptures when Pope Paul III. convened the Council of Trent in 1545. The necessity of defining something respecting Holy Scripture was soon pressed on the attention of the assembled bishops and theologians; and thus in their fourth session (April 8. 1546), after they had declared *what* books they sanctioned as canonical (including the Apocrypha, more it seems from mistake than intelligent design), they proceeded to declare the Latin Vulgate to be *authentic*, to the rejection of all other versions. "Insuper eadem sacrosancta synodus considerans, non parum utilitatis accedere posse ecclesiæ Dei, si ex omnibus Latinis editionibus quæ circumferuntur sacrorum librorum, quænam pro *authentica* habenda sit, innotescat; statuit, et declarat, ut hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio, quæ longo tot sæculorum usu in ipsa ecclesia probata est, in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, prædicationibus, et expositionibus *pro authentica* habeatur; et ut nemo illam rejicere, quovis prætextu, audeat vel præsumat."

The Tridentine decrees go on to forbid certain liberties in the exposition of Scripture; and then they direct that printers and publishers shall not put forth books of Scripture with annotations without having proper ecclesiastical authority; and here it is provided in passing, "ut posthac sacra scriptura, potissimum vero hæc ipsa vetus et vulgata editio *quam emendatissime* imprimatur;" — a decree which it was far easier for a few prelates assembled at Trent to promulgate, than for the powers ecclesiastical or secular to execute. Perhaps the council intended to undertake such a work, or to delegate it to a body of commissioners.

It was long before the Romish authorities published an authorised edition of the Vulgate; and thus in the difference of copies, it was most doubtful *what* had been sanctioned as authentic, and what edition could be considered to be published "quam emendatissime." Hentenius and the rest of the theologians of Louvain prepared a revision of the current Vulgate, which appeared in 1547; for this they made particular use of the principal edition of Robert Stephens. This text was reprinted, and for a time it seemed to many of the more learned Roman Catholics as though it sufficed in meeting the requirements of the Council of Trent. A little subsequent, however, Franciscus Lucas Brugensis, and the Louvain theologians, again revised the Latin text for the Antwerp Polyglott, in which, in 1573, the result of their labours appeared.

But editions so prepared, however high their literary pretensions might be, and however great the critical abilities, learning, and industry of those who undertook them, could hardly be fitted *fully* to suit the views of the Romish authorities. And thus, after much preparation, in the pontificate of Sixtus V., 1589, an edition appeared printed in the Vatican and furnished with all the credentials of Papal sanction. It is stated that Pius IV. (1559—1566) and Pius V. (1566—1572) had appointed persons to carry out this work; but Sixtus V., in his short pontificate (1586—1590), in this as well as in other matters, *executed* far more than popes in general would have done in a century. In a bull dated March 1, 1589, *this edition* is absolutely sanctioned [1], and the Pope even sets forth that he had himself corrected the proof sheets; "eaque res quo magis incorrupte perficeretur, nostra nos ipsi manu correximus, si qua prelo vitia obrepserunt." The *title-page* is dated 1590, and in it this edition claims to be that which met the requirement of the Council of Trent.

The decree of Sixtus laid down that all copies of the Latin Bible henceforth printed should implicitly follow his exemplar, and that all copies in use should be altered at once into precise conformity with its readings; and that even any Latin MSS. which should be preserved without being altered should henceforth have no authority whatever. "Ceterum, si manuscripta, vel impressa Biblia hujus etiam Vulgatæ editionis, ob characterum venustatem . . . . . asservantur, et juxta nostrum hoc exemplar emendata non fuerint, ea in iis, quæ huic nostræ editioni non consenserint, nullam in posterum fidem, nullamque auctoritatem habitura esse decernimus et declaramus." And yet this edition did not come before the world in a form such as would give a high idea of its correctness. The text was in places altered with a pen; and in others a small piece of paper was pasted on the pages containing a correction of an erratum, or a wholly different reading. And farther, the copies that found their way into circulation were not uniform in these respects; so that it did not require a person very deeply versed in canon law to see that this bull of Sixtus V. was vitiated, like some of his other too hasty proceedings, by its "multiplex nullitas." It should be remarked that not a few things are well stated in the preface of Pope Sixtus, and that he says of the variety of Latin readings, so far as

[1] "Ad laudem igitur, et gloriam omnipotentis Dei, catholicæ fidei conservationem et incrementum, ac sacrosanctæ universalis ecclesiæ utilitatem, hac nostra perpetua valitura constitutione, de eorumdem venerabilium fratrum nostrorum S. R. E. cardinalium super Typographia Vaticana deputatorum consilio et assensu, quorum opera et industria in hac ipsa Vulgatæ editionis emendatione, in rebus præsertim gravioribus usi sumus, et ex certa nostra scientia, deque apostolicæ potestatis plenitudine statuimus ac declaramus, eam Vulgatam sacræ, tam veteris quam Novi Testamenti paginæ Latinam editionem, quæ pro authentica a Concilio Tridentino recepta est, sine ulla dubitatione aut controversia censendam esse hanc ipsam, quam nunc prout optime fieri potuit emendatam, et in Vaticana Typographia impressam in universa Christiana republica atque in omnibus Christiani orbis ecclesiis legendam evulgamus: decernentes eam prius quidem universali sanctæ ecclesiæ ac sanctorum patrum consensione, deinde vero generalis Concilii Tridentini decreto, nunc demum etiam apostolica nobis a Domino tradita auctoritate comprobatam, pro vera legitima authentica et indubitata, in omnibus publicis privatisque disputationibus, lectionibus, prædicationibus, et explanationibus recipiendam et tenendam esse."

he had noticed them, "quamvis in hac tanta lectionum varietate nihil hucusque repertum sit, quod fidei et morum causis tenebras offundere potuerit; verendum tamen fuit," &c.

The cause of the failure of Pope Sixtus and his coadjutors was their entire want of critical apprehension as to *what* they had to do. This edition is a splendid proof that there is no royal or papal road to criticism, and that when critical facts are in question *authority* possesses no power in leading to a decision; and even if the determination be very strong to complete such a work so as to leave nothing unaccomplished, still the corrections show that unless there are definite critical principles laid down at first, and materials properly arranged, no conclusion can be reached that is satisfactory even to those who themselves arrive at it.

It is surprising how *near* Pope Sixtus was to a real recurrence to the ancient text of the Vulgate as Jerome left it: he had before him the *Codex Amiatinus,* one of the noblest MSS. of that version, and *if* he had adopted its text, or used it as the basis of that which he adopted, it would have furthered the criticism of the Latin version to a degree that can hardly be over-estimated.[1]

Sixtus V. died in August in the same year, 1590; and two years after there was *another* Latin edition published at Rome with the papal sanction of Clement VIII., which *differed* in many respects from that of Sixtus. In fact the edition of 1590 had satisfied no one; and it was found *necessary* by the Romish authorities to withdraw it from use at all risks, and to substitute something more to the purpose. It appears as if but few copies of Sixtus's Bible had been circulated; and this rendered its suppression all the more practicable.

Urban VII., the immediate successor of Sixtus V., died after a popedom of twelve days, and *his* successor, Gregory XIV., who held that rank for some months, is said to have set on foot the new revision. Clement VIII. was shortly after his successor, — the very brief pontificate of Innocent IX. alone intervening. The *Preface* to Pope Clement's edition of 1592 states, indeed, that Sixtus, finding how incorrectly the edition had been printed, decreed that it should be called in, and another prepared; but that this had been prevented by his death. We need not, however, *believe* this preface; for it is stated positively by Roman Catholic writers[2] that Cardinal Bellarmine, the author of this document, devised this scheme for saving the honour of the papal see, even though the edition were suppressed, by throwing all the blame on the printer, and by stating that Sixtus himself had intended to do what was thus at length executed under Clement. But it is certain that the Clementine edition was no mere correction of typographical errors of the Sixtine; for they

[1] A memorandum appended to this MS. informs us of the fact. "La presente Bibia a dì 12 di Luglio 1587, fu portata all' Illustrissimo Cardinale Antonio Carafa per l' opera dell' emendazione della Bibia Latina Vulgata, per ordine di S. Santita Sixto V. in Roma, e fu restituita alli 19 di Geunaro 1590, alli Reverendi P. D. Marcello Vanni e Don Stefano Pizzetti, Monaci di Monastero di S. Salvatore in Montamiata. Io Arturo de d' Elci."

[2] See Hug's Einleitung, § 128.

differ as to their readings in several hundred places: and thus the mention of the name of Sixtus V. on the title-page was only misleading to the readers.

Bellarmine's preface is cautiously worded: he makes good allowance for the faults that might be found with the recension, by stating that they had not corrected all that they might have done, but that they had advisedly left several things unchanged which might have been altered.

Clement VIII. gave his sanction to *this* edition as being *the authorised Vulgate;* and as such, with a few slight alterations made in his own time and by his authority, it has kept its place throughout the Romish Church. The name, indeed, of Sixtus V. is conjoined with that of Clement VIII. on the title-pages of the common Latin Bibles; but the former name has less signification than has that of a deceased or withdrawn partner, which still may take the lead in the designation of a mercantile firm; for here Clement and Sixtus stand in direct opposition as to the editions which they sanctioned.

It has often been supposed that these papal recensions were in some measure biassed by doctrinal considerations; but it would be hard to prove this; the points in which the Vulgate is doctrinally wrong were just the same *prior* to all such revision. Bentley says, "Pope Sixtus and Clemens, at a vast expense, had an assembly of learned divines to recense and adjust the Latin Vulgate, and then enacted their new edition authentic; but I find, though I have not yet discovered any thing done *dolo malo*, they were quite unequal to the affair. They were mere theologi, had no experience in MSS., nor made use of good Greek copies, and followed books of five hundred years before those at double that age. Nay, I believe they took these new ones for the older of the two; for it is not every body knows the age of a manuscript." [1]

The relation in which the Latin Vulgate, as sanctioned and exclusively used by the Romish Church, stands to the version as it left the hands of Jerome, is much the same as was that of the uncorrected copies prior to the editions of Stephens and Hentenius; though of course every revision led to the removal of *some* of the blemishes caused by transcription. The modern Vulgate is *substantially* the version of Jerome, though the variations from it are frequent, and the changes are always for the worse. The most remarkable addition is the passage concerning the heavenly witnesses, which may safely be pronounced to be a scholion which has found its way into the text.

Although the papal sanction has secured for the Clementine text as general a use in the Romish Church, as that which our common English Bible has wherever our tongue is spoken, yet Roman Catholics have done their part in pointing out the means of making this Latin version more correct; — small use, however, has been made of the means thus indicated.[2]

[1] Bentley's "Correspondence," p. 506.

[2] It is probable that the decree of Pope Clement has prevented anything like a formal revision of the Latin text being undertaken by members of the Romish Church; amongst

In the sixteenth century the Latin Vulgate was but little employed as a source of criticism; the text itself was studiously disparaged by Erasmus; and many of the reformers thought that every thing in which it differed from the Erasmian or Stephanic Greek text was so far corrupt: thus they depreciated the Latin version in connection with their own position in controversy. After the appearance of the authorised Clementine text this feeling continued as strong; and it was long before the true value of the version of Jerome was admitted. The *condition* in which it was, and the absence of all *effective* revision, in part occasioned this.

It should here be noticed that something was done by Martianay and Poujet, the Benedictine editors of Jerome's works (1693), to exhibit his version as found in MSS. which they considered *good;* the same thing was also done in the Verona edition of Vallarsi (1734). The documents used by these editors, however good in comparison with those employed by the papal censors, rank far below those which are now available.

Mill introduced a more correct judgment: he employed the Vulgate in connection with good Greek copies as a witness whose testimony was worth much. But it was BENTLEY who really placed this version in its true light as a critical witness; and this he did, not simply using the common printed copies, but by employing proper means for the critical revision of the version itself. His preparations were extensive; and this part of his undertaking presents far more that is available for use than any other portion of the critical stores which he left behind him. Bengel highly esteemed the Vulgate also; and though for a time the dictum of Wetstein not only damaged the reputation of this version, but also of all other authorities at all resembling it in character, its claims have continued to be vindicated, and its use has been established; and this is all the more fully the case, the more it is known as it originally existed.

Although there has not been any critical edition, properly speaking, of this version, we can use the authority of a few MSS. to give a text remarkably pure, and one, too, which approaches in *age* to the time of Jerome, and which can be shown to be almost identical with that which he himself prepared.

The following are among the more important Latin MSS. of the Vulgate: —

Codex Amiatinus. — This MS. formerly belonged to the monastery of Monte Amiatino in Tuscany; it is now in the Laurentian Library at Florence. It was written about the year A. D. 541 by the Abbot Servandus. It contains in one very large volume the Old and New Testaments, written in good bold hand: it has hardly any defect: this preservation arises in part from its having been long regarded as a holy relic. Its value was pointed out in the last century by Bandini; but nothing was done, before the collation of Fleck appeared, to

them, however, there are ample stores for such a purpose remaining unused. This is not the place to inquire what the force of the enactment of Clement is amongst Roman Catholics on this subject; nor yet as to the mode in which the Latin Bible should be printed, "ita tamen, ut lectiones variæ ad marginem ipsius textus minime annotentur."

render it available for critical use. Fleck, in the course of his literary travels, collated a portion of the New Testament: he afterwards obtained aid from some of his friends in getting the rest examined. The result was given in an edition which he published in 1840. Although this collation was singularly defective and inaccurate, it showed that Bandini had not been mistaken in the high estimate which he formed of the MS. In 1843 Tischendorf collated or copied the whole of the New Testament; and in 1846, Tregelles, unaware that this had been done, went through all of that portion of the MS., noting the variations, divisions of the lines, &c. All this he communicated to Tischendorf, when the latter announced his intention of publishing the codex, together with the facsimile that he had made, which was engraved for that edition which appeared in 1850. The places in which Tregelles differed from Tischendorf have been recompared with the MS. itself through the kindness of Signor del Furia.[1] Thus revised this text forms the basis of the Latin accompanying the Greek New Testament of Tregelles now in the press.

This MS. may be considered the best that is known of the Latin Vulgate, as well as one of the oldest: it carries us back to a date one hundred and twenty years only after the death of the translator. Good service would be rendered to Biblical studies by any one who would accurately edit the Old Testament from this MS.[2]

Codex Fuldensis.—This MS., which is preserved in the Abbey of Fulda, appears, like that previously mentioned, to belong to the sixth century. The four Gospels are arranged in a kind of Monotessaron: the other books of the New Testament present a continuous text. It was described by Schannat in 1723[3]; and it was thoroughly examined by Lachmann and Buttman for their edition of the New Testament. They employed its readings as the general basis on which their revision of the Latin version rested; and though in the *Gospels* it is not always certain what belongs to each Evangelist, yet the readings there are good and generally distinguishable, while in the rest of the New Testament it is a worthy companion for the Codex Amiatinus. The text given by Lachmann from this and a few other MSS. is the nearest approach to a *critically* revised Latin text of any that has been published as yet.

Codex Forojuliensis.—This is a very good MS. of the Gospels, the text of which was edited by Blanchini in the Appendix to his Evangeliarium Quadruplex. This MS. is now defective in St. Mark's Gospel; that part having been cut out of the volume and removed to Venice, where it was honoured as the *autograph of St. Mark himself.* Such a notion could only, of course, spring up in an age when it was not known that this Evangelist wrote in Greek. Part of the supposed autograph was afterwards carried to Prague; and *this portion*

[1] For corrections of Tischendorf's edition of the Codex Amiatinus see "Account of Printed Text," p. 170., and in the *Addenda* to that volume (placed after the "Index of Passages, the reading of which is discussed or noticed").

[2] Tischendorf certainly copied a considerable part of the Old Testament; but this would need to be recompared with the MS.

[3] Vindemiæ Literariæ Collectio.

was edited in 1778 by Dobrowsky. That which remained at Venice has never been critically examined, and those who have seen it state that it is almost decayed.

Fragmenta Perusina. — These are some very ancient fragments of St. Luke's Gospel preserved at Perugia, which were published by Blanchini.

Codex Toletanus. — This is a MS. in the Cathedral Library at Toledo, described as being in Gothic letters: it contains both the Old and New Testaments, and it was collated in 1588 by Christopher Palomares (for the papal revision of the Latin Bible). This collation was published by Blanchini in his Vindiciæ Canonicarum Scripturarum (1740).

Amongst the MSS. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, there are two which deserve mention here as containing a good text of St. Paul's Epistles.

(i.) *Codex Augiensis.* — The *Greek* portion of this MS. is described above (p. 197.): the Latin by the side of the Greek is a good copy of the Vulgate. It was thoroughly examined and collated by Tregelles in 1845. The Epistle to the Hebrews is contained in this MS. in Latin only: the text is of the same character as is the rest of the book.

(ii.) A MS. noted B. 10. 5. in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge, which appears to be of the ninth century. It is imperfect, commencing 1 Cor. vii. 32., and ending apparently in 1 Thess. A collation of this MS. was made by the Rev. Fenton J. A. Hort, M. A. Fellow of Trinity College, who noticed the peculiarities of the MS.; and through his kindness the readings were communicated to Tregelles to be used in his edition of the New Testament amongst the Latin authorities in the Epistles. Several of its readings are very peculiar.

There can be no doubt that there are many other MSS., which would be good and useful materials for the critical restoration of the Vulgate: readings from some such MSS. are cited by Sabatier; the MS. list and collations amongst Bentley's papers supply not a little; and amongst *Lectionaries*, one described and cited by Mabillon[1] merits especial notice.

The general relation of the Vulgate or revision of Jerome to the *Versio Vetus* has been sufficiently pointed out; a few words only will be needful in describing their relation the one to the other *critically*. The *Versio Vetus*, as unaltered, contains both readings and corruptions which are more ancient than the time of Jerome; so that not unfrequently a chain of good authorities claims the Vetus as one of its links, when the Vulgate belongs to something different as to text. Also, on the other hand, there are not a few places in which the recension of Jerome removed defects of a serious kind, whether they originated in the Vetus or were merely transfused into it from the Western copies on which it was based. When the two texts agree in reading, especially in cases of peculiarity, it must be

[1] Lectionarium Luxoviense: see Mabillon, "De Liturgia Gallicana," 1729, Præf. p. iii. verso and pp. 471–7., where extracts are given; also Porson's Letters to Travis, p. 153.

inquired if the Vulgate does there only repeat what the Vetus had formerly uttered, or whether they are in any sense independent witnesses; for Jerome left much untouched (as has been noticed above): and also the *suspicion* may arise that the Vulgate has since been conformed to the previously used text; although, since the Codices Amiatinus and Fuldensis have been well examined, this suspicion is in a great measure excluded.

But if in peculiar readings the Vetus and the revision of Jerome do not *verbally* accord, although supporting the same readings as renderings from the Greek, then we may have a good deal of confidence in employing them as corroborative testimonies, and not as mere echoes the one of the other.

In one respect the testimony of the early Latin copies can hardly be estimated too highly. The translators adhered so closely to the Greek text from which the version was formed, that they practically made it their rule to follow as far as they could even the *order* of the Greek words. If, therefore, we had these versions or revisions in *precisely* their original state they would have been to us a kind of reflexion of the original that was before them. In all questions as to the arrangement of a sentence their testimony is of peculiar value. With regard to the revision of Jerome this was very fully pointed out by Bentley.

The use of the early Latin citations by fathers, and the limitations with which they can suitably be employed, will be dwelt on in a future chapter.

In regarding the Latin versions as a whole, that is, when their testimony is tolerably uniform, we may be sure that the reading which they thus support is *ancient;* when it is supported by any good Greek authority, it is worthy of much consideration; and when it is also upheld by various good witnesses, the inquiry must be instituted, what is in such a case the counter testimony?

It has been needful to rest thus long on the Latin versions, because, though they have been the most generally available of any for purposes of critical testimony, it is only of late that their importance has been at all *generally* recognised, and that endeavours have been made accurately to discriminate their characteristics. The value of Lachmann's labours to this end can hardly be over-stated.

At the time when the Sixtine and Clementine editions first appeared, their variations of course attracted the attention of Protestant writers. They were carefully collected by Thomas James, in his *Bellum Papale, sive Concordia Discors Sixti V.* (London, 1600): from that work the following specimens were selected.

1. Clauses omitted in the Sixtine, but inserted in the Clementine Bible.

Num. xxx. 11. *Uxor in domo viri, &c.* to the end of the verse.
Prov. xxv. 24. *Melius est sedere in angulo domatis, &c.*
Lev. xx. 9. *Patri matrique maledixit.*
Jud. xvii. 2, 3. *Reddidit ergo eos matri suæ, &c.*
1 Kings iv. 21. *Quia capta est arca Dei.*
3 Kings (same as our first) xii. 10. *Sic loqueris ad eos.*

2 Chron. ii. 10. *Et vini vigenti millia metretas.*
Matt. xxvii. 35. *Ut implerctur quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem, diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea, et super vestem meam miserunt sortem.*

Clauses or words introduced into the Sixtine, but omitted in the Clementine Bible.

1 Sam. xxiv. 8. *Vivit dominus, quia nisi dominus percusserit eum, aut dies ejus venerit ut moriatur, aut descendens in prælium periret; propitius mihi sit dominus ut non mittam manum meam in christum Domini.*
1 Sam. xxv. 6. *Ex multis annis salvos faciens tuos et omnia tua.*
2 Sam. vi. 12. *Dixitque David, ibo et reducam arcam.*
2 Sam. viii. 8. *De quô fecit Salomo omnia vasa ærea in templo et mare æneum et columnas et altare.*
2 Sam. xix. 10. *Et concilium totius Israel venit ad regem.*
Prov. xxiv. ult. *Usque quo piger dormis? usque quo de somno consurges.*
Hab. i. 3. *Quare respicis contemptores et taces conculcante impio justiorem se? Et facies homines quasi pisces maris, et quasi reptilia non habentia ducem.*
Matt. xxiv. 41. *Duo in lecto, unus assumetur, et unus relinquetur.*
Acts xiv. 6. *Et commota est omnis multitudo in doctrina eorum, Paulus autem, &c.*
xxiv. 18, 19. *Et apprehenderunt me clamantes et dicentes, tolle inimicum nostrum.*

3. Manifest contradictions, or differences between the editions.

Ex. xxiii. 18. Sixtine *Tuæ*, Clementine *meæ.*
Numb. xxxiv. 4. S. *Ad meridiem*, C. *A meridie.*
Deut. xvii. 8. S. *Inter lepram et non lepram*, C. *Inter lepram et lepram.*
Jos. ii. 18. S. *Signum non fuerit*, C. *Signum fuerit.*
iv. 23. S. *Deo nostro*, C. *Vestro.*
xi. 19. S. *Quæ se non traderet*, C. *Quæ se traderet.*
xiv. 3. S. *Tuo*, C. *Meo.*
1 Sam. iv. 9. S. *Nobis*, C. *Vobis.*
xx. 9. S. *A me*, C. *A te.*
1 Kings vii. 9. S. *Intrinsecus*, C. *Extrinsecus.*
Hab. i. 13. S. *Quare non respicis*, C. *Respicis.*
Heb. v. 11. S. *Interpretabilis*, C. *Ininterpretabilis*
2 Pet. i. 16. S. *Indoctas*, C. *Doctas.*

4. Differences in numbers.

Ex. xxiv. 5. S. *Vitulos duodecem*, C. *Vitulos.*
xxxii. 28. S. *Trigenta tria millia*, C. *Viginti millia.*
2 Sam. xv. 7. S. *Quatuor*, C. *Quadrigenta.*
1 Kings iv. 32. S. *Quinque millia*, C. *Quinque et mille.*
2 Kings xiv. 17. S. *Viginti Quinque*, C. *Quindecem.*
xxv. 19. S. *Sex*, C. *Sexagenta.*
2 Chron. xiii. 17. S. *Qinquagenta*, C. *Quingenta.*

5. Other remarkable differences.

1 Sam. iii. 2, 3. S. *Nec poterat videre lucernam Dei antequam extingueretur.* C. *Nec poterat videre; lucerna Dei antequam extingueretur.*
1 Kings ii. 28. S. *Ad Salomonem*, C. *Ad Joab.*
2 Kings xv. 19. S. *In thersam*, C. *In terram.*
Judith i. 2. S. *Fecit, ejus muros in altitudinem 70 cubitus.* This is one of those places where paper had been pasted on the text: the word first printed was *latitudinem*, and *altitudinem* was printed on a slip of paper, and put over it. C. *Latitudinem.*
Ibidem. S. *Latitudinem, 30 cu.* C. *Altitudinem, 30 cubitus.*
Job. xxxi. 7. S. *Si secutus est oculus meus cor meum*, C. *Si secutum et oculos meus cor meum.*
Psal. xli. 3. S. *Ad Deum fontem vivum*, C. *Ad Deum fortem, vivum.*
Prov. xix. 26. S. *Qui affligit patrem et fugit matrem*, C. *Qui affligat, &c. et fugat, &c.*
xx. 25. S. *Devorare sanctos*, C. *Devotare sanctos.*
Ezek. xiv. 22. S. *Egredientur*, C. *Ingredientur.*
Sirach xxxviii. 25. S. *Sapientiam scribæ*, C. *Sapientia scribæ.*
xlii. 9. S. *Adultera*, C. *Adulta.*
Isaiah xlvi. 11. S. *Justum*, C. *Avem.*
Jer. xvii. 9. S. *Cor hominis*, C. *Hominum.*[1]

[1] Introduction to the Hebrew Scriptures, by the Rev. Geo. Hamilton, M.A. pp. 163—166.

CHAP. XXIV.

THE EARLY SYRIAC VERSIONS: THE PESHITO, AND THE CURETONIAN TEXT OF THE GOSPELS.

It appears to be an admitted fact that in the second century there was a version of the books of the New Testament into Syriac. To this version reference seems to be made by Eusebius, when, in speaking of Hegesippus, he states that that early writer "made quotations from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and the Syriac."[1]

In the fourth century the writings of Ephrem the Syrian, a deacon at Edessa, give abundant proof that such a version was then known to have been long in habitual use; and this translation he calls OUR VERSION. It is quite true that in not a few places in which such a Syriac translation is mentioned, the reference *may* be to the *Old* Testament, and in some it is so *certainly;* but this hardly makes any important difference; for the early church soon learned to regard Holy Scripture as an organic whole; and we can hardly suppose Christian communities in Syria more intent on possessing the writings of Moses and the prophets in their own tongue, than those of evangelists and apostles.

Now there exists a Syriac version of both the Old and the New Testaments, which is in widely extended use amongst the churches of the East, who employ Syriac as their liturgical tongue. And this usage must be traceable as far back as the fifth century; because in that unhappy age, when dogmatic disputes ran so high, and when party spirit and turbulence were so grievously introduced into the discussion of questions of solemn importance, divisions took place amongst the Syriac Christians which have never been healed. And yet all these parties, though so thoroughly divided as to church fellowship, and though determined to discover real or supposed heresy in others wherever it might be traced, agree in one thing, in using the same Syriac translation with as much accord as varying parties in England employ the same vernacular version. Thus amongst Nestorians, Monophysites, and those claiming to be orthodox, this same Syriac version is current. How far it may be changed in its character or its readings, by revisions with the Greek, or from errors of copyists, is wholly a separate point for inquiry.

This Syriac version is generally known by the name of *Pešhito*, ܦܫܝܛܬܐ,[2] which is commonly interpreted *Simple.* This designation, in several at least of the places in which it occurs, belongs to the *Old* Testament portion of the translation in use, and it appears to have sprung up in contrast to the Syriac version of those books which was afterwards made from the LXX. As applied to the New Testament it seems to have been appropriated to that version

[1] Ἐκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ. Euseb. H. E. iv. 22.

[2] In the preface to the *Thesaurus Arcanorum* of Bar Hebræus, this version is called ܦܫܝܛܬܐ ܕܥܒܕ ܐܬܘܬ *Simple Edition.*

which was well known as accompanying the Old Testament. Another name of this version, in the seventh century at least, is ܥܬܝܩܐ, *Old*, employed by Thomas of Harkel in speaking of it in contrast to the more recent translation which had been made by Polycarp at the instance of Philoxenus. The origin of the name *Simple* seems to be this: The translation made by Paul of Tela of the Old Testament from the Hexaplar text of the LXX. was replete with *asterisks* and *obeli*, to indicate the revision by Origen; also in the margin there were references to other versions. In a similar manner the Harclean recension, and the Philoxenian version of the New Testament (described in the next chapter), were similarly marked in the text; and in the margin there were references made to some Greek MSS. *This* older Syriac version presented a bare text, without any of these marks or additions; and this seems to be the origin of its distinguishing name: the nature of the translation does not appear to be connected on any *probable* grounds with the appellation.

Though we have no very *early* accounts of the origin or formation of this version, yet the Syrians seem in general to have attributed it to Edessa, the metropolis, in early times of Christianity, of all that they were *nationally*, in contradistinction to that portion of their race and country which had been Hellenized. Thus James of Edessa, in the end of the seventh century, attributes the version of the *Old* Testament to the Edessene translators in the time of King Abgarus [1]; and so too did Bar Hebræus in a subsequent period. This later writer does indeed characterise the language of the Peshito as being inelegant; and this was probably from its being obsolete to him; and as he has also specified that there were *three* dialects of Syriac, the Edessene the most pure, and that of Palestine and Lebanon the least so, Wiseman *conjectured* [2] that he regarded the Peshito to be in this latter dialect. But this is not in accordance with his own statements as to its Edessene origin. Also, it may be doubted whether the testimony of Bar Hebræus to the condition of Syriac dialects in the *thirteenth century* can have any bearing on their distribution and characteristics a *thousand* years before — for such is the interval.

We do not find many notices of the Syriac version in ancient times. Cosmas Indicopleustes, rather before the middle of the sixth century, in discussing the authority of those Catholic Epistles which were disputed, states incidentally, ἕτεροι δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰακώβου σὺν ταῖς δυσὶ ταύταις (i. e. 1 Pet. and 1 John) δέχονται· ἕτεροι δὲ πάσας δέχονται· παρὰ Σύροις δὲ εἰ μὴ αἱ τρεῖς μόναι αἱ προγεγραμμέναι οὐχ εὑρίσκονται· λέγω δὴ Ἰακώβου καὶ Πέτρου καὶ Ἰωάννου· αἱ ἄλλαι γὰρ οὔτε κεῖνται παρ' αὐτοῖς.[3]

This Syriac version became known in Europe in modern times from its having been brought in 1552 by Moses of Mardin from the East in order to be printed for the use of the Jacobites (or Mono-

[1] Wiseman's Horæ Syriacæ, p. 103.
[2] Horæ Syriacæ, p. 106, 107.
[3] Christiana Opinio de Mundo. lib. vii. Montfaucon, Collectio Nova Patrum et Scriptorum Græcorum, tom. 2. p. 292. 1706.

physites). This Moses was commissioned by Ignatius, the Jacobite patriarch, to state his religious tenets to Pope Julius III., in order to effect a union with the Romish Church, and to get an edition of the New Testament printed. Moses of Mardin was frustrated in his endeavours both at Rome and Venice to find any who would undertake to print Syriac. At Vienna he was more successful. John Albert Widmanstadt, the chancellor of Ferdinand I. (brother and successor of Charles V.), had learned Syriac several years before of Theseus Ambrosius; and through his endeavours Ferdinand defrayed the expense of an edition. Widmanstadt, Moses, and Postell laboured in its preparation. It was completed in 1555. The different parts of the volume have different dedications to members of the Austrian imperial house, all dated in that year. A large portion of the edition seems to have been sent to the East; while many copies remained in the possession of the imperial chamber: these in 1562 were issued for sale; and then that date[1] with the arms of the printer Zimmerman were added at the back of the title-page.

The Syriac version which had thus appeared was without those Catholic Epistles the absence of which had been noticed by Cosmas, and it also wanted the Apocalypse and the history of the woman taken in adultery in John viii.: the absence of this last-mentioned passage, and some other variations from the readings then current, were noticed in a list of errata, &c.

The text of this edition has been highly and justly valued; for, although it was not based on the collation of many MSS., those which the editors had (*two* containing the New Testament in whole or in part) were honestly and carefully used; and thus nothing having been introduced from conjecture, the text of this edition stands higher than that of many others in which changes have been made, such as the interpolation of 1 John v. 7.

Tremellius in 1569 reprinted the Syriac New Testament in Hebrew characters, together with a *Latin translation* of its text; and this caused it to be available for purposes of criticism to those who, like Beza, might be occupied with the Greek text but without any knowledge of the Syriac language. Tremellius made some use of a Heidelberg MS. for his edition.

This version was inserted in the Antwerp Polyglott both in Syriac and in Hebrew letters; it was also published about the same time in a separate form in Hebrew characters, for the use, it is said, of those who sought to convert Jews. These editions, as well as one in which the Syriac text was accompanied by an interlineary Latin translation, appear to have been taken from the Antwerp Polyglott. In 1622 Trost published an edition at Anhalt, for which he used those which had previously appeared, noting some of the points in which they differed from one another.

In the Paris Polyglott the Syriac version does not appear to have been benefited by the editorial care of Gabriel Sionita; for it is not known on what grounds he made the changes which he is said to

[1] Hence the repeated mistake that this edition belongs to the year 1562.

have introduced.[1] In Walton's Polyglott the narrative in John viii. 1—12. is introduced from a MS. in the possession of Archbishop Usher, although it is well known that it is no part of *this* version.

In 1664 Gutbier published one of the best Syriac editions: he used himself two MSS. This edition found such favour in the eyes of Syriac scholars, from its small size and convenience, as well as real goodness, that it was reprinted, more than once apparently, and (it is said) surreptitiously.

The propaganda at Rome issued an edition in 1703 in Syriac and *Carshuni* (*i. e.* Arabic in Syriac letters) for the use of the Maronites. The late Professor Lee examined the text of this edition with much minuteness, and showed that the boast of the exercise of critical care is so ill-founded, that this edition could not be depended on as having any value for scholars.[2]

The other Syriac editions which require especially to be noticed, are those of Schaaf, Lee, and Greenfield.

Schaaf commenced his edition in conjunction with Leusden, who died, however, during the printing of the Gospels. At the end of the volume there is a collation of the previous editions; and the work was accompanied by a very laboriously prepared Lexicon to the New Testament. The text contains all that had been introduced into it (such as 1 John v. 7.) by previous editors, and by the side there is an improved Latin version. Some of the copies are dated 1708; more have 1709; while others are styled "*Secunda editio a mendis purgata*" on the title-page, with the date 1717. This last, however, is really only the same edition, unaltered except in the title-page; for if compared with those dated 1708 or 1709, it is found that in all peculiarities, such as misprints, defective or misplaced letters, &c. they accord precisely. Michaelis praised this edition very highly, so much so, in fact, as to give it a reputation which some still claim for it, of being the *editio optima*. Now, while fully admitting the importance of the collation of editions and the Lexicon as accessories to the text, they do not invalidate the serious objections which may be made to the manner in which the edition itself was executed. When begun, the plan was to follow in the punctuation a certain scheme of Leusden's, by which the Syriac words would be pointed, in a great measure, after a Chaldee analogy. But on Leusden's death Schaaf felt himself at liberty to follow his own better judgment, and to adopt the usual Syriac mode of vocalisation. The consequence is, that in St. Matthew, St. Mark, and the former part of St. Luke, Leusden's mode is followed; while in the latter part of St. Luke, and through all the rest of the book, the vocalisation is quite different. This inconsistency and confusion in the same volume is of itself quite enough to invalidate the high claims advanced for the edition by Michaelis. To some the Latin version by the side may be of use,

[1] In this and subsequent editions the Catholic Epistles, wanting in the Peshito, and the Apocalypse, were given from the text which had been published by Pococke and De Dieu. This fact only requires to be noticed here; the versions themselves of those portions will be considered in a subsequent chapter.

[2] See Prolegomena to Bagster's Polyglott Bible p. 42. (4to edition).

though never of course for critical purposes; while to Syriac scholars, the inconsistent execution of the edition is enough to make almost any other more desirable for use, whether in reading or in study. In fact, the undeserved praises bestowed so lavishly on Schaaf's text have been the cause of its being used by several, whose knowledge of Syriac vocalisation, &c. has been sorely impeded in consequence.

The edition of the late Professor Lee was published in 1816. Dr. Buchanan had commenced an edition for the British and Foreign Bible Society, and on his death, when the work was advanced as far as the Acts of the Apostles, it was thought advisable (on amply sufficient grounds) to cancel wholly what had been done, and to commence afresh, without any innovations of vocalisation, &c. being introduced. This work was then committed to the care of Lee, who employed Schaaf's text as his basis, using the proper Syriac analogy of vocalisation, and in several places subjecting the text to some critical amendment. His materials for this end were (i.) the Travancore MS. now in the University Library, Cambridge; (ii.) another Syriac MS. also in the same library; (iii.) Jones's collations of two Syriac MSS. in the Bodleian (published in 1805); (iv.) the citations found in Ephrem the Syrian; and (v.) a lectionary which belonged to Dr. Adam Clarke. An occasional note briefly states what the Greek reading is, when the commonly printed Syriac varies from it. The text is divided into lessons, according to the order of the Syriac ecclesiastical festivals. It was, indeed, said that the text of this edition was formed in part from Griesbach's Greek Testament: an assertion wholly groundless; for there is, in fact, no characteristic resemblance between that edition and Lee's Syriac text. In Acts xx. 28. Lee introduced the reading ܠܥܕܬܗ ܕܐܠܗܐ, *Church of God*, instead of the common Syriac reading *Church of Christ;* but this he did on MS. authority [1]; which, even if it be not thought sufficient, would suffice to exonerate him from all charge of conjecture. In Heb. ii. 9. the common Syriac text reads ܗܘ ܓܝܪ ܐܠܗܐ ܒܛܝܒܘܬܗ "*for He, God, by His grace,* should taste death," &c. This reading has been considered to be *Monophysite;* and another, which is found in some MSS. and in the edition of Tremellius, is equally supposed to be preferred by the Nestorians, ܣܛܪ ܡܢ ܐܠܗܐ, "for he apart from God [or except God] should taste death," &c.[2] But this latter reading is much more ancient than all questions about the Eutychian and Nestorian controversy; it is simply the rendering of χωρὶς θεοῦ,

[1] The Malabar or Travancore MS. at Cambridge, a Vatican Lectionary inspected by Adler, and one in the Bodleian.

[2] A Syriac MS. would sometimes have its readings altered according to the opinions of the owner into whose hands it might happen to fall. Thus in Rich's MS. 7157. in the British Museum, the original reading was the Nestorian apparently (ܣܛܪ being at the end of one line, and ܡܢ being at the beginning of the next); this was erased, so as to leave the Monophysite reading (omitting, however, ܒܛܝܒܘܬܗ); a recent hand has *restored* the Nestorian reading; so many have been the vicissitudes of this copy.

found in some authorities: Nestorians might *prefer* this, but they did not invent it. The other reading looks more like design: for this, however, Lee edited ܐܦ ܒܝ ܡܝܬ ܠܟܠ ܐܢܫ ܛܥܡ ܡܘܬܐ (a mere transposition of the words of the common text of the Syriac); this he translated "Ipse autem gratia Dei, pro omni homine gustavit mortem."[1] For the reading he had the authority of the Travancore MS.; but as to the *rendering* (which he thought would precisely accord with the common Greek text) it may well be questioned whether it is correct, and whether the words, even if thus inverted, differ at all in *meaning* from that which is commonly found;—"*God*" being in Syriac in apposition with "*He*," and *not* in the genitive, as it ought to be to answer to the Greek.[2]

This edition of Lee was an attempt to place the text of this version on a good and sound basis of MS. authority; the plan had been marked out by Buchanan; for although the part *executed* under the superintendence of the last-mentioned scholar was of necessity cancelled, Lee took his place so far as to adopt his plan for the formation of a text. ... It might have been better if the edition of Widmanstadt had been used as the basis instead of that of Schaaf; it would have been well also if the readings of the MSS. collated had been *all* published; for thus, and thus only, could the reader judge for himself as to the ability with which they had been employed; and thus he would have been enabled to form his own opinion as to what was the best attested in the range of admitted evidence. It was however Lee's intention in 1816 to publish the whole of his collations: it does not appear clearly how this was prevented; but thirty years afterwards these collations were again announced as having been communicated to Mr. Scrivener for the purpose of publication.

The edition of Mr. William Greenfield was published in 1828 by Messrs. Bagster. It appeared in folio, quarto, and small octavo, so as to suit the various forms of Polyglott and other Bibles brought out by the same publishers. It follows the text of Widmanstadt, but having the vowel-points fully expressed. Mr. Greenfield stated in a Syriac preface what he proposed to give, namely, the text of Widmanstadt, but with such additions from the edition of the Bible Society (Lee's) as might be needful to complete the sense, or to make the notation of the verses correct. Such supplements are inclosed within brackets. After the death of that learned and laborious editor, his plan was completed, by extracts being made from what he had marked in the edition of 1816, where Lee's text differed from that of Widmanstadt. Had this been done with accuracy it would have been very useful; but as it is, it often misleads, as it has been printed with so little care as to be unworthy of dependence. For this the editor himself was not responsible.

[1] Bagster's Prolegomena, p. 44.

[2] The prefixed ? would, after a pronominal suffix, be required in Syriac to make it bear Lee's rendering. The Monophysite reading may most easily have been formed by the mere omission of the ?, and then the transposition of the words to get them into a more simple order would be very natural.

As the original edition of Widmanstadt is rare, and as its text is in many respects the most genuine form of this version that has appeared in print, the edition of Greenfield has the merit of being a convenient substitute for it, available for Syriac students in general.

In all critical use of this version, two things must be borne in mind,—the state of the text, and the character of the version. As to the text, the sketch which has been given shows that we as yet depend on but a few MSS.; and still it may be doubted if there are means of revising it in such a manner as to produce any *material* change in its general character. Adler examined several Syriac MSS., some of them of great antiquity; Jones published his collation of two MSS. of the Gospels in the Bodleian [1], others have contributed to the same end; the present writer collated the text of one of Rich's MSS. in the British Museum (7,157.): but the general result is, that though some materials are certainly thus afforded for the critical revision of the text, by far the greater part of the changes relate to grammatical forms, and particulars of that kind. In fact, the tendency of the Syrians was always to modernise what they copied. But though little fruit (comparatively speaking) has resulted from such past collations, it is much to be desired that proper use should be made of the Nitrian MSS. with which the British Museum is now enriched. A scholar possessed of the needful time and energy might render a true service to sacred letters if he were so to examine those MSS. as to show their value, and how far this version may be more correctly edited by their means. At present we can only use the text as we find it, employing the few collateral aids that are in our power, and making some allowance for the condition into which an ancient version may have passed in the course of long transmission.

The first who made any critical use of the Syriac version was Beza; but this was not done with uniformity or consistency. And though from his time it was often cited, and a kind of mysterious authority was supposed to attach to it, it was not till the edition of Mill that its readings were quoted throughout. That editor, indeed, was often misled by the Latin translation in Walton's Polyglott, and thus he quotes the Syriac for what it does not, properly speaking, read. Wetstein and others have since collated the Syriac text itself; so that few versions have been so much employed in the last century as collateral testimony to the text of the New Testament. In pointing out minute variations some were disposed to go too far; for this Syriac version, unlike the old Latin, is by no means a close and verbal rendering of the Greek; the translator often chose to express himself in his own way, and he was more careful to observe the idiom of his own language than to follow that of the Greek. Thus possessive pronouns are added, nominatives are supplied, and constructions are inverted, when in this manner distinctness of ex-

[1] Textus Sacrorum Evangeliorum Versionis Simplicis Syriacæ, juxta editionem Schaafianam collatus cum duobus ejusdem vetustis codd. MSS. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana repositis, nec non cum cod. MS. Commentarii Gregorii Bar Hebræi ibidem adservato. A Ricardo Jones, M. A. Oxonii, 1805.

pression is more marked. Thus there are not unfrequently variations in the Greek copies in favour of which this version could not be properly quoted on either side, and peculiarities in the Syriac for which we need not expect to find any thing to correspond in Greek copies.[1]

The value which has been attached to this version by different scholars has been very various: these discordant estimates have been in part affected by its real or supposed antiquity. Wetstein depreciated this version exceedingly; he charged it with being corrupted from the Latin, and he sought to lower its antiquity to the seventh century: Michaelis, on the other hand, was a strenuous upholder of both its antiquity and authority. On the former of these points something has already been said. It *certainly* belongs to the early ages of Christianity: the absence of the disputed Catholic Epistles and the book of Revelation is a strong argument that it is anterior to the middle of the fourth century; also many of its readings are such as seem to show a high antiquity. On the other hand, there are places in which the readings of this version seem undoubtedly to have been modernised; a thing which was, as we know, done in the fourth century with regard to the old Latin; and we also know that the Syrians were addicted at least to grammatical revision. This, then, seems to be the only manner in which the peculiar character of the existing text of this version can be explained:—that it is *mixed* in its character, its basis being very ancient, but that it has been so far revised as to have these ancient readings intermixed with the Greek text, in what has been called above (p. 45.) its *transition state*. Some, indeed, have supposed (such as Wichelhaus[2]) that this version might be used as a kind of standard by which to judge of the readings found in Greek MSS. and other documents; others, such as Mr. Scrivener, praise it very highly, and speak of its authority in general as paramount; and yet in the many cases in which it does accord with the ancient witnesses in general, they treat it as though its evidence were nothing worth. Now a careful examination of the Gospels seems to lead to the conclusion, that it *now* represents a Greek text into which various corruptions had entered; that parallel passages had influenced the text of the synoptical Gospels; and that the ordinary modes of amplification had done their work, much in the same manner as Jerome makes his complaint with regard to the Latin version current in his day. These alterations might have arisen in the Syriac text itself; but as we find that many of them (if not all) occur in the transition Greek text, it seems more probable to suppose that the Syriac was revised at the time when the Christianisation of the Roman empire caused a new demand to arise for copies of the Scriptures. Thus, this version *now* is in many respects analogous to the Codex Brixianus of the Latin Gospels: in each there appears an

[1] See on the use of the Peshito Syriac, "Sacra Natalitia Domini nostri Jesu Christi pie celebranda prorectoris senatusque academici auctoritate civibus indicit D. Geo. Benedict. Winer, Theol. P. P. O.—Inest *commentatio de versionis N. T. Syriacæ usu critico caute instituendo.* Erlangæ. 1823."

[2] "De Novi Testamenti versione Syriaca Antiqua quam Peschitho vocant Libri Quatuor. Scripsit Joannes Wichelhaus, Theologiæ licentiatus in academia Halensi," Halis, 1850.

ancient basis, and in each more recent readings are found, resulting as it seems in each case from a similar kind of revision. How far the Syriac may have suffered in times considerably more recent, can only be known properly when the existing MSS. are fully collated, and the results made public. When that is done, perhaps it will be possible to distinguish between errors &c. of Syriac copyists, and the results of the labours of critical revisers. It has been suggested above (p. 45.), that Antioch was the locality in which the *transition text* originated, or first became current: this supposition is so far confirmed by the characteristics of this Syriac version, which belongs almost to the same spot, and certainly to the region of one district of which Antioch was the capital.

It has been discussed whether this version did originally contain the books now deficient in the MSS.: Hug advanced the opinion that they had been once there, but that since they had been lost; his arguments, however, have very little real weight. If Ephrem the Syrian cited from those books, it does not prove their existence in a Syriac version. On the other hand, the fact that the Syrians admitted their authority, although they were not contained in their version, goes a long way towards showing with certainty that originally they had no place in it, and that thus they had not been subsequently added.

Michaelis and others have doubted whether the Epistle to the Hebrews is as old as the rest of the version, or at least if it is not the work of a different translator. The variations of rendering may suggest that the opinion thus advanced is *not improbable:* certainty seems out of the question on such a point. Whether the whole of the New Testament is one work, or whether it was made at different times, is a question wholly undecided. I may give my own *opinion* for the consideration of others, and for their *correction* if needful. I do not believe that the New Testament is the work of the translator of the Peshito version of the Old. The difference of the mode of expression might be in part accounted for, but not, I believe, wholly, by the consideration that the one was formed from the Hebrew, the other from the Greek: in the New Testament, the translators seem to have been several; the Acts and Epistles to be more recent than the Gospels, though less revised.

The question has again been raised of late, whether the Gospel of St. Matthew in this version was made from the Greek that we have, or from the Hebrew original; in the latter case it would have, it has been thought, a kind of independent authority. Hug used the fact of the retention of Greek words as a proof that the translator had that language before him. This has been deemed insufficient. But if this version of St. Matthew be carefully examined with the Greek, it will be seen that it corresponds with it *very frequently* in the same kind of points, such as *imperfect tenses* (expressed in the Syriac by a circumlocution with the verb substantive), for which there hardly could be a Hebrew equivalent. These, and other arguments of the same kind, might be met by supposing that the dialect termed Hebrew in which St. Matthew wrote, was one which

accorded with the Syriac in all such particulars: but this would in fact make it out to have been Syriac. One thing at least is certain, the Syrians advanced no such claim for St. Matthew as found in this version; for when they executed other translations they had recourse to the Greek as the text which possessed authority in their estimation.

It will be seen that, although the extravagant claims advanced in favour of this version will not stand the test of examination, without our having to reject those of all the other more ancient witnesses, the version has its value as a monument of the early Christianity of the East, and also in both a literary and critical point of view. In the latter respect it has now simply to be considered; and as such the form of text has its interest. This has been regarded by some as belonging to the old unrevised text, such as was current in the East; but all the phenomena rested on in support of such a view are equally in accordance with the suggestions as to revision made above.

THE CURETONIAN SYRIAC.—Amongst the Syriac MSS. now in the British Museum brought from the Nitrian monasteries, there is one containing large portions of the four Gospels in a version differing, as to the character both of the text and of the translation, from any Syriac translation previously known. Soon after this MS. (now marked 14,451*) was placed in the library of the museum, the Rev. William Cureton observed the peculiarity of the text: the MS. was then composed of portions of two different codices; the one containing the common Peshito text, and the other the version now under consideration; the former having been used to fill up the defects of the latter. This *Curetonian* text of the Gospels in its present state contains Matthew i. to viii. 22.; from x. 31. to xxiii. 25.: of St. Mark's Gospel no part is in existence except the four last verses of the last chapter. Then in the MS. there follows St. John, of which is extant chap. i. 1—42., and from iii. 6. to vii. 37.: St. Luke begins in ii. 48. to iii. 16., then from vii. 33. to xv. 21., and from xvii. 24. to xxiv. 41. This part of the MS. concludes on fol. 87. *verso*. All these portions are written in double columns. Then the rest of the chapter in St. Luke is added in a leaf written *across* the page from the common Peshito. There are also fragments of St. John xiv. 11—29.

Biblical students are under great obligations to Mr. Cureton for having directed their attention to this version; for it shows that a Syriac translation did exist of very great antiquity, in which the readings were in far greater accordance with the oldest authorities of various kinds, than is the case in the previously known Peshito. The antiquity of the MS. is unquestionable; and as to the version it seems to have passed into oblivion before the days of any of those Syrian writers who described the translations with which they were acquainted. Mr. Cureton, in 1848, prepared an edition of this Syriac MS.; the whole of the text was then printed; but the publication

has long been delayed, as it was his desire that it should not appear without an accompanying English version. Mr. Cureton's kindness, however, has enabled more than one Biblical student to use copies of the magnificent edition which he has prepared for publication.

As specimens of the readings of this version (besides those which will be found in a subsequent chapter, in which the use and application of critical authorities will be discussed) reference may be made to those cited in the chapters "On an Estimate of Authorities in accordance with Comparative Criticism" in the writer's "Account of the Printed Greek Text" (p. 132—151.). And though the subject there under discussion is MSS. especially, yet there are certain principles which hold good in such an examination, when other authorities are considered. It was there said, "comparative criticism admits of a three-fold application — to MSS., versions, and fathers. The same process which I have used with respect to MSS. will, when applied to versions, show how different is the general character of the old Latin, the Vulgate, the Curetonian Syriac, and others, from that of the Harclean Syriac, or the rewrought Latin of the Codex Brixianus . . . . and thus we obtain a three-fold cord of credible testimony [MSS., versions, and fathers]; — not, be it remembered, that of witnesses arbitrarily assumed to be trustworthy, because of real or supposed antiquity, but of those valued because their internal character has been vindicated on grounds of simple induction of facts." (p. 150.).

This version has as yet received but little of that critical examination which it well deserves, not only on account of its value as a witness to the ancient text of the Greek at the time when it was executed, but also as to its linguistic character and its relation to the previously known Peshito. While *Comparative Criticism* shows the antiquity of the text of this document, it requires but a superficial examination to show that it possesses some remarkable features of its own. In several passages it bears a strong resemblance to D. (the Codex Bezæ), and that in the case of readings which were once widely diffused. Some of the amplifications found in this document are peculiar to itself, while others are common also to the old Latin and perhaps other early witnesses. In such cases, the readings, even though not genuine, are worthy of attention, as being certainly parts of the text which became current in early times, and against which early writers made their complaints. In comparing the Curetonian Syriac to D., it is not intended to imply that it bears such marks of systematic amplification and interpolation by the introduction of scholia into the text, as does that codex: in such respects it is far purer; although in such documents there is no difficulty in distinguishing between the *basis* and the additions: they are as separable as the text and the foot-notes of a printed book.

The relation of the Curetonian Syriac to the Peshito will present several points of interesting inquiry: the differences are great; and yet it happens not unfrequently that such coincidences of words and rendering are found (and that, too, at times, through a great part of a passage) as to show that they can hardly be *wholly* independent.

Probably this older form of Syriac text was known to the translator of the Peshito Gospels, and from it he took much that would suit his purpose; or else the systematic alteration of the Peshito may not only have introduced a conformity to the *transition text* of the Greek, but also to the Syriac expressions of the Curetonian Gospels. Such a point as this can only be *properly* investigated after the publication of this version shall have given a sufficient time to scholars to pursue a thorough investigation.

In examining the Curetonian Syriac by itself, it is clear that there are linguistic differences in the different Gospels: that of St. Matthew appears in such respects to vary from the others. Points of this kind belong to the field of observation which falls properly under Mr. Cureton's attention.

The MS. appears to be written with general care and accuracy: in Matt. xxiii. 18. a line is omitted by the scribe δι' ὁμοιοτέλευτον. The portions into which the text is divided may perhaps suggest something relative to the early formation of sections of the Gospels in Syria. There seems to be nothing which indicates that the MS. was intended for ecclesiastical use: had it not been defective at the end we might have known more respecting the version, since it is from the Colophon that we learn much of what we know as to some of the other Syriac translations.

We need not be surprised that no information had previously come down to us as to the existence of such a translation: the Syriac writers who speak of the versions into that tongue lived at too late a period to give contemporary information; and if this text of the Gospels had then long fallen into disuse, it could not be supposed that its existence would be within the range of their knowledge. The Jerusalem Syriac Lectionary (see a subsequent chapter) was wholly unknown till Adler brought it into notice from amongst the secluded treasures of the Vatican Library: it is therefore no cause for just surprise that the Curetonian Syriac has hitherto been equally unnoticed.

It is more a subject of desire than of expectation on the part of Biblical scholars, that further discoveries of Syriac MSS. might bring to light another copy of this version, from which the deficiencies might be supplied of the one which we happily possess.

CHAP. XXV.

THE PHILOXENIAN SYRIAC VERSION, AND ITS REVISION BY THOMAS OF HARKEL.

THE Syriac writer Moses Aghelæus (about A. D. 550) made a translation of the *Glaphyra* of Cyril of Alexandria into that language. In an epistle which he prefixed he mentions the translation of the New Testament into Syriac, which had been then made in a comparatively recent period, and to which he referred in connection with

the manner in which he rendered the New Testament citations occurring in the Glaphyra. He requests the reader not to be surprised at variety of rendering in the Scripture passages from that to which he might have been accustomed; for the differences were great in the versions of the Scriptures themselves, as might (he said) be seen in the versions of the New Testament and the Psalter, "which Polycarp (rest his soul!) the Chorepiscopus made in Syriac for the faithful Xenaias of Mabug the teacher, worthy of the memory of the good."

ܗܟܦܠ ܒܫܡܐ ܕܟܪ ܦܘܠܝܩܪܦ ܥܒܕ ܫܦܪ
ܚܒܝܒܐ ܠܟܢܢܝܐ ܕܡܒܘܓ ܒܝܬ ܡܕܪܫܢܐ ܡܗܝܡܢܐ
ܐܝܣܝܢܝ ܐܦܣܩܘܦܐ [1]

This Xenaias or Philoxenus, for whom the Syriac version in question was made, was bishop of Mabug or Hierapolis from 488 to 518. He was much mixed up with the ecclesiastical disputes of that unhappy age; so much so, that it has been well supposed that he could not have himself found time or leisure for such a work.

We know with peculiar exactitude when this translation was made. Thomas of Harkel, who revised it in the following century, has left his note of time that it was done in the year of the Greeks 819, which answers to A. D. 508. It was through the influence of Peter the Fuller, who had himself obtained the patriarchal chair of Antioch, that Philoxenus, who was one of his party, obtained the episcopal see of Hierapolis or Mabug. Peter the Fuller and Philoxenus, though of the Monophysite body, so far differed from the doctrinal zealots of their sect, that they held what was considered a moderated view, and thus they subscribed the *Henoticon* promulgated by the Emperor Zeno. From that time, therefore, they could hardly be considered as upholding the Monophysite sect, even if it were not that doctrinal distinctions were often in those painful contentions the mere cloak under which party-spirit and personal ambition concealed themselves.

[1] Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis, ii. p. 83. Professor Lee complained, and not without some reason, of the obscurity of the Syriac of Moses Aghelæus, and also of the Latin translation given by Assemani. However, his own suggestion (Bagster's Prolegomena, p. 38.) that the name of *Polycarp* should be altogether excluded from the passage, and that by a conjecture *Philoxenus* (the other name of Xenaias, ܐܝܣܝܢܝ) should be substituted, is quite groundless. He says, "Error est, ni valde fallor in lectione ܦܘܠܝܩܪܦ *Polycarpus*, pro ܦܝܠܘܟܣܢܘܣ *Philoxenus*, a librario oscitanti positâ . . . . Nemo de versione hujus Polycarpi ne γρὺ quidem adhuc audivit, neque si quid video, postea audiet." Lee's boldness of conjecture seems to have commended itself to none who have discussed the Syriac versions. That we do not elsewhere hear of this Polycarp is no objection to our receiving the statement of Moses Aghelæus as it stands. This writer is designated from ܐܓܠ, Aghel in Mesopotamia; he is miscalled Moses Aphekäus in the fourth edition (1847) of Hug's Einleitung, p. 343., and by those who have copied from the statement there given. This, like various other inaccuracies in the posthumous edition of Hug, must not be at all attributed to himself.

The ecclesiastical or doctrinal position of Philoxenus is so far of importance, that it bears on the question whether this version, executed under his care, was influenced as to its origin by any dogmatic considerations. It has been thought that it might be intended to uphold Monophysite doctrine; and yet this would be in itself unlikely; for though the Monophysite party might *prefer* a various reading which seemed to support their views, and the Nestorians might uphold one which seemed to be of an opposite tendency, yet this is something quite different from supposing that a version should be made of set purpose for the defence of particular doctrines. The only ground for justifying such an opinion (irrespective of testimony to the fact) would be that the version itself exhibited clear traces of such a purpose having been carried out. The only reason for originating such a supposition, seems to be the difficulty of assigning any sufficient grounds for such a procedure on the part of Philoxenus as the execution of this translation.

This version is not now known in the form in which Polycarp left it, but only through the revision which it afterwards received at the hands of Thomas of Harkel. Some few citations from the *Philoxenian* text, as such, which do not precisely accord with the Harclean recension, are all that we can rely on, as belonging *certainly* to the translation of Polycarp. Thus the discussions on the nature and characteristics of the version, relate properly to the work of Thomas, for we do not know how far he may have departed from the text which he revised with Greek MSS.

It has generally been stated, that in modern times the first knowledge which the scholars of Europe possessed of the existence of such a version as the later Syriac, was through the notices of the original work of Polycarp, and the revision by Thomas of Harkel, which were contained in the Bibliotheca Orientalis of Assemani: but though this has been so often stated as to show the common opinion on the subject, it must have been brought forward in ignorance of the fact that Pococke, in 1630, in the preface to his edition of the second Epistle of Peter, &c. in Syriac, gives the extract from Dionysius Barsalibæus which mentions the version of Thomas of Harkel. And though he did not know *what* version Thomas had executed, he goes on to speak of a translation of the Gospels communicated to him by a certain learned man (unnamed) which servilely followed the Greek, and thus was doubtless the Harclean text.

In 1730 Samuel Palmer sent from Diabekir, the ancient Amida, in Mesopotamia, to Dr. Gloucester Ridley, four Syriac MSS.; *two* of which contained the Harclean recension of the New Testament. One of these includes all the books (except the Apocalypse and the conclusion of the Epistle to the Hebrews); in the other (which was much mutilated) the text of the Gospels belonged to the same version[1] but in the rest of the books the text is that of the Peshito. Whether the Apocalypse ever belonged to the translation seems to be wholly

[1] The first of these MSS. he designated Codex Heracleensis (*Harclensis* would have been more suitable); the other he called Codex Barsalibæi, from the marginal notes, &c., which proceeded from Dionysius Barsalibæus, bishop of Amida, in the twelfth century.

uncertain; for though other MSS. of the *Gospels* have come to light, none except that of Ridley seems to be known which embraces any other of the books.

The Gospels in the MSS. of this version are ended by a subscription, stating that Thomas of Harkel revised the version in the year of the Greeks 927 (*i. e.* A. D. 616) at Alexandria with three (or as in some MSS. two) Greek copies. At the end of the Catholic Epistles is a similar note (referring however to but *one* Greek copy) in Ridley's MS. The Epistles of St. Paul being defective at the end, we are left without *positive* proof that such a note was there also; which, however, from analogy, we may judge was once the case.

This Thomas, the reviser of the version, is called Harclensis from ܗܪܩܠ, a town or village (in Palestine?); probably his birthplace, now unknown. He was bishop of Mabug or Hierapolis, and one of the adherents of the Monophysite party amongst the Syrians. This Thomas has been confounded with an elder Thomas (bishop of Germanicia) in the preceding century; and thus Michaelis supposed that the elder Thomas had been the reviser of this version, which he therefore thought was done almost immediately after it was executed. But this is a groundless theory: the date in the subscription of the MSS., and that which Gregory Bar Hebræus assigns to Thomas of Harkel are in precise accordance. The subject requires to be mentioned here, because of the theory of Michaelis (which has even introduced the opinion that there were *two* revisions by *two* Thomases), and because, in a critical estimate, there is need to inquire whether the Harclean recension, as we have it, was a work of the beginning of the sixth or of the following century. The latter is certainly the true date.

The recension, as we have it now, requires description. The text in various places has obeli and asterisks introduced, with a mark to indicate how far the force of each of these is to extend. In the margin there are readings introduced, differing (at times widely) from those in the text. Occasionally in the margin Greek MSS. (one, two, or three) are distinctly cited, and Greek words are also given at times. It has thus, in its revised form, a thoroughly critical appearance. In examining the character of the readings noted in the margin, and comparing them with the text, it will be seen that the former have what may be deemed a much more *Alexandrian* character; while the latter are more what would have been expected in the sixth century. This suggests that the text and margin cannot have sprung from the same critical care, and that in the one there is the work of the translator, using MSS. which approximated to the Greek text current in later times, and the other that of the reviser who, as we know, carried on his work at Alexandria, where MSS. of another kind might well have been long current.

The asterisks and obeli show points of similarity to the Syriac version of the Old Testament made from the Hexaplar text of the LXX. as revised by Origen. As that translation employs those marks, borrowed from the Greek text, to indicate variations from the Hebrew, so too here, they seem to be used in a similar manner;

they thus point out respectively additions, and words which are marked as if they should be omitted. It looks, therefore, as if in revising, additions had been introduced marked with an asterisk, and that whatever was or was deemed redundant was marked with an obelus.

The Syriac version of the Old Testament from the Hexaplar text of the LXX. was executed at the same period as the recension of the Philoxenian version of the New by Thomas, and at the same place, as appears from the subscriptions appended to some of the books. The translator is there called *Paul*, but with him is associated the name of Mar *Thoma*, a deacon of the patriarch Mar Athanasius: the date is the year of the Greeks 928, *i. e.* A. D. 617.[1] This may be the same as Thomas of Harkel; the name, locality, date, and kind of occupation all agree; and his recension of the Gospels was completed in the preceding year. In that case he could not have become bishop of Mabug until a later period.

It has been questioned whether these critical marks in the text proceeded wholly from Thomas (to whom the marginal notes must be ascribed), or whether they were in part the work of Polycarp himself. There exists a MS. at Florence in the Medicæan Library containing the Gospels of this version with the asterisks and obeli, but without the marginal notes or the subscription of Thomas. This has been relied on as a proof that the asterisks and obeli proceeded from Polycarp himself; but that the marginal notes were the work of Thomas. This, however, is by no means decisive; for it seems difficult to know why Polycarp should have thus marked his own work, noting what ought to be omitted, and what was afterwards added. So far as any proof is given as yet, there seems to be no reason for supposing that these additions proceeded from any but a reviser; and the only reviser of whom we know is Thomas. In after times discrepancies may have arisen from the mistakes of copyists as to these marks; and some may have retained more of these in their transcripts than was done by others, so that the Florentine MS. may have sprung from one who retained these distinctions in part.

It has also been questioned whether the asterisks and obeli refer to the Peshito text or to Greek MSS. The former opinion is not consistently maintainable; for very often there are readings thus noted, where the Peshito is very different. That they *never* refer to that version is more than could be confidently affirmed in the absence of all actual evidence: in *some* places it is all but certain that they do. Such references *might* have proceeded from Polycarp himself, but some of these are clearly the work of Thomas. In reading the version itself, it shows that it is characterised by a kind of scrupulous literality, and that the propriety of Syriac idiom is constantly sacrificed so as to follow that of the Greek. That the Peshito was employed by the translator is clear from the frequent recurrence of the same words in the same passages: it is thus hardly too much to say of it, with Dr. Davidson, that it "was based upon the old Syriac."

[1] See Middeldorpf's "Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris," p. 65.; and for the translation of the Syriac subscription, p. 466.

The language is as much conformed to the Greek as would have been the case if it had been a version interlined with the Greek, word for word, particle for particle; possessive pronouns are expressed by separate words in the Greek order (instead of employing suffixes); pronouns are used to imitate the Greek article; and even at times Greek etymologies are expressed. The orthography of proper names, in which the Peshito follows the genuine Oriental form, is here set aside in order to adapt them to the Greek; and even at times the Greek case terminations have been preserved. By comparing this version with an interlineary translation, in which the only object was to show the character of the language *translated from*, and all its peculiarities in the same order, its nature may be the better understood. A very small quantity of evidence would be enough to convince that the version must have thus *originated*.

But it may be doubted whether this scrupulous and slavish literality must be ascribed to Polycarp or to Thomas; for as a *version* it could hardly be used intelligibly in its present state: it might have been a valuable aid to Syrians in learning Greek, but Syriac phraseology is quite set aside. Perhaps the translation of Polycarp was as literal as it could be consistently with intelligibility; and this was selected on that account by Thomas for his revision; and then one part of his work may have been to bring the words into their present order in accordance with his Greek copies. The work thus executed might have been useful to Syrians, even if they were not learning Greek, as it showed them every point of the original.

Thomas of Harkel, in the subscription to the Gospels as revised by him, says, "ܗܢܐ ܗܘ ܕܐܝܢ ܕܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ *This* is the book of the four Gospels, ܕܐܬܦܫܩ which was *interpreted* from the Greek tongue into Syriac, with much care and labour, ܒܡܒܘܓ *formerly* in the city of Mabug, in the year of Alexander of Macedon 819, in the days of the holy confessor Philoxenus, bishop of that city. ܘܗܘ ܐܬܦܫܩ ܘܐܬܩܢ ܒܝ But it was afterwards compared (or corrected) with much care by me, poor Thomas, with two Greek exemplars," &c. In this statement the *version* made by direction of Philoxenus is identified with that which Thomas revised, so that we should not expect to find them regarded as distinct translations.

Bernstein, however[1], has relied on expressions of Gregorius Bar Hebræus (also called Abulpharagius), a Syriac writer in the thirteenth century, by which he considers that we must look on the Harclean as a distinct version from the Philoxenian. Bar Hebræus speaks in the preface to his *Thesaurus Arcanorum* of the Peshito version, and then of the Philoxenian, adding, as to the New Testament, ܘܐܬܦܫܩ ܠܗ ܬܠܬ ܙܒܢ "and it was compared (or corrected) *the third time* at Alexandria by the labour of Thomas of Harkel

[1] De Charklensi Novi Testamenti translatione Syriaca commentatio. Scripsit .... Georgius Henricus Bernstein. Vratislaviæ, 1837.

. . . . "[1] Bernstein rests on the expression "the *third* time," as though it implied that the Harclean was a version, coördinate with the Peshito and Philoxenian; he also translates the words, "et redditum est tertio," as if they signified a *version* and not a *revision.* The word, however, is the same that is used in the subscription of Thomas, who certainly appears to take pains to *identify* the *version* on which he laboured with that of Philoxenus: "et recensitum tertio" is the rendering of the words of Bar Hebræus given by Wiseman, and this is in accordance with the subscription just mentioned. It would be too much so to rest on the expression "the third time" as though that *alone* were to show that Thomas's was a distinct version: much more probable is it that Bar Hebræus had the subscription of Thomas before either his eyes or his memory, and that as he followed it verbally in part, he substituted ܬܠܝܬܝܘܬܐ for ܬܪܝܢ, because *he* had previously mentioned *two* forms of the text, the Peshito and Philoxenian, though only one of these was spoken of by Thomas. (Certainly Bar Hebræus could have known nothing of the Curetonian Syriac.) And if Bar Hebræus used an ambiguous expression in this place, he has himself elsewhere so fully explained his meaning, that he ought not to be brought forward as a witness in opposition to the opinion that Thomas's work was a revision of the Philoxenian. He speaks in his Chronicle of Thomas of Harkel who *emended* ܕܬܪܨ the edition which Philoxenus had translated; and the Scriptures ܐܬܬܪܨܘ were *emended* by Thomas.[2]

Thus Gregorius Bar Hebræus becomes a potent witness against Bernstein's opinion, when *all* his evidence is taken into account; but even if it were not so, the statement of Thomas might be deemed of much more weight as to what he himself did, than that of a writer of the thirteenth century.

But as showing what the real Philoxenian text was, Bernstein relies on a few citations from it published by Wiseman; and as they do not precisely agree with the Harclean, he concludes that they were taken from the *true* Philoxenian, the actual work of Polycarp, in opposition to the Harclean text. But the differences in the passages are not sufficiently striking to be made the basis of an elaborate theory.[3]

Perhaps the arguments of Bernstein have been advantageous thus far, that they have led to the apprehension on the part of scholars more distinctly than was the case before, that the Philoxenian and Harclean texts are not *identical,* and that we ought to speak of the version which we possess under the latter name and not under the former. Also, that in believing Thomas to have executed a real

[1] This preface of Bar Hebræus, which was defectively given by Assemani in the Bibliotheca Orientalis (vol. ii. pp. 24. 279.) is inserted by Wiseman in his Horæ Syriacæ with a translation (p. 84—91.). Bernstein has also given it from a Bodleian MS. in his edition of Kirsch's Chrestomathia Syriaca, p. 143.

[2] Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis, ii. p. 411. Also cited by Bernstein, p. 8.

[3] See this subject discussed in Hug's Einleitung, ed. 4. p. 341, 342.; and Davidson's Biblical Criticism, ii. p. 188.

revision, that supposition is quite sufficient to account for any differences in the text which we have from the citations which were made from the older Philoxenian. How far the revision may have extended, or how far there may seem to be internal grounds for considering the work of Thomas as *at all* original, we do not possess sufficient data for determining. It may be that MSS. will yet be found which contain the unaltered Philoxenian; it may be that a careful examination of Syriac writers, whose works exist in known MSS., will supply a tolerable stock of citations from it. Meanwhile, the name of Philoxenian without some qualification will hardly be applied to the text of this version which we possess, in the manner that was freely done by Ridley, Adler, Michaelis, and others.

It was known that Gloucester Ridley had received the MSS. of this version from the East; and thus while the version was otherwise inaccessible, it was collated by Wetstein, who came to England for the purpose, occupying himself, however, in the examination for only *fourteen days*. The results of this hasty examination are given in the notes to his Greek Testament. In such a cursory examination omissions would be certain; but there are also misstatements, such as might lead to very wrong conclusions. Wetstein, however, caused the version and some of its characteristic features to be known to Biblical scholars in general.

Ridley himself, in 1761, published an account of this and the previously known Syriac version[1]: it was his intention to have edited its text; but though he had made a transcript for the purpose, he was not able to accomplish his design. The four Gospels were edited by White in 1778 at Oxford, from Ridley's MSS., placed there in the library of New College; in 1799 the Acts and Catholic Epistles also were printed; and in 1803 White completed this edition by the publication of the Pauline Epistles. The learned editor subjoined to the Syriac text a Latin version, and to each volume were appended brief notes, in which, besides other remarks, the various readings in the Gospels of Ridley's *second* MS. of this version were given.

After the publication of White's edition of the Gospels, the researches of Adler made known the readings of other MSS. of that portion of this version: his examination of the Syriac versions[2], in which the results of his collations were given together with his remarks on the character of the translation itself, forms a valuable supplement to White's edition.

In 1853 Bernstein published from a Vatican MS. the Harclean Syriac text of St. John's Gospel[3]: in this there are given from the

[1] De Syriacarum Novi Fœderis versionum indole atque usu Dissertatio, Philoxeniam cum Simplici e duobus pervetustis codd. MSS. ab Amida transmissis, conferente Glocestrio Ridley, LL.B. Also added to Semler's edition of Wetstein's "Libelli ad crisin atque interpretationem Novi Testamenti. Halæ, 1766."

[2] Novi Testamenti Versiones Syriacæ, Simplex, Philoxeniana et Hierosolymitana, denuo examinatæ . . . a J. G. C. Adler. Hafniæ, 1789.

[3] Das Heilige Evangelium des Johannes, Syrisch in Harklensischer uebersetzung mit vocalen und den punckten Kuschoi und Rucoch nach einer Vaticanischer Handschrift, nebst kritischen anmerkungen von Georg Heinrich Bernstein. Leipzig, 1853.

MS. the vowel points (which were not inserted in White's edition, not being found in Ridley's MSS.), as well as grammatical marks or diacritical points: all of these particulars were explained in a German dissertation which was annexed to the text of that Gospel. This edition has its value critically, as it gives a text for comparison with that of White. It is also worthy of remark that the MS. from which it is printed is one of those which, while containing the same text as those of White, has neither notes in the margin, nor yet asterisks and obeli in the text.

It has been already remarked that Ridley's MS. is the only one known containing any part of this version beyond the Gospels: and as that MS. is itself defective at the end (the latter part of the Hebrews being gone) we have no means of ascertaining whether the version made by Polycarp and the revision of Thomas contained the Apocalypse or not. The MS. does contain *all* the Catholic Epistles, and not merely the three comprised in the Peshito; and this is expressly mentioned with regard to it by Dionysius Barsalibæus, Bishop of Amida, in the twelfth century.

Wetstein, as has been mentioned, was the first New Testament editor who made any critical use of this version. Griesbach, in his first edition, was almost entirely dependent on Wetstein for the readings which he gave; but afterwards the edition of White and the examination of Adler enabled him and all subsequent editors to use its readings more extensively and more accurately.

The critical value of this version in the form in which it has come down to us has been in part intimated above in speaking of the marginal notes, the text, and the critical marks introduced. It supplies us with evidence of various kinds; because it was evidently made with MSS. of one class, and revised with those of another kind. The extreme literality of the version gives us great certainty as to the Greek text from which it was formed, so that in many minute points it can be employed with a kind of confidence which cannot be felt with regard to some other versions.

The value of the text in *Comparative Criticism* is, that its accordance with Greek MSS. which are *not* of the most ancient class is a good evidence how the process of change had taken effect in the East when the version was made; and thus, if in *additions, amplifications, parallel passages brought into agreement*, and such points, this version stands opposed to the generality of those that are more ancient, it intimates very plainly that the work of change must have taken effect on the MSS. which in these points agree with it. It is thus a very certain monument of the deterioration which the Greek text received, as is described above, when its *history* is specially considered.

The *margin* is a witness of a different kind; for the notes there made are good proof that Thomas must have found MSS. of an early class at Alexandria: the accordance of these readings with other good authorities has considerable weight.

One feature in the margin must not be overlooked — the large additions to the text of the book of Acts. So many of these agree

with the Codex Bezæ, that Wetstein thought that *that* copy must have been used in the revision. There is no need to suppose this: all that is clear is, that such interpolations were current in some documents in ancient times.

If this version is cited simply, the *text* is meant: the *margin*, or a reading condemned with an *obelus*, or supplied with an *asterisk*, has always to be specified as such.

Some readings may be cited from this version, but without any *authority* attaching to them on that account, because they may be considered to have been retained from the Peshito.

CHAP. XXVI.

THE SYRIAC VERSIONS OF PORTIONS ADDED TO SOME EDITIONS OF THE PESHITO.

UNDER this head have to be considered: —

I. A version of the second Epistle of Peter, the second and third of John, and that of Jude.

II. The Syriac version of the Apocalypse.

III. A Syriac version of the narrative contained in John viii. 1—11.

I. It has been remarked above that the Peshito, as originally edited and as found in the known MSS., contains only three of the Catholic Epistles, and that the same thing was specified by Cosmas Indicopleustes in the sixth century.

In 1630 there was published at Leyden, by the distinguished English scholar Edward Pococke, a Syriac translation of these four Epistles, taken from a MS. in the Bodleian.[1] In this edition the text is given both in Syriac and Hebrew characters, and at the foot of the page are the original Greek text, and a Latin version of the Syriac.[2] The editor's annotations occupy the end of the volume.

The preface informs us that the MS. in the Bodleian which the editor employed contained the Acts and other Catholic Epistles, together with those introduced in the usual order. Pococke was unable to say when the version was made, or by whom; only he found that a certain *Dionysius*, who had commented in Syriac on the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, and the Apocalypse, stated, with regard to the second Epistle of Peter, that it was not translated into Syriac with the books which were rendered in ancient times; and that thus

[1] "Probably that which is now marked in the Bodleian Library A. 2909. 126., and described by Uri in his Catalogue of the Bodleian MSS. p. 5. No. 19. among the Syriac MSS.; for this is the only Syriac MS. in the Bodleian Library which corresponds to Pococke's description." Marsh, Notes to Michaelis, ii. 543.

[2] In all these particulars the plan and form of De Dieu's edition of the Apocalypse, which had appeared three years before, also at Leyden, was closely followed. This edition by De Dieu will be presently described.

they were not found except in the translation of Thomas the bishop, called Harclensis, from Harkel, the name of his city.

Pococke gives the Syriac citation from the commentary (in MS.) of this writer; and we know now that he was Dionysius Barsalibæus, bishop of Amida in the twelfth century.[1] But in the extracts from the text which Dionysius introduced into his commentary, it seemed as though his version was not identical with that which was contained in the Bodleian MS. All these extracts were carefully gathered by Pococke from the MS. of Dionysius, and were mentioned in the notes to his volume.

As Dionysius Barsalibæus knew only the Harclean version of these four Epistles, his citations might be supposed to be taken from it; and this is found to be the case when they are compared with White's edition of Ridley's MS. Of the age or history of Pococke's version, we have, it appears, no extrinsic testimony at all.

When, however, the text of Pococke and the Harclean are closely compared, a strong degree of resemblance is seen to exist, and that to such a degree that they can hardly be regarded as independent versions. The verbal resemblances and the coincidences in peculiar expressions render such a thought almost impossible.

Dr. Davidson says, "In words they agree so often that the verbal diversity is the exception rather than the rule. They deviate from each other only in that which the reviser of a particular version would look upon as an improvement. The text of White adheres to the Greek words more slavishly than that of Pococke, which was doubtless reckoned a great excellence in the fifth [read *seventh*] century. Hence the suggestion naturally arises that the former may possibly have been but the revised edition of an earlier Syrian translation, in which the chief object was to remove everything supposed not to represent the original accurately. Accordingly we suppose that the text of White was the Philoxenian revised by Thomas of Harkel [which *we know* to have been the case], and made more literal; while that of Pococke was the same Philoxenian *before* its alteration by Thomas."[2]

This hypothesis has, at least, the merit of meeting the facts of the case, so as to account for them; and it is only in some such way that the resemblance can be explained. It cannot be supposed that the text of Pococke was a version which had any relation in date or character to the Peshito; and if in it and in the Harclean form of the same translation there is less ability shown in apprehending the purport of Greek words than could have been expected from a translator of the whole of the New Testament, it must be borne in mind that *here* he had not the aid of the Peshito to direct him.

After the text of Pococke had appeared, it was not long before these Epistles were incorporated in the printed editions of the Peshito, a version with which they have really nothing to do. This insertion was first made in the Paris Polyglott, and the example has been

[1] See Assemani, Bibliotheca Orientalis, vol. ii. p. 157.
[2] Biblical Criticism, ii. 196.

followed by subsequent editors, who, like the ancient copyists, were fond of having books as complete and *ample* as possible. The valuable notes of Pococke have, of course, not been retained in the various reprints: the consequence is, that but little attention has been paid to the true relation of his edition to the MS. on which it is based, or to the readings cited from the MS. of Dionysius.

The ancient Greek MSS. of the Catholic Epistles are so few, that this version, and the revision of it made by Thomas with a Greek MS. of good character (and ancient in text at that date), has a *critical* value which otherwise could hardly belong to it. Thomas seems to have had the *same* Greek codex in the Catholic Epistles which he employed in the *Acts*, and there we know its remarkable resemblance to the Codex Bezæ.

II. The Syriac Version of the Apocalypse. — In 1627 Lewis de Dieu published at Leyden a Syriac version of the book of Revelation from a MS. in the library of the university of that place, which had formerly belonged to Joseph Scaliger. The form and arrangement of the text thus printed is the same as that of Pococke's Epistles, just described, which were edited in imitation of this volume.

The codex from which De Dieu took his text is now No. 18. amongst Scaliger's MSS. at Leyden. It is written on thickish glazed paper, of a small size; the ink is black and distinct, though the corrections in the margin are of a much fainter colour. It is carelessly written, and when the present writer examined it at Leyden it seemed to have altogether a modern appearance. In a subscription the copyist calls himself ܟܣܦܪ ܡܢ ܐܪܥܐ ܕܗܢܕܘ̈ܝܐ *Caspar from the land of the Indians.* De Dieu edited this subscription, mistaking apparently the Dolath ܕ in the last word for Rish ܪ (and this he might most easily do, as the *puncta pluralia* which might take the place of the upper dot of ܪ are very plain, and the lower dot of the ܕ is a good way below and not very conspicuous); and thus he translated it, "Orate pro eo qui scripsit Casparo ex regione Hanravitarum." Marsh shows[1] from a Syriac Liturgy in the library of the Orphan-House at Halle, written by this same person, where he was and where he lived. The Latin title says that the book was copied by Gaspar, an Indian of Malabar, at Rome, in 1580.[2] There is also a MS. at Florence, in the library of the Dominican Monastery of St. Mark, containing the same version of the Apocalypse in Syriac, also transcribed by this same Caspar in the year 1582.

To whom is this version to be ascribed? Assemani supposes that it was made in the sixth century by Mar Abba, the patriarch of the

[1] Notes to Michaelis, ii. p. 560.

[2] "Ordo baptizandi juxta ritum Chaldæorum lingua Chaldaica, jussu Ill^mi, et Rev^mi D. Julii Antonii Sanctorii tituli S^ti Bartholomæi in insula S. R. E. Presbyteri Card^lis descriptus per Gaspar de Malavar Indum, servum olim deinde familiarem et diaconum Rev^mi D. Haaman Ignatii, olim Patriarchæ Jacobitarum, unum ex præceptoribus linguæ Chaldææ et Arabicæ in Collegio Neophytorum. Romæ, mense Julii, M.D.LXXX."

east.[1] But this opinion seems to be a mere conjecture; and such a version is not given in the list of his works.

Others suppose that this is part of the Harclean recension of the Philoxenian version. Dr. Davidson says, "Its internal character agrees with the Philoxenian as revised by Thomas. . . . . In minute peculiarities it coincides with the Philoxenian. Thus it frequently admits Greek words, imitates the Greek text in the representation of the article itself, chooses the same Syriac words as in other parts for the same Greek words. . . . . There are, it is true, some exceptions to the rule that the same words and phrases are similarly rendered in the Philoxenian and this of the Apocalypse, but they do not invalidate the general principle."[2]

Adler however says, "A genio Philoxenianæ versionis tantidem differt, quantum a simplice. Accusativum quidem, ut Philoxenus, per ܠ præfixum exprimit, sed tot Græcis verbis civitatem vel potius peregrinitatem non dedit, voces vel phrases origine Syriacas Syriace reddidit, nulla superflua explicatione addita: ut c. i. 8. conf. vers. Philox. Matt. xxvii. 46., Marci v. 41., xiv. 36. al. verba composita non expressit, ut *συγκοινωνος* c. i. 9. ܒܥܠܐ, conf. Philox. *συλλυπουμενος*, Marci iii. 5. *εκφοβοι* ix. 6. et alia multa; *nomina propria more Syrorum, non ad Græcorum pronunciationem scripsit;* verbo, litteris non tam anxie inhæsit quam Philoxenus. Statuimus, hanc Apocalypsos versionem ab alio quidem, quam versio Syriaca vulgata Evangeliorum, factam esse, *sed Philoxenum auctorem non agnoscere.*"[3]

We are, indeed, informed that the Florence MS. has a subscription affirming that it was copied from the autograph of Thomas of Harkel, with the date of A. D. 622. We do not, however, know what authority the copyist had for the assertion; and even if it were all in good faith, it must be supposed to have been *copied* from some older transcript, and thus to have been mistakenly transferred to the copy made by Caspar. But how little such a subscription taken *alone* will weigh may be seen from the fact that the real subscription of Thomas to the Gospels revised by him has been subjoined to the Peshito in some MSS. The date A. D. 622 is, however, worthy of notice, for this is identical with that given in Ridley's MS. to the translation of John viii. 1—11. (See below.)[4]

The present writer accords in general with the judgment expressed by Adler as to this version: it seems as if the translator had known the recension of Thomas and had tried to imitate it, but that it differs in characteristic features. It is possibly not really an ancient work; though of course its age is wholly uncertain; and its internal

[1] "Apocalypsim Joannis . . . . Gaspar Indus Nestorianus ex versione Marabæ, ut videtur, descriptam nobis conservavit." Bibloth. Orient. vol. iii. pt. 2. p. ccxxxvii. Assemani seems to have known but little of Gaspar, or he could not have called him a *Nestorian.*

[2] Biblical Criticism, ii. 194.

[3] N. T. Versiones Syriacæ, &c. 78, 79.

[4] See Adler, p. 77. Ridley says of this Florentine MS. of the Apocalypse, "Codex anno 1582 Romæ descriptus ab autographo pervetusto ab ipso, ut perhibetur, Thoma Heracleensi exarato, anno 622." (Dissertatio, § xii.)

character and the nature of its text, as well as the want of all external credentials, place it indefinitely low as to critical value.

If this version really proceeded from Thomas, it must show that he had only his own ability to guide him in making the translation; and this *may* suffice to account for all the differences between this version and his revision of the Philoxenian text. The points in which this varies from the known work of Thomas may have been characteristic of the mode of translating adopted by Polycarp.

It appears from De Dieu that Archbishop Usher sent him a Syriac MS. containing *all* that is deficient in the Peshito: if that copy could be now found, its value would be considerable, for it would show *what* text of the Apocalypse was placed by Syrians with the other books.

From the edition of De Dieu, this Syriac version of the Apocalypse was, like the Epistles of Pococke, transferred to the Paris Polyglott, and thence to the subsequent Syriac editions.

III. The Syriac Version of the narrative containing John viii. 1—11.—In 1631 De Dieu published his Animadversiones in quatuor Evangelia, in which he inserted a Syriac version of the history of the woman taken in adultery, which is not found in the Peshito, and which does not belong properly to the Philoxenian version or Harclean recension. De Dieu thus introduces the narrative, saying of the Syriac version previously printed, "ubi non hæc tantum historia, sed et secunda Epistola Petri, secunda ac tertia Johannis, Epistola Judæ, et Apocalypsis desunt. Quæ *omnia* ex luculenta sua et orientalibus libris instructissima bibliotheca amplissimus præsul Jacobus Usserius Archiepiscopus Armachanus nuper admodum ad nos misit. Ibi hæc historia sic habet." Then the Syriac passage is given with a Syriac note at the beginning, "The lesson concerning the sinful woman which is not in the Peshito."

From De Dieu the passage was inserted in Walton's Polyglott, with a reference to Usher's MS.; and thence, sometimes with and sometimes without a mark of distinction, it has been transferred to other editions.[1]

In Ridley's Codex Barsalibæi, the section was found; and out of this MS. it is printed in White's edition, at the end of St. John's Gospel, as not being a part of the Philoxenian or Harclean text. In this MS. it is noted as not being part of the Philoxenian version, and attributed to *Maras*, who is said to have translated it A. D. 622.[2]

In a MS. of the Harclean text at Paris, this same passage was found by Adler, with the annotation subjoined. "This ܣܘܢܬܐܟܣܝܣ (*i. e.* *συνταξις*) does not occur in all copies: Abbas Mar Paul found

[1] Marsh speaks of this passage as though it had *first* appeared in Walton's Polyglott;—and this seems to be rather a current opinion, overlooking the edition of De Dieu. See notes to Michaelis, ii. 544, 545.

[2] "Lucam sequitur Johannes [sc. in codice Barsalibæi] in quo legitur historia adulteræ a *Marâ* conversa anno Domini DXXII°." Ridley, § XIII. Marsh incorrectly says, "the translation being ascribed in Ridley's Codex Barsalibæi to Mar Abba" (ii. 545.); and this statement has been repeated from him.

it and interpreted it into Syriac as it is written here in the Gospel of John."[1]

These three copies agree in their general text, so as to show that the translation is the same, whoever may have been the translator.

A Syriac version of this passage is mentioned by Barsalibæus, and by him cited out of Maras, bishop of Amida, *through* the chronicle of Zacharias of ܡܝܬܠܝܢܐ Meletina. This text, as cited by Barsalibæus, seems to differ altogether from that published by De Dieu, White, and Adler. The fragment given by Assemani shows this, and that it was introduced as a *separate* narration.

ܘܗܘܐ ܒܚܕ ܒܝܘܡܐ ܟܕ ܝܫܘܥ ܡܠܦ ܐܬܝܗܒܘ ܠܗ ܣܦܪܐ ܘܦܪܝܫܐ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܐܬܬܦܣܬ ܡܢ ܙܢܝܘܬܐ ܘܐܬܬܟܫܝܬ ܠܗ ܐܝܟ ܕܟܬܝܒ ܗܪ ܒܐܘܢܓܠܝܘܢ ܕܝܘܚܢܢ

Et factum est quadam die, quum Jesus doceret, obtulerunt ei Scribæ et Pharisæi mulierem quandam quæ ex adulterio concepisse deprehensa fuerat, &c.[2]

The contradictory accounts as to the person by whom this passage was translated into Syriac may in part arise from there having been *different* versions in circulation, though for many years none of them was attached to a copy of the Gospels. The statement of Ridley's MS. that Maras was the translator of the text *there* given is contradicted, 1st, by the *date*, which is a century after the time of that bishop of Amida, and, 2nd, by the text of the fragment which has been printed of his version. Some confusion probably arose from Maras having been the translator of the *other* text of this passage. Both he and Zacharias, *through* whom Barsalibæus cited it, lived in the former part of the preceding century[3], and to the account of Zacharias no reasonable exception can, it seems, be made. This might have been executed by Maras in order to *complete* the Philoxenian version then recent; while that of the year 622 might have borne the same relation to the Harclean text. It is at least worthy of remark that this date is the same as that given in the subscription to the Florentine copy of the Syriac Apocalypse.

The Paul spoken of in the Paris MS. as the translator, seems to be the same as Paul of Tela mentioned by Bar Hebræus[4]: this also appears to be the Paul who translated the Old Testament into Syriac from the Hexaplar text of the LXX., as stated in a subscription in a codex of the last book of Kings at Paris; whose date is there given 928, *i. e.* A. D. 617.[5]

[1] Adler, p. 57.

[2] Assemani Bibliotheca Orientalis, ii. 53. He says of the whole version of the passage, "Quæ quidem Marœ versio discrepat ab ea, quam edidit Waltonus ex Codice Bibliothecæ Usserii in Polyglottis, et F. Naironus in Testamento Novo impresso Romæ Typis Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide anno 1703; ut conferenti utramque liquet." It is to be regretted that Assemani did not cite more of the version itself than what is given above. The MS. from which it is taken is Codex Clementino-Vaticanus Syr. 16. fol. 286.

[3] See Biblioth. Orient. ii. 54.

[4] Biblioth. Orient. ii. 48. Paulus Callinicensis was too early by a whole century.

[5] See Middeldorpf's "Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris," &c. Breslau, 1835, p. 65.; and for the translation of this subscription, p. 466.

If the MS. which De Dieu received from Archbishop Usher could be traced and discovered, it would be of considerable value in relation to the question of the authorship of the supplementary parts of the Syriac version; as it seems to be the *only* copy of which we have any knowledge which contains *every part* of the New Testament in Syriac. The character of its general contents seems to have attracted but little critical notice; though some inquiry has been made for it, in relation to *this passage* only. Marsh speaks of it as not to be found amongst Usher's MSS.[1]; but he does not seem to have known, and others have not pointed out in correction, that the MS. itself had been sent as a present to L. de Dieu.[2] Where it was deposited after the death of that scholar in 1642 is worthy of inquiry: few MSS. in that age were intentionally destroyed.

CHAP. XXVII.

THE JERUSALEM SYRIAC VERSION.

A LECTIONARY in the Vatican library at Rome contains a Syriac version differing from all those which have been previously mentioned. We are indebted to Adler for almost all that we know respecting it; for though it was pretty fully described in the catalogue of the MSS. in the Vatican commenced by Steph. Evodius Assemani in 1756, this was of but little use; for so few copies of the part of that work which was printed escaped destruction by fire, that the catalogue was virtually, and for all practical purposes, unpublished.

One of the copies of the Vatican catalogue is in the library of the Royal University of Copenhagen, and this was well studied by Adler before he set out on the journey for the purpose of collecting materials for sacred criticism, on which he was sent, at the same time as Birch and Moldenhauer, at the expense of Christian VII. king of Denmark. On his return, Adler drew *public* attention to this MS. in his Biblico-Critical Travels, 1783. Many of its readings were communicated to Birch, which appeared in 1788 in his edition of the Gospels. In 1789, Adler's own interesting and useful examination of the Syriac versions was published; in which the account of this translation is the most important part.

Adler, therefore, is the authority to whom the reader who wishes minute particulars respecting this text of the Gospels is referred.

[1] "Since that time [the publication of Walton's Polygott], no one has ever heard of this MS. of Abp. Usher, nor is it enumerated in the Catalogue of Usher's MSS. printed in the Catalogi MStorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collecti. Tom. ii. p. II. p. 16—48." (Marsh's Michaelis, ii. 545.)

[2] In 1634 De Dieu dedicated his *Animadversiones in Acta Apostolorum* to Abp. Usher. He mentions that *five* years previously (1629) Usher had sent him a copy of the Samaritan Pentateuch; and then adds "Quod quidem, initium tantum tuæ erat beneficentiæ, latius se in posterum diffusuræ: biennio enim fere post (*i. e.* 1631), codicem egregio charactere Syro exaratum, qui omnia N. T. Syriaci, quæ in prioribus deerant editionibus, ac præterea prolixum Ephremi de amore Sapientiæ tractatum contineret mittis," &c.

The following brief account is formed from a comparison of Assemani's description in the Vatican catalogue, and that of Adler, made by the present writer with the MS. itself in the Vatican library.

The MS. is numbered XIX. amongst the Syriac codices of the Vatican library. It is on thickish vellum, consisting of 196 leaves of quarto form; the writing is in two columns, the letters are inelegantly formed, and many of the diacritic points, &c. are later additions. The subscription states that the MS. was written at Antioch in the year of the Greeks 1341, *i. e.* A. D. 1031.

Assemani supposed that the first six leaves, which show traces of Greek writing buried beneath the Syriac, proceeded from another hand; this, however, Adler denied: "In omnibus enim idem character, eademque formandarum litterarum ratio obtinet."[1] A close examination of the MS. causes me to confirm the judgment of Assemani: the writing is certainly different in these leaves from what is found in the rest of the volume.

Adler gives a facsimile of one page, containing Matt. xxvii. 12—22. (fol. 131. in the MS.). He omits in this the diacritic marks, regarding them, from the different colour of the ink, as no part of what the copyist intended to give. It may, however, be remarked that the Syrian scribes not unfrequently added all the punctuation *after* the letters of a MS. had been finished; so that these points may probably be a part of what was needed originally for the completeness of the copy. The facsimile gives a tolerable general notion of the writing of the MS.; but it is not nearly so good as most of those engraved for Adler.

The portions of the Gospels follow the order of the festivals on which they were read. Adler gives a list of what the MS. contains and what parts of each Gospel are wanting, whether as not included in the ecclesiastical order of reading, or as now defective in the MS. Sections occur of course more than once, just as is the case in the Greek Lectionaries, when the same parts were read on more than one Sunday or festival.

The dialect of this version is peculiar; it abounds in what may be deemed barbarisms; foreign words written in Syriac letters, and words which are altogether obscure. It was in many respects thought to resemble the dialect of the Jerusalem Targum, and hence by the united suffrage of Adler and Michaelis, it has been called the *Versio Syro-Hierosolymitana*, or, as we term it, the Jerusalem Syriac. The propriety of this name has been disputed; but it is probably just as correct for this Lectionary as it is for that Targum with which it has been compared (which belongs to the school of Tiberias). Had it been designated from Antioch where it was written, or from *Adler* by whom it was critically described, no discussion need have arisen.

In grammatical points the Syriac of this version has some peculiarities. Thus, the affix of the third person for plural nouns is commonly written in the Chaldee manner, ـــو—, instead of ـــون—. The *status emphaticus* of plural nouns ends in ـــא— (*aia*), instead of

[1] Versiones Syriacæ, p. 137.

the contracted form ܐ (ê). The greatest peculiarity seems to be that the third person singular of the future takes the præformative *Yud* instead of *Nun:* this is so nearly the turning point between Syriac and Chaldee, as almost to compel us to give the latter name to this dialect.

One peculiarity more may be noticed here; — there are distinct characters used for F and P: the Syriac ܦ is employed for the former; while the latter is denoted by the same character written the other way.

Lists of the Chaldee words found in this Lectionary, and other particulars of the same kind, are given with great minuteness by Adler. All such points being considered, it appears that the dialect is *very* corrupt, and that whatever be the origin, history, or use of the Lectionary in question, it never could have been employed by any *educated* portion of the Syrians, or by any intelligent community amongst them, in any age.

For *critical* purposes, however, the value of a version must not be measured by any mere linguistic considerations; its value is according to what evidence it gives as to the *original* text from which it is taken. And here a far higher rank must be assigned to the Jerusalem Syriac; for its readings are in very many passages, and some of them places of difficulty, in accordance with the oldest and best authorities of other kinds. When, however, the same lesson occurs more than once, it does not always follow that it is read again in the same words: in this it agrees with the Greek Lectionaries, which are equally inconsistent. (See above, p. 221.)

With the exception of a few specimens, the text of this version has not been printed; and thus we are dependent on Adler's extracts for the critical use which we can make of its readings. And we must bear in mind that no argument must ever be based on Adler's *silence;* for he did not profess to make a complete collation; and even if he had intended to do this, it would be too much to suppose that nothing was passed by.

The readings given are enough to enable us to judge of the character of the text; the frequent accordance of which with some of the best authorities has been previously stated. *Comparative criticism* would place this text high in the list of authorities; and this must be borne in mind in its application as a witness; for sometimes it stands *almost* alone, but with one or two excellent witnesses for some particular lection. It would be a great advantage to New Testament criticism if we possessed a printed edition of the text itself, instead of being dependent on the mere extracts made by Adler.

The only parts *published* are Matt. xxvii. 3—32. (which Adler gave as a specimen of the version), and John vii. 53—viii. 11., which this translation *does* contain, but in a form different from the common Greek text, and resembling that of the Codex Bezæ.

In examining this MS., when in the Vatican library, the present writer was able to compare some passages of importance, such as Matt. xix. 17., with regard to which Adler's note was not sufficiently

full, or as to which he had omitted to mark the reading. On Matt. xix. 17., where the common text has τί με λέγεις ἀγαθόν; οὐδεὶς ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ εἷς ὁ θεός; and the older authorities have τί με ἐρωτᾶς περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ; εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαθός, he says, "In prioribus verbis varietatem *non adnotavi;*" and then he expresses a supposition what the MS. *may* read. It was therefore of some importance for the writer to ascertain (as he did) that in both the former and the latter words the Jerusalem Syriac agrees with B. D. and other authorities which follow the reading that was alone known to Origen, and which on all really *critical* grounds commends itself as alone the true one in St. Matthew.

He also procured a transcript of a small portion of the MSS., — a few of the earlier leaves.

The date of this *version* was supposed by Adler to be from the fourth to the sixth century: in this opinion he was influenced principally by the character of the *text*, which seems older than the seventh century, or at least anterior to that of the MSS. in general of that age and onward to more recent times. But this argument does not bear on the age of the *version*, but upon that of the document from which it was taken: the barbarism of the Syriac seems hardly consistent with a date so early as that assigned by Adler. It is also worthy of inquiry whether this was a translation into Syriac of the four Gospels existing independently of this Lectionary formed from them; or whether it was translated from the Greek in its present form and order. In favour of the *latter* opinion it may be said, that the same lesson, when it occurs in different parts, is found with variations in reading, which hardly could be the case unless the version was one in frequent use, so that such lections might have sprung up; and this variety is found, we know, in the Greek Lectionaries. On the other hand, it may be thought doubtful whether any Greek Lectionaries existed containing a text of such antiquity. The present writer strongly inclines to the opinion that this is the version of an Evangeliarium, and that there was no Syriac version containing this text independently.

Adler draws attention to the errors of the copyist, the mistakes being of such a kind as show that this cannot be the original MS. of the translator.

The first critical New Testament in which the Jerusalem Syriac version took its place amongst the authorities was the second edition of Griesbach, 1796, in which he used the extracts made and published by Adler. From that time the same citations have been part of the common stock of materials for the critical editor.

CHAP. XXVIII.

THE MEMPHITIC VERSION.

So long as scholars of Europe were acquainted with but *one* Egyptian version the name of *Coptic* was that which it received, and this *then*

did not appear at all incongruous or unsuitable: and when it was found that there was another Egyptian version in another dialect, the newly discovered version received another name for the sake of distinction. But as it is known that the two versions belong respectively to Lower and Upper Egypt, the name *Coptic*, being generic in its character, is not suitable as the appropriated appellation of the version of one district; especially is it incongruous as the name for that used in *Lower* Egypt, coming as it does from *Coptos*, the name of an ancient city in *Upper* Egypt. Instead then of *Coptic* and *Sahidic* [1], the Lower Egyptian dialect may be more fitly called Copto-Memphitic, and the Upper Egyptian Copto-Thebaic, from the respective capitals of the two divisions of Egypt, Memphis and Thebes: or, more briefly, the dialects and the versions may be termed Memphitic and Thebaic. Both of these dialects may, it appears, be considered as forms in which the ancient Egyptian language continued to exist.

We have no historical account of the origin of Egyptian versions; we have only some early notices which seem to presuppose their existence.

It appears that at the council of Chalcedon, A. D. 451, one Egyptian bishop at least, Calosirios, could not subscribe his name in Greek without the aid of an interpreter.[2] This alone shows that there were Egyptian churches in the services of which Greek was not used.

Farther, before this date the rules drawn up by Pachomius (before A. D. 348) for the monks, in a part of Egypt, were in Egyptian originally, and were afterwards translated into Greek, and then by Jerome into Latin. The fact of the language in which they were first prepared having been Egyptian is a sufficient proof of that language having been in general use amongst a portion of the Christians of that country. The number of these monks was reckoned as *seven thousand*,—a proof how thoroughly a form of Coptic was vernacular instead of Greek. Also every one of these monks was required to *learn to read*, whether he was willing or not, and the rules specify that he was to do this, at least so as to read the New Testament and Psalms. This takes for granted that the New Testament existed amongst them in some intelligible tongue; and how little Greek they knew is shown by the account that when one Theodore of Alexandria accompanied Pachomius to his retirement, he gave him for a companion an old man who knew Greek, that he might have some one with him *with whom he could converse*.

Thus in the fourth century there was evidently a version of the New Testament in use in Upper Egypt. How long it had been previously current we have not any proof.

Also in Lower Egypt there are traces of a vernacular version in the same century. Palladius, when travelling through Egypt and visiting the most famous monasteries, found at Nitria the abbot John

[1] On the origin of this term, and its doubtful propriety as a designation of the version in question, see the following chapter.

[2] Καλοσίριος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀρσινοΐτου, ἑρμηνεύοντος αὐτὸν Ἰουλίου διακόνου αὐτοῦ.

of Lycopolis, with whom (from his ignorance of Greek) he could only converse through an interpreter. He found him, however, well acquainted with the New Testament. So, too, the famous Antonius, who has often been regarded as the father of Egyptian monasticism, at an early period of the fourth century (and even in the third), seems to have received and given instruction from Scripture as read in the Church, though without any knowledge of Greek on his part.[1]

It is probable that, except at Alexandria and other places thoroughly Hellenized, the worship of the Egyptian Christians from a very early period was carried on in their vernacular dialects; and the small amount of *proof* that this was the case results from the transmission to our days of so much more of the literary remains of Greek writers in Egypt. That vernacular dialects would thus be employed in Christian worship is probable *a priori*, from the fact that the service of the temples of the Egyptian idols was carried on exclusively in Egyptian.

Christian worship habitually in the Egyptian tongue supposes almost the existence of a version of the New Testament.

When the Memphitic language began to attract attention of European scholars, it was found that the native Christians of Egypt still employ it in the public reading of the Scriptures, although they have long ceased to understand it, and only use Arabic vernacularly. After MSS. of the version still thus employed had found their way into western libraries, one of the most zealous cultivators of this region of Biblical study was our learned countryman Thomas Marshall, who prepared an edition of the four Gospels for the press; the publication of which was prevented by his death. Marshall had noted the readings of certain MSS. of this version, and from the remarks which he had left behind him, Mill was enabled to insert readings of this version in his critical apparatus. From Mill the citations of Marshall have found their way into other critical editions; — and this has been done even when they differ from the Memphitic text and *Latin* interpretation published by Wilkins. This has been a right procedure; for the readings of Marshall were drawn from MSS., and Wilkins acted by no means critically in the execution of his edition.

David Wilkins, the first who published in print the Memphitic New Testament, was by birth a Prussian, who became a clergyman of the Church of England. His edition appeared at Oxford in 1716: it was (as stated in the title) based on MSS. in the Bodleian, compared with some in the Vatican and some at Paris. The edition seems to have been very limited; and yet a few years ago (and perhaps this may still be the case) the greater part by far of the copies were remaining in sheets in the warehouse of the University printing office at Oxford; so little attention had the Memphitic language received, at least in connection with Biblical literature.

[1] See as to these particulars, and more of the same kind, Hug's Einleitung, § 61 (p. 357 seq. ed. 1847), and Marsh's Notes to Michaelis, ii. p. 587.

There were some who castigated Wilkins's edition severely; amongst others La Croze and Jablonsky, both of whom ranked amongst the most learned Egyptian scholars of their day; and either of them was apparently competent to have executed *well* what had been done in so questionable a manner by Wilkins.

The points in which Wilkins seems to have failed in the execution of his edition were, the non-critical manner in which he used his MS. authorities,—*combining* often readings from different codices in such a way as to give a text which must be incorrect (these places were in fact *conflate* readings, sentences in which in one part one MS. had been followed, and in the other part another, so that the members did not hang together); the omission of all account of the variations of copies, which if given would have been of great value; the defectiveness of the Latin version which he placed by the side of his Egyptian text, which would often mislead those who (like Biblical critics in general) are not imbued with Egyptian learning. Besides these defects there were, it appears, mistakes not a few as to points of grammatical propriety.

But although this edition of Wilkins was in every point of view unsatisfactory, the value of the version as a critical witness was too great to be concealed even by such processes: its readings were found to coincide so generally with some of the ancient Greek authorities, that all critics who valued them were necessitated also to value the Memphitic version. Also it seems that Egyptian scholars highly esteemed the text presented by the Bodleian MSS. used by Wilkins, in spite of the defective manner in which he employed them.

It was therefore with great interest that Biblical scholars received the announcement that Schwartze had undertaken an edition based on a careful examination of MS. authorities. The first portion of this, containing the Gospels of Matthew and Mark, appeared in 1846; the other two Gospels in the following year.

It is to be regretted that this scholar had not more extensively used the MSS. which exist in different libraries as a basis for his edition: he was only able to employ those which are in the Royal Library at Berlin. The following is the list, as noted by Schwartze.

P. I. A MS. containing only the Gospel of St. Matthew, and certain ecclesiastical lessons. It is a *transcript* made by Petræus in 1662.

P. II. A MS. of the Sunday lessons from the four Gospels, with those of ecclesiastical festivals; also a transcript made by Petræus.

P. III. A MS. of St. Mark; copied by the same person.

P. IV. A similar transcript of St. Luke.

P. V. A MS. of Petræus, containing his notes on passages in the Memphitic Gospels.

Dz. A MS. of the four Gospels, formerly in the possession of *Diez*, and which may belong to the fourteenth century.

It will thus be seen that Schwartze, in using the aids with which Berlin supplied him, had materials before him which were neither great in quantity nor venerable for their antiquity. His one other source was the printed edition of Wilkins; which, despite of all its

faults, presents readings found in some of the MSS. which he used.

It is probable that there is no record as to what the MSS. were from which Petræus copied; at all events, as things now are, his transcripts must be taken as holding the place of the unknown archetypes; and, small as is the antiquity of existing Memphitic MSS., we must take them as they are; and then, if the question is raised as to the *text* which they contain, we must refer to the fact of its general agreement with what we *know* to have been current in Egypt in the third century, as a proof that it is substantially void of corruption. Of course we could have *wished* to possess this ancient version in ancient documents; but we must be thankful for what we have; remembering that we possess no ancient MSS. of some ancient works: some of Cicero's (for instance) have only been preserved to us in a *single* MS. of the fourteenth century.

By means of these copies, and with the aid of Wilkins's printed edition, Schwartze formed his text. He was able to avoid many errors into which his predecessor had fallen, by making a more judicious use of his materials, and by possessing that grammatical knowledge, which would have hindered Wilkins, if he had had it, from combining readings from different MSS. in such a way as to produce *impossible* constructions. Schwartze also gave the various readings found in the MSS. which he collated: these, however, have, in general, more interest for the Egyptian scholar than for the Biblical critic; because they more often relate to the form and structure of sentences, than to readings which may have existed in the original Greek.

It will be seen how far Schwartze's work is available for critics or students who are unacquainted with the Egyptian language, when his plan of exhibiting the results of his labour for their benefit is farther described: whether what he did is sufficient, and whether any better modes could be adopted, are questions for distinct consideration.

Schwartze was utterly dissatisfied with Wilkins's Latin version; many of its errors were pointed out in his preface: he did not, however, wish to make a new one; partly because the general texture of that of Wilkins was sufficiently correct, and partly because he thought that this would be insufficient for the purpose which he had in view: he therefore gave a collation of the *Coptic versions* with the Greek text. He advisedly takes up the Coptic *versions*; because in this part he does not restrict himself to the Memphitic, but he also refers to the Thebaic fragments prepared for publication by Woide, and edited after his death by Ford. (See as to these the next Chapter.) The readings of these he wished to exhibit with more accuracy than had been done by Woide and Ford, who were (in his opinion) not altogether competent for their task.

The manner in which Schwartze then instructs his readers in the critical use of the Memphitic version is this: — At the foot of each page he subjoins a collation of its text (together with that of the Thebaic as far as it has been published by Ford) with the Greek

Testaments of Lachmann (1842), and the *first* edition of Tischendorf (1841). There is also a collation of the texts with the Codex Ephraemi (as published by Tischendorf), where it is extant. In this part there are, also, frequent allusions to Wilkins's Latin version; indeed Schwartze seems to have assumed that his readers would have that version before them while using his edition; and in practical experience it is needful often to refer to Wilkins in order to understand the reference of Schwartze, and thus to know precisely what he states the Memphitic readings to be.

Perspicuity would have been more studied in this part of the work if Schwartze had given it an *independent* character,—if he had so stated the comparison of the readings with the Greek as to have made it needless to refer continually to other books. Also, the editor seems from time to time to have forgotten that it was by no means likely that those who examined his edition for critical purposes would possess an accurate acquaintance with the Memphitic tongue, even if they should know the letters: at least we do not know of any critical editor of the Greek New Testament who has been skilled in this branch of learning. And thus there often remains a doubt whether this valuable version can be cited as an authority on either side in cases relating to tense, construction, order of substantives, and other points, as to which the ancient Latin copies may be freely and confidently used.

But letting these considerations have their full weight, still Schwartze's edition of the Memphitic Gospels possesses for critical objects a value immeasurably superior to that of Wilkins's: it enables us to correct former mistakes, to speak with confidence on points previously doubtful, and to make such a use of this version as is more worthy of its antiquity and internal character.

At the end of his Preface to the Gospels of Luke and John, published in 1847, Schwartze speaks of his intention of going at once, under the auspices of the king of Prussia, to England and France to collate the Egyptian MSS. preserved in the libraries of those countries. Hence it was hoped that he would prepare the text of the remaining part of the New Testament with still greater exactitude, from being thus aided by MSS. of greater antiquity and value than the Berlin transcripts. These hopes, however, were frustrated. After his return from his critical journey, he seems to have done something towards the arrangement of his collations and the completion of his Coptic Grammar for the press (published since): but he was hindered by death from giving to the public any more of the results of his labours.

In the early part of 1852 it was announced that the work would be continued by Dr. Paul Boetticher of Halle. It was then supposed that by the aid of Schwartze's papers the remaining portion of the New Testament might be edited on a plan which would be at least as convenient to Biblical scholars as that followed by Schwartze.

This hope, however, was frustrated; for when Boetticher's edition of the Acts of the Apostles appeared, it was found to contain a Memphitic text, and nothing else, except a few various readings at

the foot of some of the pages. In a most brief and meagre preface (*twenty-one lines* only) Boetticher tells his readers that Schwartze left nothing behind at his death which was available for the continuation of his Memphitic New Testament, except a collation of two MSS. in this country, one of which he calls *Curetonianus*, the other *Tattamianus* (but without mentioning where they are deposited, or giving a description by which they could be identified). Boetticher then says that he used this collation, and one which had been made (by himself or another we are not informed) of two Parisian MSS., which, as to place of deposit, mark, or number, are equally undescribed.

Boetticher then states his reason for not giving a collation of the Memphitic with the Greek Text. "I have in this place abstained from a verbal comparison with the Greek, since I am soon going to publish my own book, edited on the authority of the oriental versions." For this, then, must critical students wait before they can employ Boetticher's labours with even the same degree of exactitude and facility with which they can avail themselves of the work of his predecessor. The Epistles of the New Testament have since been published by the same editor.

Thus there is much which still remains to be done, even after all that was accomplished by Schwartze, before this version will be available in a *wholly* satisfactory state. We want—

1st. An accurate list and description of the Memphitic MSS., so as to know which of them are worthy, on the grounds of antiquity or internal character, of a collation as complete as that of the Berlin MSS. made by Schwartze.

2nd. An edition, containing the various readings of these MSS. subjoined to a carefully edited text, together with references to Greek MSS., as supporting the readings of the Memphitic version. Until these points have been attained, critics will not be able to make *full use* of this version in such a manner as its importance deserves, as being a witness of the highest order to the text of the New Testament as found in the most ancient documents.

It may be inquired whether there is any *proof* of the identity of this Memphitic version with any that was in use in the third or fourth century. On this point little can be said beyond pointing to the general fact that the character of the version itself connects it with the text current in that age; and that it is wholly gratuitous to assume that what we now have has been substituted for the version of the days of Antonius and Palladius.

There should also be mentioned in this place a magnificent edition of the Memphitic New Testament published by the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge for the use of the Coptic churches. This edition was superintended by the Rev. R. T. Lieder of Cairo, who did not follow the text of Wilkins, but employed MS. authorities for himself. The Gospels of this edition appeared in 1848, and the rest of the volume subsequently. By the side of the Memphitic text, there is a column in Arabic, in order that *what* is read ecclesiastically may not be wholly unintelligible to those who read. An

account of the MSS. used by Mr. Lieder would be a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the subject.

It has already been mentioned that readings from the Memphitic were given by Mill on the authority of Marshall. Subsequent editors have employed these, together with the far greater stock of materials obtained from Wilkins. Bengel inserted others in his Apparatus Criticus, which he had received on the very competent authority of La Croze. The labours of Schwartze have been as yet but little employed by editors, and those of Boetticher not at all.

Perhaps at some future time we may possess full materials for investigating the origin of this version in all its parts; for with regard to these ancient translations in general, it is an interesting inquiry, whether *all* was executed at the same time, or whether the version was a gradual accretion of parts. As to the Memphitic in particular, we should be glad if we had full data for drawing a certain conclusion whether the Apocalypse belongs to the same age as the rest of the version: this may perhaps be doubted on the internal ground of some of its readings (at least as they have been edited and translated into Latin by Wilkins), and also because it is doubtful whether the influence of Dionysius of Alexandria was not sufficient to exclude the Apocalypse from ecclesiastical use *in Egypt* at the time when the Memphitic version was executed.[1]

Münter, Hug, and others have endeavoured to analyse the text of the version, so as to discriminate between its different parts, and to show their various affinities with particular Greek codices. In this they have not been very successful; partly from their having been too much influenced by theories of classification, to which they tried to reduce all documents. In a few words, it may be said that the Memphitic text of the Gospels presents a general agreement with the Alexandrian Greek MSS., — that it is very free from the accretions which were introduced in early times by copyists, and the amplifications from parallel passages. In the Epistles the Memphitic text commonly agrees with some of the ancient MSS.; but it appears doubtful whether it can there be considered *so* Alexandrian as are the Gospels. Even in the state in which we have the text at present we can use it with as much certainty as the Latin Vulgate could be employed before there had been any critical examination of MSS.

From its general agreement with the other ancient authorities, this version was charged with Latinizing at the time when all the documents of the older character were considered obnoxious to this accusation. Had it been more carefully examined even then, it might have aided in freeing other documents as well as itself from this sweeping charge; for it would have suggested that there is a class of readings throughout the New Testament which differ alike from the common Greek text and from the Latin.

[1] Some Memphitic MSS. which contain the rest of the N. Test. do omit the Apocalypse. See Simon, "Histoire Critique des Versions du Nouveau Testament." ch. xvi. p. 191. It may, however, be said that this is also the case with regard to Greek MSS.

CHAP. XXIX.

THE THEBAIC VERSION.

ARABIC writers have divided the language spoken by the aboriginal people of Egypt into three dialects; the Upper Egyptian, which they term صعيدي *Sahidi*, from صعيد *Sa-ḥid*, their name for that region; the lower Egyptian or بحيري *Bahiri*, language of the coast; and that which has been termed بشموري *Bashmuri*, the precise location of which has been a subject for discussion. The *Bahiri*, indeed, belongs in fact but little to the *sea-coast;* and its province was probably the interior of the country round the ancient Memphis.

When it was found that there was an Egyptian translation of the New Testament in another dialect besides that of Lower Egypt, the Arabian term *Sahidic* was adopted to denote it; although (as has been already intimated) Copto-Thebaic or Thebaic was a far more suitable name. No apology is needed for *now* casting aside a term as incongruous as it would be to apply the name of *French* to the speech of the ancient Gauls, and for reverting [1] to the proper and suitable designation of Thebaic. Those who introduced the name Sahidic ought in consistency to have called the Copto-Memphitic *Bahiric.*

The first who paid much attention to the Thebaic version was Woide, who communicated readings which he had collected from MSS. to Cramer, by whom they were published in 1779. The first who edited any part of the text of this version was Mingarelli in his account of the Egyptian MSS. in the Nanian Library [2], in which he not only *described* the MSS., but edited their text with annotations. The portions of the New Testament contained in this work are Matt. xviii. 27—xxi. 15, and John ix. 17—xiii. 1.[3] The material on which these portions were written is vellum; and on palæographic grounds it may well be supposed that they belong to a period not later than the sixth century.

In 1789, Giorgi published at Rome the Greek and Thebaic fragment of St. John described above amongst the uncial Greek codices. (p. 180.)[4] In this the Thebaic text contains vi. 21—58., ver. 68—viii. 23. The probable date of this MS. is the fifth century, though the editor claimed for it a higher antiquity by a whole age.

Münter, who in 1787 had published a fragment of Daniel in this

[1] Copto-Thebaic is the name applied by Giorgi to the portion of this version published by him in 1789.

[2] Ægyptiorum Codicum reliquiæ, Venetiis in Bibliotheca Naniana asservatæ. Bononiæ, 1785. (Fasciculus I. Fasciculus alter. The *third* part was commenced five years afterwards; but it was never completed.)

[3] These portions have been sometimes misstated: but this is the correct notation. See Mingarelli, vii.—lx.

[4] Fragmentum Evangelii S. Johannis Græco-Copto-Thebaicum Sæculi IV. etc. ex Veliterno Museo Borgiano nunc prodeunt. . . . Opera et studio F. Augustini Georgii, eremitæ Augustiniani. Romæ, 1789.

version at Rome, edited in 1789 some portions of the two Epistles to Timothy, together with readings which he had gathered from other parts of the New Testament, out of MSS. in the Borgian Library, then at Velitri[1]: in the introduction he gives more information than could have been then easily obtained elsewhere on the subject of the version itself.

Mingarelli, in 1790, commenced a *third* part of his account of the Nanian MSS., the owner of that library having procured additions from Egypt. In this he printed the following portion of the New Testament, Mark xi. 29—xv. 22., from a very ancient vellum MS., in which however a more recent hand had introduced other readings, such apparently as were current at a later age.[2]

Woide, meanwhile, was busily endeavouring to procure fragments of the Thebaic version for the purpose of editing the whole of the New Testament; a prospectus of which was issued in 1778. The accomplishment of this object was frustrated by his death. And then, after some delay, Ford undertook the charge of the multifarious contents of the *Appendix to the Codex Alexandrinus*, which appeared at Oxford in 1799. In this all Woide's fragments of the Thebaic version appeared with a Latin translation; but though Woide had inserted the portions of St. Matthew and St. John from Mingarelli's first Fasciculus, Ford entirely passed by all that had been given by Giorgi, by Münter, and afterwards by Mingarelli. It is difficult to suppose that he rightly apprehended what these scholars had communicated to the literary commonwealth; also he might have enlarged his collection of fragments by noticing what were mentioned by Münter, as contained in the Borgian collection, of which he had made transcripts.

This edition of Ford[3] is the only one which has ever appeared of fragments throughout the New Testament; the greater part of which is found in some form or other. How much it might be

[1] M. Frederici Münteri . . . . Commentatio de indole versionis Novi Testamenti Sahidicæ. Adcedunt Fragmenta Epistolarum Pauli ad Timotheum ex Membranis Sahidicis Musei Borgiani Velitris. Hafniæ. 1789.

[2] The *third* part of Mingarelli's work seems to have been little circulated: he died leaving it unfinished, and the copies which were sold were issued as far as it was printed in his life — without any termination being given to the last sentence. A leaf is added, headed *Lectori Monitum*, giving the information that after the death of Mingarelli no papers of his were found relating to the work; and what is more to be deplored, the Egyptian fragments which the Cavaliere Nani had sent him from Venice to be edited and described, were not to be found, and could not be recovered.

This *third* part of Mingarelli's work, scarce as it seems to be, is important as containing this portion of *St. Mark*; the other Thebaic fragments, so far as they have been described and edited, being very defective in that Gospel: and as the fragments were not returned to Nani (their value not having been known apparently by those into whose hands Mingarelli's effects fell), *this* unfinished third part is probably the *only* place in which this portion of text can be found. It seems to have been so little known that it has been utterly neglected hitherto by critical editors of the Greek N. Test. In "Introductions" this portion seems to be equally unnoticed, even when *lists* of the Thebaic fragments are given.

[3] How long it was before Biblical scholars in foreign countries made any use of Woide and Ford's edition may be seen from the following statement of Eichhorn relative to Woide's edition, made in 1827:— "Man erwartete die Vollendung von D. Ford; *sie ist aber nicht erschienen.*" Einleitung, v. 13. *foot-note.*

amplified from unpublished sources is shown by Zoega's Catalogue of the Borgian Egyptian MSS. published in 1810. The materials have been long pointed out, but no one has come forward to use them for the reconstruction of this shattered monument of early Egyptian Christianity. Schwartze severely criticised both Woide and Ford, for what he considered to be want of editorial competency.

The first who made a critical use of this version was Griesbach, who drew mostly, if not entirely, from the readings which Cramer had received from Woide, and from those published by Münter, and Giorgi's fragment. He appears not to have even seen the Appendix to the Codex Alexandrinus.[1] In the *use* of this version, Griesbach's references have mostly been followed by others; although much more might have been done through Ford's edition. Schwartze, in his edition of the Memphitic Gospels, has compared the Thebaic text also with the Greek, wherever it is given by Woide and Ford, but he too has passed by unnoticed the portion of St. Mark edited by Mingarelli.

This version is wholly independent of the Memphitic; its readings belong more to the class (or sub-class) which Griesbach would have called *western*; *i. e.* it abounds with readings in which there is some amplification or other feature resembling the old Latin in many respects. In such points there is not unfrequently a resemblance to readings found in Origen. In many parts this version would rather coincide with Griesbach's Alexandrian family.

Readings have been pointed out in which the Memphitic and Thebaic agree, as though an affinity between them could be thus established; but examination shows that such coincidences of reading rather belong to what both have in common with other ancient authorities, than to any peculiarity of these versions.

It is difficult to give a judgment with regard to these two versions which is the more important; if the Memphitic exhibits the readings of a purer text current at Alexandria, and if it is nearer to the genuine copies of the Greek, still the Thebaic contains what is far freer from all suspicion of having received any critical emendation or recension; and thus its testimony is worth much in the places where it does accord precisely with other good authorities. And in much of this version we may be quite certain that we possess it in its ancient form; for the MSS. edited by Giorgi and Mingarelli, and some of the fragments used by Woide, are of a very high antiquity.

The age of the Egyptian versions in relation to each other has been discussed, as well as the peculiarities of the dialects in which they are found, by those scholars who have been acquainted with the dialects themselves. Münter and Woide considered that the Thebaic belonged to the second century. This opinion seems in part to depend on two things, (i.) the *antiquity* of a book in the Thebaic dialect containing the doctrinal statements of some of the early heretics; and (ii.) whether *this* version is quoted in it or not.

[1] He could have availed himself of this in his *second* volume; the first had been previously published.

It may seem presumptuous for any one devoid of Egyptian learning to give a judgment on such points; but I may be allowed to say that, as far as external facts and the information of those who appear competent can enable me to form an opinion, the Thebaic version possesses claims to a higher antiquity than the Memphitic. This appears to have arisen from a version in the speech of Upper Egypt having been needful at an earlier period than was the case in the region that was more Hellenized. It has been remarked that the Thebaic abounds in Greek words far more than does the Memphitic; and this is used as an argument that the latter was not formed until the Egyptians had begun to purify their language from a large portion of the foreign admixture. It might also have been added that the Greek words in the Thebaic are often changed into a somewhat barbarous form; and that the habitual introduction of an *aspirate* before an initial vowel gives it an aspect of illiterateness. I believe that the Thebaic was an unpolished dialect,— that the version made into that speech was suited to the need of the common people of Upper Egypt in the early part of the third century,— that the MSS. on which it was based were such as were current in districts removed from Alexandria,— and that when a version in the Lower Egyptian was needed, it was executed independently and with a greater attempt at linguistic propriety;— that thus the Thebaic fell into disuse, amongst all the educated people at least,— and that thus the Memphitic superseded it, and alone survived for ecclesiastical use. These opinions will of course be modified by any ascertained facts which will bear on the question; and the full discussion of the subject can only be undertaken by those who are conversant with the *language* instead of using the versions for purposes purely *critical*, and that *through* the investigations, &c. of others.

Another Egyptian Version.— Münter and Giorgi both of them noticed amongst the Borgian MSS. some fragments of the New Testament which differed as to dialect alike from the Thebaic and Memphitic; and both these scholars published them independently in the same year (1789). To what district of Egypt should this version be assigned, and how it should be designated, became the points of discussion. As the third Egyptian dialect was said to be the بشموري *Bashmuri*, the name Bashmuric was soon applied to this version, which was assumed to belong to it. In this *name* there was probably no such great incongruity as was involved in *Sahidic*; for it seems as if the Arabic term had an Egyptian origin, Псаλλоτр *regio cincta*.[1]

Other portions in the same dialect were afterwards published from the same library (also independently) by Zoega and Engelbreth. The latter critically examined the passages, and placed the text of the other Egyptian versions on the same pages for the purpose of comparison.[2]

[1] Engelbreth, p. xii.
[2] Fragmenta Basmurico-Coptica Veteris et Novi Testamenti quæ in Musco Borgiano

Giorgi considered that the Ammonian Oasis was the district to which this version should be assigned; and to this Münter assented, calling the fragments *Ammonian.* Quatremere and Zoega afterwards fully showed that *Bashmur* was the district of Lower Egypt in the Delta to the east. The difficulty of assigning *this* version to that region is, that it has a much stronger affinity, as to language, to the Thebaic than to the Memphitic. But it is questioned whether we have sufficient grounds for calling this version *Bashmuric* at all; and if not, we know nothing of the locality in which it was used: also, Egyptian scholars do not seem to be agreed whether this is or not a distinct dialect, and whether it ought on such grounds to be separated from the Thebaic: the principal differences seem to be those of orthography, such as might be sufficiently accounted for by peculiarities of local pronunciation having been followed.

A more important question *here* is the critical value of these fragments: this may be soon settled. They follow the Thebaic version so precisely, step by step, that there can hardly be a doubt that this translation was moulded from it: when what we have in the MSS. departs from the same sense and meaning as the Thebaic, it is only by obvious error. Thus it possesses no *independent* value; it does, however, supply critical evidence in a small portion, which in the Thebaic is not extant.

The manner in which this version follows the Thebaic is an additional argument for the antiquity and early use of the latter. Perhaps when the Memphitic was executed as a more polished version from the Greek, this was formed from the Thebaic by moulding it into the *colloquial* mode of speech of some region.

CHAP. XXX.

THE GOTHIC VERSION.

ABOUT the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius the Goths, who had previously been a northern people, migrated in large bodies towards the northern coast of the Black Sea. After a time they occupied Dacia and much of the neighbouring country. From their differing localities they acquired the names of Visi- and Ostro-Goths, or Western and Eastern. It has been said that the inroads of the Huns caused the Visi-Goths to seek the protection of the Roman emperor Valens, about the year A.D. 377, and that he allowed them to occupy the province of Mœsia. It is certain, however, that many of them had crossed the Danube in the time of Constantius, A.D. 355. And thus the transactions in the time of Valens were only a repetition of the kind of immigration that had previously taken place into the

Velitris asservantur, cum reliquis versionibus Ægyptiis contulit, Latine vertit, nec non criticis et philologicis adnotationibus illustravit W. F. Engelbreth. Havniæ. 1811.

district of Mœsia, whence they acquired the name of Mœso-Goths, and their tongue has been termed Mœso-Gothic, as though it were some particular dialect of the tongue, which does not appear to be the case.

The diffusion of the profession of Christianity in the fourth century was not confined to the tribes of the Roman Empire properly speaking; and thus at that time there were converts from amongst the Goths. Their first bishop was named Theophilus, who was present at the council of Nice, and subscribed the creed there drawn up[1]; he was succeeded by a remarkable man, Ulphilas, the Gothic translator of the Scriptures.

Ulphilas was born A.D. 318: he is said to have been a Cappadocian by birth and ancestry; but amongst the Goths he lived and laboured. He succeeded Theophilus as bishop of the Goths, A.D. 348. Arianism was at that time dominant in the court of the emperor Constantius, and to the Arian confession Ulphilas subscribed, rejecting the orthodox creed of Nice. The Goths in general adopted Arianism; and this was long in the West the form of belief which they professed. To Ulphilas the Goths were indebted for this version of the Scriptures; and though, in general, there was but little opportunity for the doctrines of Arianism to appear (as they were more based on the supposed interpretation than on the mere form of passages), yet one place has been pointed out where the bias of the translator's mind may be noticed.[2]

In the year 388 Ulphilas visited Constantinople to defend the belief which he had adopted; and whilst there he closed his career.[3]

This is not the place to enter on the history of the Goths, farther than to notice, that the Eastern Goths in the following century, moving to the south-west, took the kingdom of Italy from Odoacer, the subverter of the imperial title in the West; and that the Western Goths occupying Spain bore rule in that country till the Moorish invasion in the eighth century. Amongst all of these peoples and countries there are traces that the version of Ulphilas was used and known. It was thus for a considerable time the translation circulated and used in the vernacular dialect of a very large portion of Europe.

It is well known how the Goths at Constantinople in the service of the emperor Arcadius had their own church, in which their own language was used: this was *after* a portion of them had renounced their Arian heresy; so that they were protected and encouraged by John Chrysostom: indeed his endeavours for the benefit of the Goths

[1] His subscription stands *Theophilus Gothorum metropolis*, and *Theophilus Bosphoritanus*.

[2] "Unus tantummodo locus est, a Castillionæo jam indicatus, ex quo interpretis nostri Arianismus perspicue cognoscitur; Philipp. enim ii. 6. legitur, *in xris'au iesu. saei in guþaskaunein visauds ni vulva rahnida visan* GALEIKO *guþa*. . . . . Castillionæus in epimetro epistolæ ad Philippenses addito p. 63. sqq. præclare de eo disseruit eumque exhibere argumentum, interpretem Gothicum qui similitudinem pro æqualitate posuerit Arianismi placitum in textum intulisse docuit." Gabelentz and Loebe's Ulphilas, Prolegomena xv.

[3] Waitz, "Ueber das Leben und die Lehre des Ulphila," Hannover, 1840. Waitz brought many particulars to light respecting Ulphilas, from an account of him which was found written in the *margins* of a MS. at Paris. (Bibliothèque Impériale, *Supplement Latin* No. 594.)

form an interesting episode in the stormy annals of his occupancy of the patriarchal chair of Constantinople. By these Goths, no doubt, as well as their brethren on the Danube or in the West, was this same version used. (See Theodoret, Hist. Ecc. v. 30.)

The version appears to have been first known in modern times from the mention made by Antony Morillon, secretary to Antony Perrenot (better known as Cardinal de Granvelle), of a MS. which he observed in the library of the monastery of Werden on the Ruhr in Westphalia. He copied from it the Lord's prayer and some other parts, which were afterwards published. Soon after this Arnold Mercator transcribed a few other verses from the same MS. It was thus that the existence of such a version was known in the latter part of the sixteenth century.

In the year 1648, towards the close of the thirty years' war, the Swedes took Prague, and amongst the spoils Count Königsmark sent to Stockholm the *Codex Argenteus*, a Gothic copy of the Gospels, on purple vellum, and written in letters of silver, though now discoloured by age.

It has been supposed that this is the same MS. that Morillon saw at Werden; and it has often been said that it was sent from that place to Prague for safety during the thirty years' war. That the MS. taken by the Swedes had been in Prague half a century before seems, however, to be pretty clear. For Richard Streinius, who died in 1601, mentions it.[1] It has been denied that this is the copy from which Morillon made his extracts, on the ground that he used contractions which do not occur in the Codex Argenteus; others, however, consider the identity of the Werden copy and that taken to Stockholm to be absolutely certain.[2] And if they are identical, the history of the MS. cannot be certainly traced any farther; though some have supposed that it was a copy written for a Gothic king in the sixth century. But all such conjectures are uncertain; though it can hardly be doubted that it belongs to that age.[3]

After the abdication of Queen Christina of Sweden, this MS. disappeared from the royal library at Stockholm; and it was found to be in the Netherlands in the possession of her librarian Isaac Vossius. It has been suggested that he took it away dishonestly, which is not likely; or it has been thought that Christina gave it to him, which is more probable: it may, however, be asked whether it had been presented to the queen or to her librarian. At all events in 1655 Vossius had the book, and while it was in his hands a transcript of it was made by a person called Derrer. In 1662 Puffendorf found the codex in the possession of Vossius, and through the information thus given to Count Magnus Gabriel de la Gardie, it was repurchased for Sweden by that nobleman at the price of 400 (some say

[1] See Gabelentz and Loebe's edition, Proleg. p. xxx. xxxi. *footnote.*

[2] Gab. and Loebe, p. xii. *footnote.*

[3] There seems to be some traditionary account of a MS. in Gothic letters on purple vellum having been abstracted from Naples by some Englishman; and it has been thought that in his return homeward through Germany he may have died at the Abbey of Werden and that thus the MS. remained there for centuries.

600) rix-dollars.[1] It was then placed in the library of the University of Upsal, where it still remains in the splendid binding in which De la Gardie caused it to be put.

Vossius had previously placed the MS. in the hands of Junius his uncle for publication; and in 1665 the text of the Gothic Gospels, so far as contained in this MS., was edited at Dort under his care; it was accompanied by the Anglo-Saxon version edited by Thomas Marshall.[2] This edition was in Gothic characters cast for the purpose, and for it Junius employed the transcript made by Derrer.

In 1671, after the codex had returned to Sweden, Stiernhielm published an edition in Roman characters; this was accompanied by Icelandic, Swedish, German, and Latin versions. In the last century Benzel made preparations for a new edition, which was executed after his death by Edward Lye in 1750.

Thus far the Gothic Gospels alone were known, and that only from the Codex Argenteus. This MS. when found consisted of 188 leaves, in quarto size: not only was the text in silver letters, but the beginnings of the sections were in gold. In many parts the book was defective: it seems that when entire it would have consisted of 320 leaves.

The letters are remarkably regular; and the uniformity of their shape seems almost to be beyond what could be produced by the hand of a copyist. Each letter appears to be deeply traced into the vellum, in which there is quite a furrow. Hence it was discussed whether the codex was really written by the hand, and whether the gold and silver had not been laid on with hot irons each of them of the shape of the respective letters, much in the same way as a bookbinder now *letters* a book. This would have been an anticipation of the invention of printing. But it can hardly be doubted that each letter was formed by the hand; heated irons would have caused the thin vellum to shrink, and would have impaired the flatness of the leaves. And though the letters are deeply furrowed, it is the same in other MSS., in which this is known to arise from the sharpness of the style. Perhaps in this codex each letter was firmly traced with the style, carrying with it some adhesive substance, and then the silver was painted or laid on the groove so prepared.

The following engraving exhibits a facsimile of the characters of the Codex Argenteus. This specimen was drawn from the MS. itself for Dr. Edward Daniel Clark, formerly of Cambridge: it is not strictly a *facsimile*, as even the division of the lines is not observed. The passage is Luke xviii. 17., and it is thus given in the Gothic ex-

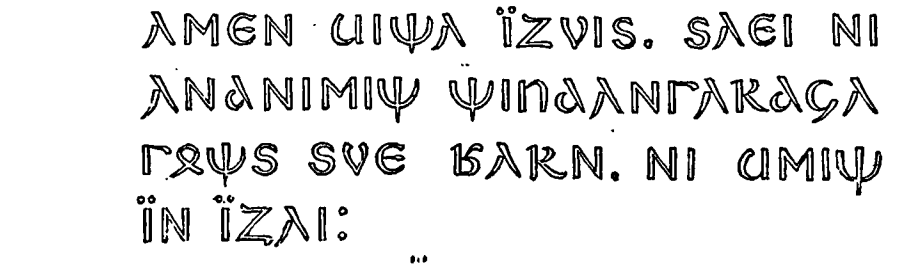
[1] See Gabel. and Loebe, p. xxxi. *footnote*, where both these statements are given, and an endeavour is made to reconcile them by supposing that in the one case 600 Swedish imperial dollars are meant, and in the other 400 Swedish imperial bank; both of which (it is stated) amount to the same sum, 200 Prussian thalers, *i. e.* about *thirty pounds* of our money; a sum so disproportionately little, that it suggests some mistake in the statement of the amount. Uppström, however, says (Præf. p. iii.) "400 thaleris imperialibus argenteis Suecicis," adding in a footnote, "Hæc summa non, ut affirmant Gabelentz et Loebe, pag. xxxi. ducentos, sed potius sexcentos fere thaleros Germanici æris æquiparat."

[2] Some copies bear the date 1684.

pressed in Roman letters[1], and divided as the lines stand in the MS. itself.

"—— Amen qiþa ïzvis. saei
ni andnimiþ þindangardja guþs
sve barn. ni qimiþ in ïzai:"

(The first of these lines is written in gold letters.)



The probable age of this MS. has been already intimated: some have suggested that it was the original of Ulphilas himself; but it is evidently rather the work of an *artist* than of one making a translation for practical purposes. But that it *could* not be the original MS. is proved by the existence of some various readings in the margin; and these could not have been formed until the version had been for some time in circulation. Italy was probably the country in which it was executed: the mode of ornament, and the arrangement of the Eusebian canons in a kind of architectural design with *Romanesque* pillars and arches, are just the same as we find in the Latin Codex Brixianus (see above, p. 238.): both probably belong to Upper Italy during the Gothic sovereignty.

In the last century an opinion was advanced by La Croze, Wetstein, and others, and it was at one time defended by Michaelis, that the language of the Codex Argenteus is not Gothic but Frankish. This theory was combated on linguistic and other grounds; and the discovery of Ostro-Gothic documents in Italy has set the question entirely at rest: we may be satisfied that this is the Gothic version, in the tongue that was common to all the Gothic people. One of these Gothic documents found in Italy is the title-deed of property of about the year 551, signed by all the clergy of the Gothic church of St. Anastatia (*aclisie Gotice Sancte Anastatie*). There were also some monuments in Spain which afforded collateral evidence.

Hitherto mention has only been made of the *Gospels* of this version; but in 1762 Knittel published at Brunswick a portion of the Epistle to the Romans in Gothic from a palimpsest at Wolfenbüttel.

[1] The correspondence of some of the Gothic words with English is at once visible; "quoth," "barn," and "cometh" catch every one's eye. The mode of expressing the Gothic in Roman letters is that of the edition of Gabelentz and Loebe, and also of the recent one of Uppström. It is thus given by Massman in his edition now in the course of publication:—"Amen, kvitha ïzvis: saei ni andnimith thindangardja guths ſvê barn, ni kvimith in ïzâi."

The MS. in which these fragments were discovered is written in two columns; the Gothic occupies the first, and the other is in Latin; the latter being in a version differing from that of Jerome's revision; and which agrees with but few exceptions with what we know from other sources to have been the text of the unrevised old Latin. This MS. is perhaps anterior to the time when the Hieronymian text was introduced into *general* use.[1] This was the first intimation of the existence of a version of the Epistles. Ihre, who was diligently occupied with the comparison of the printed editions of the Gospels with the MS. itself (a work of much labour from the codex being often difficult to read, and from its having been very defectively followed by the earlier editors), soon reprinted this portion of the Romans: this was also included in the collection of his remarks on the version of Ulphilas edited by Busching in 1773.

Zahn in 1805 published the most complete edition of Ulphilas which had been executed up to that time; he used Ihre's laboriously executed transcript, his Latin version, and other additions.

In 1817 the late Cardinal Angelo Mai, then a librarian in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana at Milan, while engaged in that search for palimpsest writing which was so successful in the restoration of several ancient works, noticed some *Gothic* writing under one of the codices. This (it is stated) was found to be parts of the books of Ezra and Nehemiah.[2] A farther examination led to new discoveries; *four* other palimpsests were found containing portions of the Gothic version.

In order fully and properly to investigate these Gothic documents, Mai obtained as an associate Count Carlo Ottavio Castiglione, whose knowledge of Teutonic dialects rendered his aid all the more valuable.

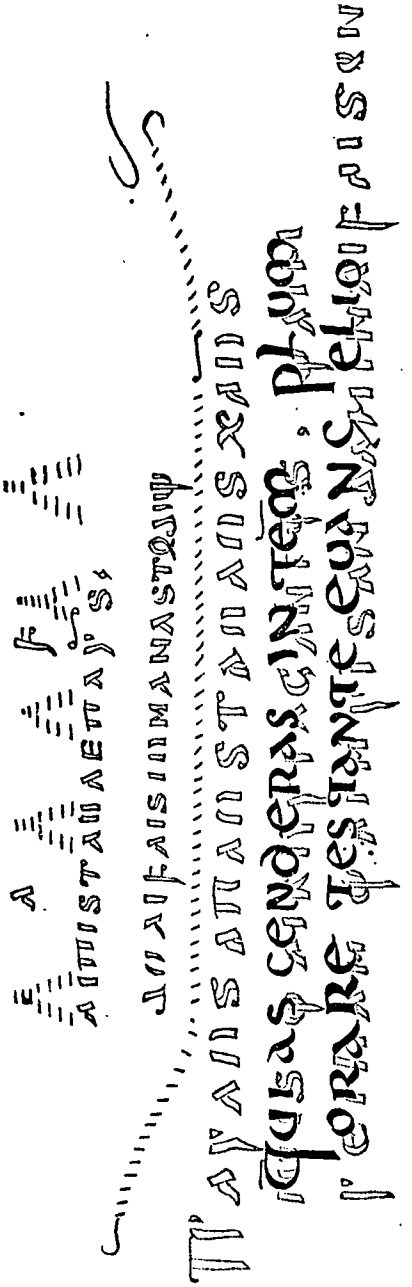
The following is the account of these MSS. abridged by the Rev. T. H. Horne from that furnished by Mai and Castiglione in 1819, when their discoveries were in part communicated to the public.[3]

"The *first* of these five Gothic MSS. (which is noted S. 36.) consists of 204 quarto pages on vellum; the latter writing contains the homilies of Gregory the Great on the Prophecies of Ezekiel, which from their characters must have been executed before the eighth century. Beneath this, in a more ancient Gothic hand, are contained the Epistles of St. Paul to the Romans, 1st and 2d Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1st and 2d of Timothy, Titus,

[1] This is the same MS. from which Knittel also edited the Greek fragments of the Gospels P. and Q. See above, p. 179. and the *footnote* for the history of the MS.

[2] "Kings" has been added in some statements, as though that portion had been included in these fragments: the parts of Ezra and Nehemiah have been printed, but not "Kings;" the word seems therefore to be a mistake. It is, however, a curious point for inquiry, as Philostorgius says that Ulphilas in his translation omitted "Kings," as not desiring to inflame the martial spirit of the Goths. Be that as it may, Philostorgius is too confused in his account of Ulphilas to make it needful to believe this on *his* authority merely; he states that Ulphilas was at the *Nicene* council; and he quite errs in his account of when he lived, confusing the Emperor Constantius with Constantine, &c.

[3] Ulphilæ partium ineditarum, in Ambrosianis Palimpsestis ab Angelo Maio repertarum, Specimen, conjunctis curis ejusdem Maii et Caroli Octavii Castillionæi editum. Mediolani. M.DCCC.XIX.



[Thus given with the Gothic expressed in Roman letters:—

Aipistaulē Paūs
du Aifaisium anastodiþ.
Paulus apaustaulus χ̄aus
īuis þairh viljan ḡþs, þaim
veiham þaim visandam in aifaison.

The letters A and F at the top of the page appear to be part of A I F, the *head-line* of the abbreviated title running on through the Epistle.]

and Philemon, together with a fragment of the Gothic Calendar. The Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Ephesians, and to Timothy, are very nearly entire, and form the chief part of this manuscript: of the other Epistles considerable fragments only remain. The titles of the Epistles may be traced at the heads of the pages where they

commence. This MS. appears to have been written by two different copyists, one of whom wrote more beautifully and correctly than the other; and various readings may be traced in some of the margins written in a smaller hand. Entire leaves have been turned upside down by the *rescriber* of this manuscript. The annexed facsimile of it represents the commencement of Paul's Epistles to the Ephesians, and may be thus rendered: *The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians beginneth. Paul, an apostle of Christ Jesus according to the will of God, to the saints who are at Ephesus.*

"The *second* MS. also, in quarto, and noted S. 45., contains 156 pages of thinner vellum, the Latin writing on which is of the eighth or ninth century, and comprises Jerome's exposition of Isaiah. Under this has been discovered (though with some difficulty, on account of the thickness of the Latin characters and the blackness of the ink,) the Gothic version of Saint Paul's two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and to Titus. What is deficient in the preceding manuscript is found in this, which has some various readings peculiar to itself, and therefore is an independent codex.

"In the *third* manuscript, noted G. 82., a quarto Latin volume, containing the plays of Plautus, and part of Seneca's Tragedies of Medea and Œdipus, Mai discovered fragments of the books of Kings[1], Ezra, and Nehemiah. This discovery is peculiarly valuable, as not the smallest portion of the Gothic version of the Old Testament was known to be in existence. The date of the Latin writing of this manuscript, which Mai deciphered with great difficulty, is not specified; but, on comparing his specimen of it with other engraved specimens, we are inclined to refer it to the eighth or ninth century.

"The *fourth* specimen (noted I. 61.) consists of a single sheet in small quarto, containing four pages of part of Saint John's Gospel in Latin, under which are found fragments of the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, and twenty-seventh chapters of Matthew's Gospel, which are wanting in the celebrated manuscript of the Gothic Gospels preserved at Upsal, and usually known by the appellation of the *Codex Argenteus.*

"The *fifth* and last manuscript (noted G. 147.), which has preserved some remains of Gothic literature, is a volume of the proceedings of the Council of Chalcedon; under the later writing have been discovered some fragments of ancient authors, whose names Mai has not specified; and also a fragment of a Gothic Homily rich in biblical quotations, and the style of which he thinks shows that it was translated from some one of the fathers of the Greek Church. The characters of this manuscript bear a close resemblance to those of the Codex Argenteus, at Upsal, which was executed in the sixth century.

"The manuscripts above described are written in broad and thick characters, without any division of words or of chapters, but with contractions of proper names, similar to those found in ancient Greek MSS. Some sections, however, have been discovered, which

[1] See as to this point a preceding note.

are indicated by numeral marks or larger spaces, and sometimes by large letters. The Gothic writing is referred to the sixth century."

The different portions found in these palimpsests were published at various times; at first Mai and Castiglione were united in their editorial occupation, but after the former was appointed *Custode* of the Vatican Library, the whole of this work devolved on Castiglione alone.

The result has been that we are in possession from the different palimpsests, of by far the greater part of St. Paul's Epistles. Some few portions of the Gospels also which are defective in the Codex Argenteus were supplied from these palimpsest treasures of the Ambrosian Library.

The Codex Argenteus is defective at the beginning as far as Matt. v. 15.; from vi. 33—vii. 12., x. 1—23., xi. 25—xxvi. 70., xxvii. 19—42., xxvii. 66. to the end of the Gospel; Mark vi. 30—53., xii. 38—xiii. 16., xiii. 29—xiv. 4., xiv. 16—41., xvi. 12. to the end; Luke x. 30—xiv. 9., xvi. 24—xvii. 3., xx. 46. to the end of the Gospel; John i.—v. 45., xi. 47—xii. 1., xii. 49—xiii. 11., xix. 13. to the end of the Gospel.

Some of these defects were supplied by Mai from the Ambrosian palimpsests, particularly Matt. xxv. 38—xxvi. 3., and xxvi. 65. and following verses. Also a few verses, in the early chapters of St. John's Gospel by Massman from a Gothic exposition. All the verses after Luke xx. 37., and a few other places which were deficient in the early editions of Ulphilas, were added by Ihre, from his careful investigation of those parts of the codex which were scarcely legible.

St. Paul's Epistles are defective (after the fragments from different sources have been gathered together),—Rom. to vi. 23., viii. 10—34., xiv. 20—xv. 3., xv. 13—xvi. 21.; 1 Cor. i. 1—12., i. 22—iv. 2., iv. 12—v. 3., vi. 1—vii. 5., vii. 28—viii. 9., ix. 9—19., x. 4—15., xi. 31—xii. 10., xii. 22—xiii. 1., xiii. 12—xiv. 20., xiv. 27—xv. 1., xv. 35—46.; Gal. i. 7—20.; Phil. i. 1—14., ii. 8—22., iv. 17. to the end; Col. i. 1—6.; i. 29—ii. 11.; 1 Thess. i. 1—ii. 10.; 2 Thess. ii. 4—15.; 1 Tim. v. 16. to the end; 2 Tim. iv. 16. to the end; Tit. ii. 1. to the end; Philem. to ver. 11. and from ver. 23.

Of the Hebrews, Catholic Epistles, Acts or Apocalypse no part has been brought to light from the palimpsests. It is probable that the version of Ulphilas was not confined to the Gospels and St. Paul's Epistles; for it was long before any portions of the latter were known; and indeed we now owe more than a third part of what we possess of this translation of the New Testament to the discoveries of Mai.

The whole of these portions of the Gothic version are combined in the edition of Gabelentz and Loebe, which appeared in different parts from 1836 to 1845.[1] These editors did their utmost, it

[1] Ulfilas. Veteris et Novi Testamenti versionis Gothicæ fragmenta quæ supersunt ad fidem Codd. castigata Latinitate donata adnotatione critica instructa; cum glossario et Grammatica Linguæ Gothicæ conjunctis curis ediderunt H. C. de Gabelentz et Dr. T Loebe. (2 vols. 4to.) Lipsiæ, 1843.

appears, to recompare with the MSS. at Upsal and Milan all that they re-edited. The Latin version placed below the text is made to exhibit, as far as possible, the peculiarities of the Gothic phraseology, and the brief notes relate to peculiarities in the MSS., or to points of Gothic grammar and usage of words, or to the bearing of the Gothic readings as evidencing the Greek text employed. It is thus easy even for those who are very little acquainted with the Gothic idiom to use this version critically. Gabelentz and Loebe have employed the Roman character in their edition.

A small edition of this version by Gaugengigl appeared in 1848.[1] Recently there have appeared two Gothic editions; one of the Gospels by Uppström [2] representing the Codex Argenteus very exactly line for line (accompanied by a *beautiful* facsimile); and one of all the Gothic fragments by Massman, in which the Gothic is accompanied by several other critical additions.[3]

It is not to be questioned that this translation was made direct from the Greek; the constructions that are imitated and the forms by which compound words are at times rendered, make this certain. Even the mistakes of rendering show that it was the Greek text that was before the translator's eye.

But though the Greek basis of this version is most certain, passages have been pointed out in which some Latin influence seems traceable. These peculiarities are most, if not all, of them in the form of glossematical amplifications; and few of them are quite peculiar to the Gothic and the Latin. If the version of Ulphilas received them from the Latin, it must have been in all probability during the time of the Gothic rule in Italy, when amplifications might easily have been written in the margin of a Gothic codex. One Codex Bilinguis (Latin and Gothic) has already come to light, namely, that from which Knittel published the first known fragments of the Epistle to the Romans; and should others be found, we may be able to trace the connection more exactly. Besides the Codex

[1] Gaugengigl's edition seems to merit but little attention. Uppström says of it "In horum [editorum sc.] numerum Ignatium Gaugengigl consulto non referimus, quum is omnia sua, eaque magna mendorum typographicorum copia vitiata, præsertim ex editione Gabelentii Loebeique hauserit."

[2] Codex Argenteus s. sacrorum Evangeliorum versionis Gothicæ fragmenta, quæ iterum recognita adnotationibusque instructa per lineas singulas ad fidem cod. additis fragmentis evangelicis codd. Ambrosianorum, et tab. lapide expressa. Ed. Dr. And. Uppström. Upsaliæ, 1854.

[3] Ulfilas. Die heiligen Schriften alten und neuen Bundes in gothischer Sprache. Mit gegenüberstander griechischer und lateinischer Version, Anmerkungen, Wörterbuch, Sprachlehre und geschichtlicher Einleitung Von H. F. Massmann. Pt. I. Stuttgart, 1855. 8vo. This *first part* contains all the Gothic text that is known to be extant, and the commencement of the notes; all the explanatory portion, historical introduction, &c. is to follow in the second and concluding part. Massman has given some fragments of the Old Test. besides those edited by Mai and Castiglione, but these *seem* to have been gathered from quotations. In this volume the Gothic in large type occupies the left-hand page; on the other in two columns are the corresponding Greek and Latin texts. In the absence as yet of all explanation, it may be remarked that the Greek *seems* to be such a text as the editor supposed Ulphilas to have had before him, and the Latin is a copy of the Vulgate, not the Clementine, nor yet exactly that edited from the Codex Amiatinus by Tischendorf, though it resembles the actual readings of that MS. as corrected by Tregelles from his collation and the re-comparison of Signor del Furia.

Carolinus, such MSS. may in all probability have existed, and that, too, before the time in which the Codex Argenteus was written. It has been already remarked that the Latin text accompanying the Gothic fragments in the Codex Carolinus is such as was in use before the revision of Jerome had been brought into common circulation. And it is evident that these were the two tongues needed in Italy in that day by the two parties, the ruling Goths and the people at large. The *order* of the Gothic Gospels, Matthew, John, Luke, Mark, seems clearly to be taken from the old Latin.

But the Latin colouring is but slight in this version, so much so that it might be almost passed by in an estimate of its general characteristics. As a monument of the fourth century it may be considered as exhibiting peculiarly the *kind of text* that might have been expected: it abounds in readings which are found in the mass of the later copies; it also contains a great many which are altogether of the most ancient class. Though there is no precise resemblance in the text of this MS. throughout, to the revised Latin of the Codex Brixianus, they possess features in common; there is a similar mixture of old readings with those that had come into use. It must have been by means of Greek MSS., somewhat resembling the basis of the Gothic, that the *Italic* revision of the fourth century was carried on.

Thus in all cases in which this version does support the readings of more ancient authorities, it is not only entitled to an attentive hearing, but it must be considered to confirm them greatly. Allowance must always be made in using this version for the partial remoulding of the Greek text from which it was taken, and also for glosses which have been introduced by copyists into the version itself. As a critical witness it cannot take the high place that belongs to the Latin and Egyptian versions.

The readings of the Gothic have been a portion of the apparatus of every critical editor from Mill onward; it is, however, only the more recent that have been enabled to employ it in St. Paul's Epistles.

CHAP. XXXI.

THE ARMENIAN VERSION.

THE Armenian translation belongs to the fifth century. At the beginning of that age, Armenian literature commenced with Miesrob, the inventor of the alphabet of that language; before that time they are said to have employed the Syriac letters. The fact seems to be, that they were in some measure connected, as to the reception of Christianity, with Edessa, and hence for a time they had no Christian literature of their own. It was no doubt a work of considerable difficulty to adapt an alphabet to the peculiar conformation of that language.

Miesrob seems to have regarded his invention of the Armenian alphabet as given him by a heavenly vision. Isaac the Armenian patriarch became a warm patron of this new invention, and he with Miesrob laboured to instruct the Armenians. After a time Miesrob found Isaac occupied in translating from the Syriac into Armenian; this was done, because no Greek books could be had, the Persian general Merazan having burned them; apparently because of that language showing a connection with the empire. There seems to be some doubt *what* Isaac was translating, and it is by no means clear that it was the Scriptures. It might even seem as if Miesrob himself had, with Joseph and Eznak his companions, previously begun a translation from the Syriac, beginning with the Proverbs, and completing all, including the New Testament.

In 431 Joseph and Eznak returned from the council of Ephesus, bringing with them a copy of the Bible in Greek: on this Isaac and Miesrob threw aside what they had previously done, and commenced the work anew. But here a fresh difficulty arose, they were insufficiently skilled in the Greek tongue; therefore Eznak and Joseph, together with Moses Chorenensis, himself the narrator of these particulars, were sent to Alexandria to perfect themselves in that language. There they made what they term the *third* translation into Armenian: the *first* being the attempt to do the work from the Syriac, and the *second* that which was frustrated through want of knowledge of Greek. There can be little doubt that in the last there were not a few portions used, which had at first been formed from the Syriac, and that they were afterwards revised and remoulded so as to suit the Greek.

Before inquiring into the character of text found in this version, or into the kind of preservation with which it has come down to us, it will be well on some accounts to mention first of all the *printed* editions.

In the middle of the seventeenth century, MS. copies of the Armenian Bible having become very scarce and expensive, the Armenian bishops, in a synod held in 1662, determined to get it printed, if possible, in Europe. For this purpose an Armenian of Erivan, commonly known by the name of Oscan or Uscan (by which he is said to have been called from his abode in the monastery of Uski [1]), was sent to Europe for the purpose.

[1] "Er hat seinen Sitz im Kloster Uski, woher er in Frankreich *Uscanus* genannt wurde." Hug's Einleitung, § 89. p. 355. ed. 1847. It seems, then, as if we had no *name* for this man. He appears to call himself "bishop" on the title-page of the Bible that he edited, and some term him Bishop of Erivan, and yet others deny that he was properly a bishop at all. (Bischof Uscan, wie man ihn gewöhnlich nennt, ob er gleich nicht Bischof war. Eichhorn, Einleitung, v. 87.) Thus much is certain, that he did come from the East, that he did print the Armenian Bible at Amsterdam, and that Père Simon knew him at Paris in 1670, and that he died at Marseilles, where by the permission of Louis XIV. the printing of ecclesiastical books for the Armenians was for some time carried on; though hindered by a question which came under discussion, whether the Church of Rome ought not to consider the Armenian mode of celebrating the Lord's Supper as involving idolatry, because the bread is adored *prior* to consecration. This discussion had nothing to do with the printing of the Armenian Bible, though it has sometimes been confounded with it, as though Uscan had tried to print it at Marseilles and did not succeed.

Uscan, after having stayed fifteen months at Rome without success in the object of his mission to the West, even though the Armenians in their distress had then submitted to Papal authority, at length by passing onward to a Protestant country, got the Armenian Bible printed at Amsterdam under the following title:—

Biblia Armena juxta versionem LXX. interpretum, jussu Jacobi Characteri Armenorum Proto-Patriarchæ adornata et edita studio Oskan Wartabied (id est) Episcopo Yuschuaran in Armenia de Dominatione Persica, juvante Salomone de Leon ejus Diacono. Amstelodami æra Armenorum 1115. Christi 1666.

A separate edition of the New Testament followed in 1668, in which the text of Uscan was used; as it was also in the Bibles which appeared in the former part of the last century. In 1789 Dr. Zohrab published an improved edition of the New Testament at Venice (in which 1 John v. 7. was denoted as not being found in the Armenian MSS.), and in 1805 he brought out his edition of the whole Armenian Bible, in which he used the authority of MSS. throughout. The basis was a codex written in Cilicia in the fourteenth century: with this several other MSS. were compared; and the results of the collations are subjoined (with great care apparently) at the foot of the pages. The number of MSS. employed by Zohrab and his coadjutors is said to have been eight of the whole Bible, and twenty of the New Testament; but particular portions, such as the Psalms, seem to have been contained in several others.

Tischendorf learned from Aucher of the Monastery of St. Lazarus, Venice, that he and others of his fellow monks at that place had undertaken a new critical edition. It is not improbable that they may now have Armenian MSS. of value, which they did not possess in the time of Zohrab.

As this version has never been published with a Latin translation, critical editors of the Greek New Testament have never been able to use it through the same medium as those other versions with the languages of which they were not themselves acquainted. They have thus not had the same opportunity of being rightly guided as to the general text, or of being *misled* as to points where the Latin interpretation might be inadequate. Louis Piques communicated some of the readings to Mill; La Croze enabled Wetstein to give yet more citations; Griesbach enlarged the critical knowledge possessed of this version through the aid of Bredenkamp of Hamburg, who collated, for his second edition of the Greek New Testament, the Armenian text of Zohrab published in 1789. Scholz states that Cirbied, Armenian professor at Paris, and also the Mechitarist monks at Vienna, collated for his benefit the critical edition of Zohrab, 1805: this must, however, have been used very partially.[1]

[1] It seems sometimes as if the notes of Cirbied or the Mechitarists were misunderstood by Scholz: thus in Col. ii. 2., where the common text has τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς καὶ χριστοῦ, A. and C. omit the καὶ after θεοῦ, and B. has simply τοῦ θεοῦ χριστοῦ, some of the more recent copies *omit* all after τοῦ θεοῦ; and in favour of this reading Scholz adds "*Arm. Venet.*" But the fact, however, is that the Venice edition has, "the mystery of God in Christ Jesus:" in the margin there is a reference to Uscan's text, and he had "the mystery of

As the Armenian version had thus been very imperfectly employed for critical purposes, and as the only text that was worthy of reliance was virtually uncollated, and as the most contradictory statements were circulated respecting this version, the character of its readings, and its *Latinizing* or the contrary,—it was obviously desirable that means should be taken fully to use the text edited by Zohrab, and the variations of the MSS. as noted by him. This was an object felt to be of importance by Dr. Tregelles, in making the preparations for his Greek Testament. Distrusting his ability to acquire a sufficient acquaintance with Armenian to accomplish this work himself (and having previously been prevented by the decease of his friend Sarkies Davids of Shiraz, M. D., Glasgow, from obtaining his promised aid), it was some time before competent assistance was procured. This work was at last taken up by CHARLES RIEU, Ph. D. of the British Museum, and it was executed in such a manner as to give a kind of verbal connection between the Armenian version and the Greek. In a Greek New Testament each word was *underlined* when there was no difference whatever from the Greek; all transpositions were noted; all sentences not rendered strictly literally were marked. Whatever the Armenian omits remained without being underlined; while all additions, variations, &c., were indicated in the margin. At the foot of each page Dr. Rieu added the variations of the MSS. collated by Zohrab, or the text of Uscan, when the Venetian editor departed from it. In this manner Tregelles was able to form a judgment respecting this version, independently of the statements of previous writers, to correct remarks that have been made, and to use the readings of the text and the MSS. with a degree of certainty which he could not otherwise have attained.

It had been early noticed that Uscan's text contains the verse 1 John v. 7.; and this led to the *suspicion* that he had himself inserted it by translation from the Latin: indeed he seems to have admitted that he used the Latin to supply what he found defective in his MS. But it was doubted whether *this* addition was due to Uscan, for it was said that Haitho or Haithom, the king of Armenia in the thirteenth century (1224–70), had introduced the verse; in fact, that he had revised the Armenian version by the Latin Vulgate, and that he had translated even all the *prefaces* which bear the name of Jerome, real and spurious, into Armenian: that he did this last work seems pretty certain.

As 1 John v. 7. is quoted by a synod held at Sis in Armenia thirty-seven years after the death of Haithom, it was deemed pretty certain that it had been brought into the text by that king, whose adherence to the Western Church was very marked, and who at length became a Franciscan monk.

Thus there rested on this version a kind of *suspicion*, which could

God the Father in Christ Jesus;" and this was followed by the Venice edition of 1816. All that the collators ought to have indicated as *omitted* in the Venice edition of 1805 is the word "Father;" for in that alone does it differ from Uscan. Griesbach does not give the reading of the Armenian text as it stands in Uscan quite correctly, for he omits "Jesus" at the end of the sentence.

only be removed, or else changed into a certainty, by the facts of the case, and the nature of the version being better known.

The omission of 1 John v. 7. by Zohrab, because of its not being the reading of his MSS., did something towards rehabilitating this version as a critical witness. The facts of the case are thus stated by Dr. Rieu: "Out of *eighteen* MSS. used by Zohrab, only *one*, written A. D. 1656, has this passage as in the Stephanic Greek text. An ancient MS. presents a similar reading, but it has evidently been altered in that place by a recent hand." [1] It should farther be added that Dr. Rieu gives the *wording* of this passage, as found in the MS. of 1656, *differently* from its form in Uscan's text. Thus there was a *trace* of this reading in Armenian before the time of Uscan, but it had not affected the copies in general, and he at least was independent of what was found elsewhere in Armenian. But did he obtain it from the Latin? The *probability* of this is obvious to every one who can apprehend the bearing of the subject, and this will become a moral certainty if we find in the context proofs of comparison with the Vulgate. Now in ver. 6. for τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθεία, Uscan's Armenian differs from all the other collated Armenian MSS. in having the reading of the Vulgate "*Christus est veritas.*" (So too Cod. Montfort. See above, p. 215.) In ver. 20. for ἐσμεν, Uscan's Armenian agrees with the Latin in reading the subj. ὦμεν, *simus.* (So too Cod. Montfort.) This may seem a trifling point, but the other Armenian MSS. differ even here. Chap. iii. 11., for ἀγαπῶμεν, the Vulgate has *diligâtis;* so Uscan alone. Rev. i. 11., Uscan with the Vulgate has ταῖς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ of the common text. vi. 3. and 5., Uscan's alone of the Armenian copies has ἔρχου καὶ ἴδε: so too the *modern* Vulgate. James i. 1., Vulgate has Domini *nostri*, and so Uscan. These may be taken as proofs that either Uscan himself, or some one who went before him, *had* occasionally used the Vulgate. But it is in the combined evidence of 1 John v. in verses 6. *and* 7. that the most conclusive evidence is found against Uscan's Armenian, just as against the Codex Montfortianus.

But even if Uscan's Armenian text alone were known, it would be impossible to substantiate a charge of *general* or *systematic* alteration: the places in which the Armenian *differs* from the Vulgate in marked or characteristic readings, are so many throughout the New Testament, as to *prove* this to be impossible; while, on the other hand, the *resemblances* in general are not greater than exist between the Armenian and some of the other ancient versions. Coincidence of reading does not prove *Latinizing* to be a well founded charge.

It appears that MSS. are not known which take us back beyond

[1] The statement made by Alter as to the information which Zohrab gave him in 1790 (see Marsh's Notes to Michaelis, ii. p. 616.) requires therefore a *slight* modification; or perhaps the MSS. containing the verse in any form were not known to Zohrab *at that time.* The following are Alter's words (as cited by Marsh from the preface to his edition of the Iliad, p. 58.). "Plurimum reverendus Bibliothecarius Meghitarensium, in insula S. Lazari Venetiis, P. Joannes Zohrab Armenus Viennæ nunc (scil. 1790) negotia agens, mihi affirmavit, *se in nullo codice Manuscripto Armeno Novi Testamenti, quos tamen multos et varios in Conventus bibliotheca habent,* 1 *Joh.* v. 7. *reperisse, illumque in nullo adhuc codice Armeno repertum fuisse.*"

the days of Haithom; but certainly no tolerably old codices have been brought forward which exhibit *any* proofs that they were altered to suit the Latin in his days: it is utterly uncertain whether the synod of Sis cited 1 John v. 7. from *his* having introduced it. If he really translated the Hieronymian prefaces, including the spurious one prefixed to the Catholic Epistles, that text would be there found, and this might have been all that Haithom actually did in bringing it into notice.

The following may be taken as additional instances of the accordance of Uscan's readings with those of the Vulgate. Matt. vi. 14., both add at the end, *delicta vestra.* vii. 29., both similarly add, *et Pharasæi.* xiv. 32., for the Greek ἐμβάντων αὐτῶν the Vulgate has *cum ascendisset,* and Uscan has the *sing.* xvi. 2, 3., a large omission in the Armenian copies (with some other authorities), the whole of which is supplied in Uscan's text; Dr. Rieu states "from the Latin."[1] xxiii. 14., οὐαὶ δὲ ὑμῖν . . . . ὅτι κατεσθίετε . . . . περισσότερον κρίμα is added by Uscan with the Vulgate, though it "is wanting in all the Armenian MSS." Mark xiv. 62., both read "virtutes *Dei.*" John viii. 1—11. seems in Uscan to be introduced in accordance with the Vulgate. Acts xv. 18., where the rest of the Armenian MSS. with other authorities omit *all* after αἰῶνος, Uscan and Vulgate have, "*est Domino opus suum.*" xv. 34., both add, *Judas autem solus abiit Jerusalem.* xix. 23., Vulgate has "de via *Domini;*" so Uscan. xxiii. between verses 24. and 25. the Vulgate introduces, *Timuit enim ne forte raperent eum Judæi et occiderent, et ipse postea calumniam sustineret, tanquam accepturus pecuniam;* Uscan has this same addition (though introduced, by inadvertence apparently, *before* πρὸς Φήλικα τὸν ἡγεμόνα), "not to be found in any Armenian MS." xxviii. 29. omitted by the Armenian MSS. (with other authorities) added in Uscan as in the Vulgate.

It has sometimes been said that this version was made from the Peshito Syriac, and not from the Greek: the only grounds for the assertion are a few passages connected with *one portion* of the history. It need not be doubted that in some few places readings were introduced from the Peshito; the most marked of these is probably the introduction into Matt. xxviii. 18. of καὶ καθὼς ἀπέσταλκέ με ὁ πατήρ μου, καγὼ ἀποστέλλω ὑμᾶς, an amplification from John xx. 21.; but such occurrences are only *sporadic;* there is no characteristic resemblance between this version and the Peshito Syriac.

In the Acts and some other parts, several of the *additions* are found in the Armenian which are common to it and the *Western* documents; they, are, however, far shorter and less numerous than in D. and the margin of the Harclean Syriac.

The collation of MSS. by Zohrab, and the results stated by Dr. Rieu, seem to prove that some of the Armenian MSS. must differ much, as to the character of their text, from the rest. There seem to be intimations of a remodelling of the version with various Greek

[1] He mentions, however, that the passage is found in *one* Armenian MS.; probably one quite recent.

copies, or else it is possible that differences have existed in the exemplars almost from the first, through the influence of the MS. which Joseph and Eznak brought from Ephesus, having been modified by what they read and used when at Alexandria. This may account for some of the variations of copies one from another; but, in whatever way it arose, comparison with Greek codices of different kinds is a most certain conclusion. In our present state of information, all that we can do is to mention the varieties as and when they occur; the condition of each separate Armenian MS., and the kind of text found in each, is more than can be specified in the present state of our knowledge.

It has been of importance to examine all that is now known of this version; for the manner in which it has been regarded, even by some very competent scholars, has been just such as if it were only an echo from the Latin, to which it was said that Haithom or Uscan had conformed it. Of the influence of the former we find no certain trace; the alterations made by the latter have now been rejected through Zohrab's collations; and the results, though as yet unused by any critical editor of the Greek New Testament, have been rendered amply available for that of Tregelles through the accurate examination of Dr. Rieu.

CHAP. XXXII.

THE ÆTHIOPIC VERSION.

THE date of the execution of this version is very uncertain: by some it has been referred to the time of the first introduction of Christianity into Æthiopia, an event which took place in the fourth century. Meropius, a philosopher of Tyre, determined to visit the region which the ecclesiastical historians termed the country of the Indians. On his return he touched at a port; but as the peace between the Romans and the "Indians" had been ruptured a little while previously, the barbarians attacked the voyagers, all of whom were killed except two young relatives of Meropius, named Frumentius and Ædesius, who were sent as slaves to the king. By him they were entrusted with high employments, and on his death he gave them their liberty. They acted as ministers for the young king who succeeded during his minority. Soon after this they began to teach the people amongst whom they were the principles of the religion which they themselves professed. A place was soon set apart for Christian worship; and after a while both the Tyrians left the country. Ædesius returned to his family and friends at Tyre, while Frumentius going to Alexandria told Athanasius of the success which had been vouchsafed to him in spreading Christianity in the land of his captivity. The result was that he was appointed by Athanasius the first bishop of that region; and as Axum became the

place of his see, we know that the *India* in which he laboured was part of Æthiopia or Abyssinia.[1] Athanasius mentions this Frumentius in his apology addressed to the Emperor Constantius, complaining that the opposition to him and the Nicene faith had been carried so far, as that letters had been written to the rulers of Æthiopia, to cause Frumentius to be summoned, in order that he might be indoctrinated into Arianism; he quotes from such a citation in which Frumentius, being suspected of being an adherent of Athanasius, was called on to be examined as to his creed by George, the intruding bishop of Alexandria.

Such was the beginning of the Christian profession in that region; and in the ancient dialect of Axum we possess a version of the Scriptures. Some have attributed this to Frumentius; but this is unlikely, for the translator was not too well skilled in Greek, as will be shown below; and the Abyssinians themselves ascribe their version to a later date: their accounts of it are, however, very contradictory, and they even speak of its having been made from the Arabic, and this it most certainly was not.

The first portion of the Æthiopic Scriptures published was the Psalter, which appeared at Rome in 1513: the *language* was there, by a strange misapprehension, termed *Chaldee*.

The New Testament was printed also at Rome, in 1548 and 1549. In the former year appeared the first volume containing the Gospels, the Apocalypse, the Catholic Epistles, and that to the Hebrews; in the next year was published the second volume, containing the thirteen Epistles to which St. Paul's name is prefixed. The subscription of the editors to the Gospel of St. Matthew is thus given in Latin by Ludolf: —"Memores estote nostrum in orationibus vestris sanctis, scilicet fratrum vestrorum, Tesfa-Sionis Mathesini, Tensea Waldi, et Zaslaski; Petri et Pauli et Bernardini; quoniam omnes nos filii sumus patris nostri Tecla Hainoniti Monasterii Romani Mons Libani dicti." (The three latter names are the Latin designations of the three editors whose proper Abyssinian names precede.) The subscription to the Acts is thus given by Ludolf: —"Ista Acta Apostolorum maxima sua parte versa sunt Romæ e lingua Romanâ et Græcâ in Æthiopicum propter defectum archetypi: id quod addidimus vel omisimus condonate nobis, vos autem emendate illud."[2]

This Roman edition is stated to be far from accurate. The editors complained of the difficulty in which they were placed through the printers being so entirely unacquainted with the language on which they were employed.[3] There seems to be some overstatement when they speak of having filled up a large part of

[1] See Theodoret, Hist. Ecc. i. 23. Socrates, i. 19. Sozomen, ii. 24.

[2] Marsh's Notes to Michaelis, ii. 612.

[3] "O patres mei fratresque, nolite sinistre interpretari menda ejus, et opus manuum ejus. Qui enim impresserunt, non noverant legere, et nos non noveramus imprimere: sed juvabant illi nos, et nos juvabamus illos, sicuti cæcus cæcum juvat. Propterea ignoscite nobis et illis." Christian Benedict Michaelis's translation in his *Preface* to Bode's Collation of St. Matthew's Gospel in the Æthiopic, 1749. This *Preface* gives a good account of the Roman edition.

the book of Acts by a translation from the Latin and Greek: it can hardly have been more than supplying from the Vulgate what they thought to be deficient in their copies. From the Roman text the Æthiopic New Testament was reprinted in Walton's Polyglott; but (Ludolf says) all the former errors were retained and new ones were introduced. The Latin version in Walton is far from accurate, but it was only from this text and this interpretation that the earlier critical editors could draw their readings of this version taken as a whole. Good service to sacred criticism was rendered by Bode, when he published a carefully executed translation into Latin of the whole of the Æthiopic version from the text of Walton, but with allowance for the typographical errors.[1]

No revised or emended text of the Æthiopic New Testament appeared until 1826, when the Gospels were printed from a collation of MSS. by Thomas Pell Platt, M. A., formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. The Gospels were followed in 1830 by the other books, completing the New Testament under the same editorial care. This edition was executed for the British and Foreign Bible Society, whose object was not *critical*, but simply to give the Abyssinians the Scriptures in as good a form of their ancient version as could be conveniently done. Such MSS. therefore were consulted by Mr. Platt as were easily accessible; and such readings were adopted from them as appeared suitable to the object in view.

Some few notes were made by Mr. Platt of those readings which particularly struck his attention while engaged in this work; but he did not preserve anything like a collation, or materials for affording a critical acquaintance with the MSS.[2]

The use of the Æthiopic version in textual criticism commenced (or nearly so) with the appearance of Walton's Polyglott, where the Latin interpretation rendered it in a manner available to Biblical scholars who were not skilled in the Æthiopic tongue. The collation and version of Bode enabled this to be done with far greater exactitude; but as no critical use had been made of Mr. Platt's examinations, Dr. Tregelles was desirous of obtaining all the information that he could from that scholar. The application was responded to with the greatest kindness. Mr. Platt sent Dr. Tregelles the memoranda which he had made while occupied about the Gospels. But few notes were made or kept; and Mr. Platt, in stating this to Dr. Tregelles[3], thus gives the reason: "As the work was published for the British and Foreign Bible Society, who, by the laws of their constitution, could not print any preface or notes, I

[1] Brunswick, 1753. 2 vols. 4to.

[2] He gave however a good deal of information respecting Æthiopic MSS. in the following work:—"A Catalogue of the Ethiopic Biblical MSS. in the Royal Library of Paris and in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society; also some account of those in the Vatican Library at Rome. With remarks and extracts. To which are added specimens of versions of the New Testament into the modern languages of Abyssinia: and a grammatical analysis of a chapter in the Amharic dialect: with facsimiles of an Ethiopic and an Amharic MS. By Thomas Pell Platt, B. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. M.DCCC.XXIII.

[3] In a private letter, Oct. 13. 1849.

was rather careless about writing or keeping any. In fact, having a good deal of editorial work on my hands at the time, I probably made the circumstance that I have mentioned an excuse to my own mind for getting rid of additional labour."

The notes of Mr. Platt do not go beyond the Gospels: his procedure as to the text in the latter part of the New Testament was thus described by himself[1]: "For the Acts and Epistles I had nothing but one MS. (which was, and I suppose is still, in the library of the British and Foreign Bible Society), and Walton's text. Whenever therefore my edition differs from Walton, you may conclude that it represents the text of that MS. For though I have not any collation by me to refer to, I think I may safely assert that I never ventured to introduce emendations of my own."[2]

To use the text of Mr. Platt the aid of an Æthiopic scholar was needful; this help was afforded by L. A. Prevost, Esq., of the British Museum, who collated it with the text of Walton, noting the variations of reading, and giving the literal translation of the variations: this, together with Bode's Latin interpretation, afforded good materials for using the Æthiopic version, in every form in which it has been published.

In examining the translation one of the first points that is obvious proves, indeed, that it was made from the Greek, but that the translator could not have been a Greek himself: it is useless to think of

[1] In a letter to Dr. Tregelles, Nov. 8. 1849.

[2] The following is the notation of the Æthiopic MSS. cited by Mr. Platt in the notes to the Gospels refered to above.

In St. Matthew *a. M.* and iii., a MS. commencing in chap. xi.

In St. Mark *a. M. only.*

In St Luke *a.* 18. 19. 5.

In St. John *a.* 1. 2. 3. *C.* 5.

The MS. "iii." seems to be that similarly noted by Mr. Platt in his list of the Bible Society's MSS. p. 9. (See what he says of this MS. p. 11.)

18. and 19. appear to be the MSS. similarly noted amongst those removed from the Library of St. Germain des Prez to the Bibliothèque du Roi at Paris. But *why* they are cited under St. Luke only, when they are described as containing the four Gospels, does not appear. However, Mr. Platt distinctly says that in Matt. he had only the aid of *a. M.* and iii.; and in St. Mark of *a.* and *M.* only.

C. appears to be the MS. of St. John at Cambridge, brought from India by Dr. Claudius Buchanan.

a. is clearly a MS. of the *four* Gospels; but the only ones mentioned in Platt's catalogues containing them all are 18. 19.; which are cited in St. Luke under those designations. Mr. Platt (p. 11.) speaks very highly of 18.; but that MS. cannot be *a.*, because these MSS. are cited for opposing readings: 19. is similarly precluded from being *a.*

M. appears to be very likely "iv." in the Bible Society's list; but there is nothing to identify them positively.

1. 2. and 3. in St. John's Gospel may be respectively, v., vi., and vii. in the Bible Society's list.

What MS. is intended by "5." of St. Luke and St. John seems quite uncertain: from his notes it was clearly one to which he did not continue to have access. Mr. Platt says in his notes distinctly that *a.* and *M.* were *manuscripts*, and not any collection of readings: "Per undena priora capita Evangelii S. Matthæi duo tantum codices Manuscripti aderant *a.* et *M.* cum Waltoni textu conferendi."

The MS. to which Mr. Platt referred in the letter cited above, as that which he employed in the latter part of the N. Test. published in 1830, is not mentioned in the list of those belonging to the Bible Society in 1823; it must therefore have been a subsequent purchase: it is then possible that *a.* and *M.* were MSS. acquired *after* Mr. Platt's catalogue was printed. Is there any belonging to the Asiatic Society, and one to the British Museum, which would answer these descriptions? the initial designations would suit.

its having been the work of Frumentius.[1] The following instances will prove this: — ὄρια is confounded with ὄρεα (or ὄρη); thus Matt. iv. 13. "in *monte* Zabulon;" xix. 1. "in *montes* Judææ trans Jordanem." Acts iii. 8. ἁλλόμενος "*pisces capiens*, qs. ἁλιεύων vel ἁλιευόμενος:" so C. B. Michaelis; Bode however renders "celeriter incedens." iii. 20. προκεχειρισμένον confounded with προκεχρισμένον, "quem præunxit." ii. 37. κατενύγησαν taken as κατηνοίγησαν, "*aperti* sunt quoad cor eorum." xvi. 25. ἐπηκροῶντο αὐτῶν οἱ δέσμιοι taken as if ἐπεκρούοντο αὐτῶν οἱ δεσμοί; "percussa sunt vincula eorum." xx. 15. ἀντικρὺ Χίου, rendered *Anticras Chiu.* Matt. v. 25. εὐνοῶν rendered *intelligens*, as if ἐννοῶν. Luke viii. 29. καὶ πέδαις φυλασσόμενος is taken as if there were παιδίοις, "a *parvulis* custoditus." 2 Cor. vii. 2. χωρήσατε is rendered "separate," as if χωρίσατε. Rom. vii. 11. ἐξηπάτησε is taken as if ἐξεπάτησε, "conculcavit." Rev. iv. 3. ἶρις is rendered "sacerdotes," as if it were ἱερεῖς. Words are confounded in their *meaning*, which happen to be spelled with the same letters: thus in 1 Cor. xii. 28. "Posuit Dominus *aurem* ecclesiæ," from confounding the meanings of ΟΥΣ. To the above may be added places in which a word was wrongly supposed to be connected with another of a different meaning, such as Matt. v. 22., "Qui autem dixerit fratrem suum *pannosum*," a mistake arising from ῥακὰ not having been understood, and a meaning having been sought through ῥάκος.

Perhaps these proofs of Greek origin are most frequent in the book of Acts: this of itself would *limit* the application of the statement of the Roman editors as to what they supplied. Also Mr. Platt's text intimates that there was no great difference between the Roman text of the MS. which he used; except that the former *added* some things which the MS. with other authorities omitted.

It can be no cause for surprise that this version, made by such an incompetent translator, should often be very poor and incorrect. The Gospels are the best executed portion; St. Paul's Epistles are often a dreary paraphrase, which, with all allowance for transmissional mistakes, could never have been a good translation.

Mr. Platt says of some of the MSS. which he examined: "The MS. of St. Germains, No. 18., seems to present the best readings; and, from other circumstances hereafter to be mentioned, appears to be an authentic copy of the received text. From this copy, No. 19., which is also ancient and bears marks of authenticity, differs, especially in passages which present any little difficulty, and are not merely historical. . . . . The state of the text in MS. No. 1. of the Royal Library, seems to have tended most to decide Ludolf's opinion respecting the existence of *two* versions. He says (Comm. p. 299.): 'Evangelia Matthæi et Marci in Bibliotheca Regis Galliæ extantia plurimum differunt ab impressis, ut vix versus unus cum altero conveniat; nam paraphrasis magis est quam versio.' . . . . It does not however differ more, so far as the sense which its readings

[1] See C. B. Michaelis in his preface to Bode's collation of St. Matthew, who gives most of these instances.

exhibit is concerned, than No. 19. St. Germain from No. 18. What gives it the appearance of a loose and paraphrastic translation is, that it contains so many repetitions, continually representing the same phrase by two different expressions immediately succeeding one another; and when these are not connected together by the requisite intermediate particles, of course a great confusion is introduced. I collated part of the Gospel of St. Matthew in this MS. with the Bible Society's MSS. No. iii. and No. iv., and the observation of a very curious circumstance was the result. The texts of these two latter MSS. vary, and I found that in almost every instance where they give different readings of a phrase, both those readings are inserted in the MS. of the Royal Library, even when they only have different forms of the same verb." [1]

But such is the confusion in MSS. that the theory of two versions meets the phenomena very inadequately. It seems as if there was originally *one version* of the Gospels, afterwards compared with Greek MSS. of a *different* class; and the MSS. in general bearing proofs of containing a text *modified* by such comparison, while others contain throughout *conflate* readings.

Whether the version was all executed at one time, or by the same person or persons, may be doubted: thus the latter part is so much more paraphrastic than the Gospels, and shows such a general incompetence, that it looks as if it had originated with a more recent hand, perhaps the reviser of the Gospels.

The text of this version, as might be supposed from what has already been said, is very *mixed;* there seems a good portion of Alexandrian readings, but also with much that is Constantinopolitan interspersed. It requires a more full knowledge than we possess of the minute features of the MSS. before the *original* form of the version can be critically determined. It may in general be said that this version, even as now known, upholds the ancient Greek text, though, from its want of minute exactitude, there are many places in which its readings cannot be cited at all, or at least not with confidence, in favour of either of two conflicting readings.[2]

Mr. Platt's text sets this version on a basis of certain MS. authority, and enables us to know that it is quite independent of the Latin Vulgate, though from the object which he had in view, readings are introduced into his edition which appear to belong to the *revision* of the version, and not to its original form: the collation of his text with Walton, made by Mr. Prevost, supplies a great deal; Mr. Platt's notes, too, are valuable in themselves, and they point to the work which some one may yet undertake for this version.

This version has generally been cited amongst those which simply contain the last eleven verses of St. Mark's Gospel. But the testimony was very different of the two MSS. of the place collated by

[1] Catalogue, pp. 11, 12.

[2] It is very possible that the intercourse in the time of Justinian between the Byzantine court and the southern shores of the Red Sea may have been in some way connected with the completion or the revision of this version.

Mr. Platt. He says, "Inter verr. 8 & 9 inserunt M. A. '*Et cum perfecisset dicere omnia quæ præcepit Petro et suis, postquam apparuisset iis Dominus Jesus ab ortu solis usque ad occasum, dimisit eos ut prædicarent Evangelium sanctum, quod non corrumpitur, in salutem æternam.*'" The resemblance of this to the Greek Codex L. is very marked[1]: the Æthiopic version must have been formed or revised with MSS. which contained *double* terminations for St. Mark's Gospel.

A specimen of an Æthiopic MS. is introduced by the Rev. T. H. Horne, with the following description, which details much that is characteristic of documents in that language.

"A valuable manuscript of the Æthiopic version, in fine preservation, is in the possession of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society. From a memoir on this manuscript by Professor Lee, we learn, that it contains the first eight books of the Old Testament, written on vellum, in a bold and masterly hand, in two columns on each page. The length of the page is that of a large quarto; the width is not quite so great. The volume contains 285 folios, of which the text covers 282, very accurately written, and in high preservation. On the first page is written, in Ethiopic, the invocation usually found in the books of the Eastern Christians: 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.' Then follows an account of the contents of the book, written in Latin by some former possessor, and a date A.D. 1596, 20th September. On the reverse of the first folio is found a table, not unlike the tables of genealogy in some of our old English Bibles, which seems to be intended to show the hours appointed for certain prayers. Then follows the book of Genesis, as translated from the Greek of the Septuagint. On the reverse of the third folio is the following inscription in Arabic: 'The poor Ribea, the Son of Elias, wrote it: O wine! to which nothing can be assimilated, either in reality or appearance: O excellent drink! of which our Lord said, having the cup in his hand, and giving thanks, "This is my blood for the salvation of men."' Folios 7. and 8. have been supplied, in paper, by a more modern hand. On the reverse of folio 8. is a very humble attempt at drawing, in the figure of a person apparently in prayer, accompanied by an inscription in Ethiopic at the side of the figure: 'In the prayers of Moses and Aaron, to[2] Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, am I, thy servant, O Lord, presented in the power of the Trinity, a weak, infirm, and defiled sinner. Let them implore Christ.' Under the drawing, in Ethiopic: 'In the same manner, every slayer that slays Cain, will I repay in this; and, as he slew, so shall he be slain.' On the reverse of folio 98., at the end of the book of Exodus, are two figures, somewhat similar, but rather

[1] See "Account of Printed Text," p. 254. This note of Mr. Platt's was overlooked, when the Æthiopic was mentioned in p. 255. of that volume: its citation would have materially *strengthened* the points there laid down.

[2] "As this inscription, which occurs on the supplied leaves, savours of the errors of the Romish church, it was probably written by some Abyssinian Romanist. The inscriptions of Isaac, the writer of the MS., though mutilated, and sometimes obscure, seem free from these errors. The figure of St. Peter, mentioned below, was probably traced by the same hand.

better drawn, and seemingly by the writer of the manuscript; and in another place or two there are marginal ornaments. At the end of Deuteronomy is this inscription, in Ethiopic: 'The repetition of the law, which God spake to Moses. Numbered 5070 [1] (words). Intercede for your slave Isaac.' — At the end of the volume: 'Pray for those who laboured in this book; and for your slave Isaac, who gave this to Jerusalem, the Holy.' Then follows an inscription in Arabic: 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, one God. O Lord, save thy people from every evil! O our God, Jesus Christ, the speaker to men! O holy people, remember your slave Isaac, the poor; God shall remember you in the mercies of this book. Pray, if God be willing, that I may be permitted to see your face. And pray for me, the sinner. Pardon my sins, O Lord! and let my body be buried in Mount Sion.' Then follows, in Ethiopic: 'That our enemies may not say of us, "We have conquered them:" be ye prudent. We have given you a lamp. Be ye the culture.— Sow ye the flock: reap and rejoice.' . . . . . A few lines have been erased. Then follows . . . . 'me, Isaac, the poor, in your prayers. It was completed in Beth Gabbaza, of Axuma. In thy name, O Lord, have I planted, that thou place me not in any other place except Mount Sion; the mount of Christ; the house of Christians. Let them not be forgotten in your prayers, who have read and testified to you. Preserve, O Lord, this my offering for me thy servant, the poor; and preserve all these books which I offer, that the brethren, dwelling at Jerusalem, may be comforted. And pray for me [2], forget me not in the holy offices, and in prayer, that we may all stand before God in the terrible day and hours. That it might not be written that we were wanting, I have previously sent and given you this for the warfare of the testimony. Intercede, and bless. And also for the refreshing of the record of the Fathers: and also for Cueskam [3], the queen of the sons of Abyssinia; that they may be comforted, and thence convert our region — may, moreover, migrate into other regions, and restore Jerusalem: — and for the Calvary of Mary. Let them pray for me. Let it be preserved as the widow's mite, for ever and ever. Let them not sell or exchange; nor let them carry it away; nor let them cause it to be placed elsewhere. And . . . . .' the rest is wanting. Hence it appears that the book was written at Axuma, the ancient capital of Ethiopia; and that it was sent by Isaac to the Abyssinians residing in Jerusalem. No date appears in the manuscript itself. It is, probably, about 300 years old. On the reverse

[1] "It is customary among the Jews, Syrians, and Ethiopians, to number the words in the books of Scripture.

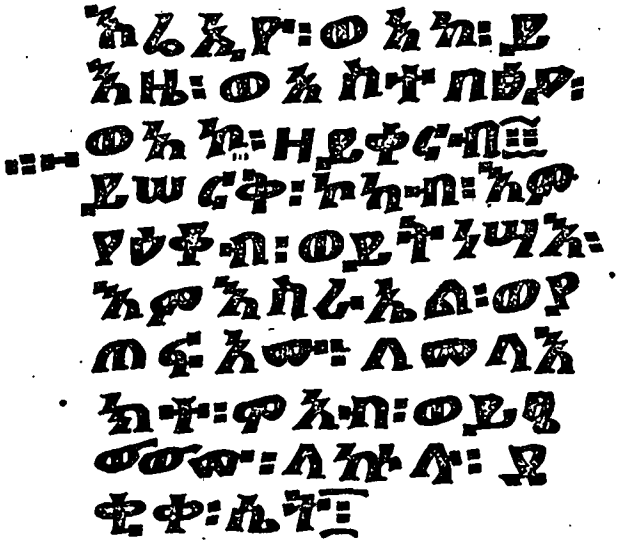
[2] "In most of the eastern churches, it is the practice to enumerate their saints in a certain part of the Liturgy.

[3] "The name of a region, a sea, and a mountain, in Ethiopia; so celebrated, as to be esteemed by the Ethiopians as preferable to even Sinai or Mount Olivet; and, as tradition says, whither Joseph and Mary, with the child Jesus, betook themselves, making it their residence for some time, after the flight into Egypt, *Castell*, sub voce.— *Ludolf*, sub voce, says it is the name of a monastery in Upper Egypt, which was always had in great veneration by the Copts and Ethiopians; and where Christ is said to have resided with his mother, when he fled from Herod.

of fol. 285. is a drawing intended to represent Andrew the Apostle, with the book of the Gospels in one hand, and the keys in the other. Some less ingenious draftsman, however, has, by means of the transparency of the vellum, traced out this figure on the first page of this folio, and given the name of Peter to his humble representation. He has thus succeeded in assigning to St. Peter the first place, and also in bestowing on him the keys. Against this picture of Peter is placed his age, 120 years.

"The following fac-simile represents part of the remarkable prophecy of Balaam.

Num. XXIV. 17.



"I shall see him, but not now: I shall call him blessed, but he is not near: there shall arise a star out of Jacob, and from Israel shall it arise: and he shall destroy the ambassadors of Moab, and shall take captive all the children of Seth."

CHAP. XXXIII.

THE ARABIC AND OTHER LATER VERSIONS.

THE remaining versions which have sometimes been quoted in critical editions of the Greek Testament, as witnesses to the text, are of little or no importance, as far as that object is concerned. They are too recent to be able to show what the condition of the text was in very early times; their only value, as bearing on the Greek, is in connection with the *history* of the text, and not with its criticism.

They require, however, to be briefly described here, because the references, which are sometimes made to them, might otherwise be but dimly intelligible to those who are using critical works.

THE ARABIC VERSIONS.—The *printed editions* of the Arabic version must first be specified before their text can be more particularly noticed.

I. The ROMAN *editio princeps* of the four Gospels, which appeared in two forms, with and without a Latin interlined version, dated on the title 1590, and in the subscription at the end 1591. This is often called the *Medicean* text, from its having proceeded from the Medicean press.[1]

II. The ERPENIAN Arabic. An edition of the whole of the New Testament which appeared at Leyden in 1616, in which Erpenius followed the text of a MS. of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.

III. The Arabic of the Paris Polyglott, 1645: this, in the Gospels, follows the Roman text; though the editor, Gabriel Sionita, did not adhere to it exclusively. In the Epistles he had a MS. from Aleppo.

IV. The Arabic in Walton's Polyglott, 1657: this seems to be taken simply from the Paris text of Sionita.

V. The *Carshuni* text in the Syriac and Arabic New Testament, published at Rome in 1703. (See above, p. 261.) In this a MS. was employed by the editor which had been brought from Cyprus. A Carshuni edition had been intended by John Baptist Raymundi, the editor of the Roman editio princeps of the Gospels.

Thus, of these editions, I., II., and V., are derived from MS. authority; and though the variations between them have been rested on by some as showing that they were different versions, it was proved by Storr[2] that the translation is one and the same, though variations have been introduced. He showed that MSS. in which the Gospels stand in Arabic and Syriac, do not contain a really different translation; and Hug made it clear that the same thing is true of the Arabic Gospels when they are accompanied by Memphitic.[3] But Storr, Michaelis, Eichhorn[4], Hug, and others, thought it undoubted that this version of the Gospels was taken from the Greek; and this appears to have been very generally assumed as a certain fact.

[1] This Roman edition was reissued with a new titlepage in 1619, and with the leaf at the end, containing the subscription, *cancelled*, and FINIS stamped at the bottom of the preceding page, so that it might seem like a new work. In 1774 the unsold copies were issued at Florence with a preface giving some account of the edition itself; which was, it appears, prepared under the care of John Baptist Raymundi, in the printing office set up at Rome by the Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici. It had been in hand some time when, in 1587, Ferdinando succeeded his brother Francesco as Grand Duke of Tuscany. This not only delayed the appearance of this edition of the Gospels, but it frustrated the publication of many intended works. This reissue in 1774 is stated by Cæsar Malanimeus, the author of the preface, to have been under the auspices of Pietro Leopoldo Grand Duke of Tuscany; who succeeded his brother Joseph II., in 1790, as Leopold II. Emperor of Germany.

[2] Dissertatio inauguralis critica de Evangeliis Arabicis. Tubingæ, 1775. The arguments of Storr have been admitted by Michaelis (ii. 89.), by Hug (§ 106. p. 394. ed. 1847), and other competent scholars; in fact, the opposite opinion seems now to be unheard of.

[3] Einleitung, § 103. (p. 385. ed. 1847).

[4] Einleitung, v. p. 39.

Juynboll, however, threw a new light on the subject in his "Description of an Arabic Codex of the library at Franeker, containing the four Gospels, followed by some remarks relating to the literary history of the Arabic version of the Gospels."[1]

In this Dissertation Juynboll describes the Franeker Codex, and proves that its text coincides in its general texture with the Roman *editio princeps;* and that they both of them follow the Latin Vulgate; so that this conformity in the Roman text must not be laid to the account of Raymundi, the editor. The Arabic Gospels in the Polyglotts are in many points in accordance, however, with the Greek text. This Juynboll supposes to have been through the influence of an Aleppo MS. of the New Testament which the editors of the Paris Polyglott had; though they speak of having in the Gospels repeated the Roman text, and having only in the rest of the New Testament used the Aleppo MS.

Now in the eighth century John Bishop of Seville is mentioned as having translated the Holy Scriptures into Arabic, the language which was then spreading widely in Spain; and this work, in the Gospels, Juynboll proceeds to identify with the text of the Franeker MS. and the Roman edition.[2] The question, then, to be solved is this: Was the Arabic translation of the Gospels formed from the Latin, and afterwards revised with the Greek? or, was it first formed from the Greek and then adapted to the Latin? In the former case the version of John of Seville may have been the *first;* if the latter, then all that was done by that Bishop might be to adapt the existing translation to the Latin, which was then falling into disuse in Spain.

There also exists a recension of the same Arabic version in which it seems to be adapted to the Memphitic; the Epistles appear to be a *translation* from that version.[3] The MS. in which this exists belonged to Raymundi.

The version of the latter part of the New Testament in the Erpenian Arabic was made from the Peshito Syriac; the Epistles wanting in that version, and Apocalypse, are said to be from the Memphitic.

The latter part of the New Testament in the Polyglotts is a translation from the Greek.[4]

[1] Beschrijving van een Arabischen Codex der Franeker Bibliotheek, bevattende de vier Evangelien. Gevolgd van eenige opmerkingen, welke de letterkundige geschiedenis van de Arabische vertaling der evangelien betreffen. This is a *second* title of "Letterkundige Bijdragen van T. W. J. Juynboll, Th. D. &c. Tweede Stukje." Leyden, 1838. This contribution to sacred criticism seems to have met with but little attention out of Holland. The copy given by the author in 1850 to the present writer, and communicated by him to other Biblical scholars, seems to have been the only way in which it has been at all known in this country.

[2] Mariana in his Spanish history mentions the translation by John of Seville, and that copies of it were still extant and known at the end of the sixteenth century. It is thus that Juynboll had data for the identification of certain Arabic texts,—the Franeker MS., and the Roman edition,—with what was circulated in Spain.

[3] See Hug, § 103.

[4] Some of the remarks of Cardinal Wiseman on the subject of the printed Arabic versions (though relating specially to the Old Testament) are worthy of consideration. They are contained in a paper (in which from the subject they are little to be expected) "On the

Besides the printed editions of the Arabic New Testament, many MSS. have been spoken of as containing a differing version. One of these which has been definitely described by Scholz[1]; it is a MS. in the Vatican (Cod. Vatic. Arab. 13[9]), which appears to contain all the New Testament except the Apocalypse. From a Greek subscription this copy seems to have been written at Emesa. According to Hug's investigation this version seems to rank low enough; and yet in the passages extracted by Scholz there are readings which prove that the translator must have followed a Greek copy containing very ancient readings. Thus, in 1 Tim. iii. 16., it has ὃς ἐφανερώθη[2], and it omits the last eleven verses of St. Mark's Gospel.[3]

THE SLAVONIC VERSION.—That portion of the Slavonic race who were settled in the regions bordering on the Danube and in Great Moravia, received the profession of Christianity in the ninth century. This was brought about principally through the labours of two brothers from Thessalonia named Cyrillus and Methodius, who were successful in their labours in a region in which the Germans were connected with dioceses of the bishops of Salzburg and Passau; the latter of whom sought to enforce the claims of the archiepiscopal see of Lorch over the pagan land of Moravia. This Cyrillus, who was, it appears, previously termed Constantine the Philosopher, had before this been a successful missionary amongst the *Khozars*, a people inhabiting the Crimea and neighbouring districts, amongst whom in that age Mohammedanism and *Judaism*[4] gained proselytes. He seems also to be the same person who had preached amongst the Bulgarians.

To Cyrillus has been ascribed by the Slavonians the invention of their alphabet, which is termed Cyrillic from him.[5] To him also is attributed the commencement of the translation of the Scriptures,

Miracles of the New Testament." (See "Essays on various Subjects," vol. i. pp. 172—176. 240—244.) But Card. Wiseman often gives the most important information on critical subjects in connections which seem the most unlikely.

[1] Biblisch-Kritische Reise, 1823 (pp. 117—126.). See Hug, § 107.

[2] Though Scholz, who *cites the passage* p. 122., states, p. 127., that it has θεός, an entire mistake.

[3] For a farther account of the Arabic versions the reader is referred to Hug's Einleitung, §§ 99—112. (pp. 378—402.), and Eichhorn, v. 26—66. See also Juynboll, and Davidson's Biblical Criticism, ii. pp. 222—229.

[4] The groundwork of the Jewish book "Cozri" is not *all* a fiction. "The Khozars occupied all the countries situated between the banks of the Volga, the sea of Azof, and the Crimea, extending their conquest northward to the banks of the river Occa. . . . . The most remarkable circumstance relating to that nation is, however, that about the middle of the eighth century their monarchs embraced the Jewish religion, but were a century afterwards converted to Christianity by the same Cyrillus and Methodius who became afterwards the apostles of the Slavonians." *Religious History of the Slavonic Nations*, by the late Count Valerian Krasinsky, pp. 262, 263, *foot-note.*

[5] "That which distinguishes Cyrill from all other missionaries of this period is the fact that he did not yield to the prejudice which represented the languages of the rude nations as too profane to be employed for sacred uses, nor shrink from any toil which was necessary in order to become accurately acquainted with the language of the people among whom he laboured. Accordingly he resided for a long time at Chersonesus in order to learn the language of the Chazars; and in like manner he mastered the Sclavonian tongue when he was called to teach among Sclavonian nations. On this occasion he invented for it an alphabet, and translated the Holy Scriptures into the language." Neander's Church History, vi. 61, 62. (Torrey's translation, published by Clark.)

which was continued (some say completed) by his brother Methodius. The labours of these brethren in Great Moravia[1] commenced A. D. 862. Cyrillus seems to have died at Rome about 868, when Methodius returned to the Slavonians, appointed to be their bishop, and amongst them he continued for many years.

How much of the Slavonic version belongs to these two brethren is incapable of being ascertained: it is doubtful if all the Old Testament was translated even in that age.

The oldest edition of any part of the New Testament of this version is that of the four Gospels which appeared in Wallachia in 1512. Then came the Wilna edition of the same portion in 1575; and in 1581 the whole Bible was published at Ostrog in Volhynia: from this was taken the Moscow Bible of 1663; in the text of which, however, 1 John v. 7. had been previously introduced (in 1653 apparently, when the Patriarch Nicon published an edition of the Acts and Epistles).

The oldest known *manuscript* of this version belongs to the year 1056: it is an Evangeliarium, written in Cyrillic characters. The MS. of the Gospels on which the French kings used to take their coronation oath at Rheims appears to be of nearly as early a date.[2] The Codex of the Gospels in the library of the Synod at Moscow is of the year 1144. The oldest MS. of the whole Bible is of the year 1499: it is probable that parts of the Old Testament were translated not long previously.

It has been said that the Apocalypse formed no part of the Old Slavonic version, but that it was an after addition. This is in itself probable, as the translation was made, no doubt, for church use.

A few readings from this version were cited by Wetstein; but many accurate extracts were given by Alter in his Greek Testament, which were used by Griesbach in his second edition, together with the collations communicated to him by Dobrowsky: these were taken from the Bible of 1663, and also from several MSS., especially those containing the Revelation.

The text of this version is mostly what would be expected in one executed from the Byzantine copies of the ninth century. The faithfulness of the translation has been highly commended by competent judges; but, in a *critical* point of view, it does not take a place of any importance: it is only valuable as showing that the more recent of the old versions agree with the more recent of the Uncial MSS. in containing the modernised text.

[1] "The kingdom of Great Moravia must not be confounded with the Austrian province which bears this name at present. It was a powerful state, which extended from the frontiers of Bavaria to the river Drina in Hungary, and from the banks of the Danube and the Alps northward beyond the Carpathian mountains to the river Stryi in Southern Poland, and westward as far as Magdeburg." Krasinsky, p. 20.

[2] "Die älteste bekannte Handschrift der Slaw. Uebers. ist das sog. ostromirische Evangelistarium, um 1056 für den Knäs Ostromir von Novgorod mit Kyrillischer Schrift geschrieben: herausg. von *Wostokow*, Petersb. 1843. Nach einigen fast eben so alt ist die berühmte Evv. HS., welche zu Rheims bei der Salburg der französischen Könige zum Schwure diente (*texte du Sacre*), und deren Sprache erst in neuerer Zeit erkannt wurde, A. A. von *Silvestre*. P. 1843. von *Hanka*, Prag. 1846." Reuss, § 447.

Whether, however, this version has not been influenced by readings derived from the Latin has been a matter of dispute. Some have even asserted a peculiar accordance with the Codices D. and L.: but as this resemblance seems only to be found in passages in which these MSS. agree with the Latin, and as it is impossible for it to be maintained that this accordance with D. and L. is *general* (when every page of Griesbach's Greek Testament shows the reverse), it seems as if this asserted accordance was so far a proof of Latin influence. And this need surprise no one; for Latin was early used in the services of the Slavonians *prior* to the reading of the Gospel in their own tongue. The contentions relative to the use of Slavonian *at all* in public worship were strenuous even in the time of Methodius; and in 880 Pope John VIII. (or IX.) ordered that the Gospel should be first read in Latin and then given in the Slavonian interprepation. *This* seems to be quite sufficient to account for an admixture of Latin readings.

A comparison of the readings of this version with the Gothic shows that, in many places, what was a *transition text* at the time when that translation was made, had now passed into the further stage of transcriptural change which might have been expected in the lapse of time.

THE PERSIC GOSPELS.—There are two Persic versions of the Gospels; one of them, with a Latin translation, was inserted in Walton's Polyglott, taken from an Oxford MS. belonging to Pococke[1], written A.D. 1341. The other was formed, it appears, from two Cambridge MSS. Its publication was commenced (as far as Matt. xvii.) by Abraham Wheloc, in 1652, and completed by Pierson in 1657, at the expence of Thomas Adams. Walton mentions that of *this* Persic version Wheloc had two MSS., one at Cambridge and one at Oxford; and to them Pierson adds a notice of a third, belonging to Pococke. But *this*, it appears, could only be that containing the *other* version,—that given in the Polyglott.

The Persic version published by Walton was made, no doubt, from the Peshito Syriac: its only real critical value, therefore, would be in connexion with the text of that version; but it is too recent to be of more than very slight value even for that object.

The Persic of Wheloc and Pierson seems to have been a version made from the Greek: but as the editors appear also to have used Pococke's MS., it becomes a mixed text, of no value in criticism on that account, even if it were not so from its recent date.[2]

THE GEORGIAN VERSION.—The Georgian or Iberian version was published at Moscow in 1743. It is said, on probable grounds, that the text which thus appeared had been interpolated from the

[1] Codex Pocockianus, 128. No. 5453. in *Catal. Librorum MStorum Angliæ et Hiberniæ in unum collectorum*, I. i. 275.

[2] In 1751 and the following year Bode published at Helmstadt a Latin translation of the Polyglott text of the Persic version of St. Matthew and of St. Mark; in the *Prefaces* to these two volumes he goes into an examination of the respective editions, &c.

Slavonic by the Georgian princes Arkil and Wacûset: some say that this was done at an early period. It is stated that this version was made from the *Greek* in the *sixth* century. No critical use can be made of it until it is better known, and its readings ascertained from MSS. unaffected by the Slavonic. The points of inquiry should be, —its actual date; whether it was made from the Greek or from the *Armenian* (which is on some accounts more probable[1]); and whether in any copies it is free from Slavonic alteration. If the Georgian version be, in any existing form, an unsophisticated monument of the sixth century, it would probably take as high a place amongst critical authorities as the Philoxenian Syriac would have done prior to its being rewrought by Thomas of Harkel.

To these versions some have added the *Anglo-Saxon Gospels:* but, however interesting as a monument of the early Christianity of the *second race* in this island who adopted that profession, it has no *critical* place, as it was made from the *Latin.* Its historical value relates to the inquiry what Latin text was employed in this island in Saxon days.

It is important to see that there is no occasion to encumber the critical page with the citations: *Ar. Rom., Ar. Erp., Ar. Polygl., Slav., Pers. Whel., Pers. Polygl., Georg., Sax.* The retention of these references has helped to draw away attention from the witnesses of this class who are really worthy of a voice in criticism.

CHAP. XXXIV.

EARLY CITATIONS, AS SOURCES OF CRITICISM.

THE early citations made from the books of the New Testament, are materials which we may use in connection with the *history* of the text itself, or in combination with the other sources of criticism which have been already discussed, as means towards the restoration of that text to the condition in which it was at an age at least not very remote from that of the Apostles.

To the use of such citations for the former purpose some allusion was made above (see Chap. IV. p. 37. *seq.*); it is only with the latter that they have now to be regarded. It may, however, be remarked, that even though now looked at in one of their aspects, the reader can hardly fail to see the cumulative evidence that is afforded to the bearing of such citations on the history and early use of the sacred books in the hands of Christians.

Those who have but little personal acquaintance with the subject have at times been inclined to rank the authority of early citations too highly, and at other times to undervalue them as unduly. Some have sought to give them an authority superior to that of other witnesses, and others have regarded them as being, almost as a matter

[1] This *probability* would be set aside if internal evidence showed the absence of affinity.

of course, lax, careless, and incapable of showing what the passage really read, which the author quoted or intended to quote. Both of these estimates are incorrect as a general fact, though each may *at times* be perfectly true.

This may be illustrated by the usage of modern writers. It can hardly be denied that expositors, preachers, and others, who employ our English authorised version, do in general take their citations from it; so much so, that any quotations found in the Homilies or in the writers of the Elizabethan age, are instantly *felt* to belong to a different class to those with which we now meet. Also, the distinction is at once perceived when a passage is cited from the Prayer Book version of the Psalms instead of its being from that in our Bibles, and *vice versâ*. Now, it is claimed by critics that in patristic writings it is in general as definite a thing what text they used as it is amongst those who employ the English language. In the latter half of the reign of James I. we find English authors sometimes following the version or revision which had been then newly made, sometimes quoting from the Bishop's Bible, sometimes from the Geneva translation; but in each case the fact is at once determinable.

It is, indeed, said that the laxity of the early Fathers is such in their citations that they can help us to no certain conclusion. It is also objected that they quote passages in forms in which there is no reason to suppose that they ever existed in copies of the New Testament; and that they sometimes quote as Scripture that which is not in the Bible at all; and if these points are established, it is said that it is useless to rely on anything so indefinite and misleading. Now, all this and more might be true, and yet the utility of patristic citations would not be rendered void; for what if the same things might be said of our modern English writers? Are there not many who interweave the words of Scripture into their discourses, in such a way that they do not give *precisely* what is found in the sacred books, even though they show abundantly whence the thoughts, and even the leading *words*, were taken? And just so is it with the early Fathers. They used the *words* and expressions of Scripture in what they wrote, even when the construction and form of the sentence was greatly changed. Such citations are simply to be taken for what they are worth. If the question is, whether such a leading word is or is not to be read in a passage, a very loose citation, or even allusion, may show that the writer in question recognised it. So, too, when there is a mere *allusion;* it may be amply sufficient in proof that a writer knew a particular passage, the genuineness of which as a whole may be under discussion. Also, do we not sometimes find, "It is appointed unto ALL men once to die," quoted from Heb. ix., with much emphasis placed on the word which is *not* in the text? And is it not constant, habitual, and daily, for some to speak and write of Evangelical orthodoxy and spiritual Christianity as being "the truth as it is in Jesus"? A resemblance to these words, but differently connected, and in a distinct form, is all that is really to be found in the New Testament; many, however, seem very incredulous when their attention is called to this fact. And if early Fathers

sometimes made such a mistake as to quote from Scripture what was never in Scripture, has no one who may read these remarks ever seen or heard "whose service is perfect freedom," or "in the midst of life we are in death," quoted as though it were really a portion of the Word of God?

And yet *our* facilities for accuracy in quotations are such as were utterly out of the reach of early writers. They did not possess the Scriptures conveniently divided into chapters and verses for purposes of reference; they had not even the accommodation of regular punctuation or word division; their books were cumbrous, and it was impossible for them to consult them at every turn with facility; they had no concordances, no indexes, and similar conveniences at hand. If, then, we, with all these aids, are sometimes lax in respect to Scripture quotation, it would be unreasonable if we were to expect perfect exactitude from the early Fathers, and if we were, therefore, to suppose that they were habitually careless and inattentive.

Modern English references made to Holy Scripture may be arranged under three general heads: quotations of the very words taken from the Sacred Text itself; loose citations, in which some variation has been made, whether from intention or not; and mere allusions which do not pretend to anything of exactness as to either words or expressions. If this classification is borne in mind, it will be found that it is rare indeed for a theological writer not to give continual proof that he has simply employed our common English authorised version. And if the patristic citations be similarly divided, the same thing will be manifestly true of them with regard to the Greek text which they employed. As to the *condition* in which their citations have been transmitted to us, a few remarks may be subsequently made.

The value of citations as sources of criticism is not to be estimated by what they are, or may seem to be, when standing *alone;* it is in connection with the *other* authorities that they have a peculiar value. Thus, an expression evidently taken from the New Testament by a Father, but in a form found neither in manuscript or version, may have been, perhaps, some mere lax allusion of his own, or an interweaving of something taken from the New Testament into the line of his argument or discourse. But if a Father cites a passage, definitely agreeing with one class of ancient witnesses, in a place where they stand opposed to some other testimonies, there need be *prima facie* no doubt that he actually quotes what was in his copy; and thus he materially confirms that class of witnesses. But if a Father says distinctly that a reading which he quotes was that of one particular Gospel, and that another reading which he mentions was that of the parallel passage in another Gospel, or if he *expressly* rests on the words and phrases of a reading, and states unequivocally that they were *so* and *so*, his evidence has very great weight; and it is in itself a proof, not indeed that the reading is of necessity genuine, but at least that it was current in the time of the Father in question: if otherwise it is well confirmed, few lections could be better attested. Also, if the general citations of a Father are proved by *comparative criticism* to rank high, even his *obiter dicta* are worthy of very consi-

derable attention, to say the least.[1] The value, however, of patristic testimony in *comparative criticism* is, in general, the converse of this: for as such quotations are occasional and fragmentary, they must be regarded as rather attesting those MSS. and versions with which they are at all in characteristic accordance.

Before a judgment can be at all rightly given of the critical value of the citations of any one Father, it is needful that his writings should be carefully studied; that his mode of using Holy Scripture should be known, and that it should be seen whether he is tolerably uniform in his mode of quoting the *same* passages; and if not, whether the circumstances of time and place can at all account for the variation. Also, in the writings of the *same* Father, attention should be paid to the nature of the work in which a quotation occurs; for more verbal exactitude might be reasonably looked for in an exposition than in a discourse or a hortatory treatise in which Scripture is more casually cited.

Some of the *more important* of the early writers will now be specified, with a general mention of the value of those citations which they contain which bear on the textual criticism of the New Testament.

The early *Greek* writers must be the first considered; for it is only from them that *direct* aid can be obtained.

The genuine writings of the APOSTOLIC FATHERS, as those writers have been termed, who were partly contemporaries with the Apostles of our Lord, contain few citations from the New Testament which are at all available for purposes of criticism. The genuine Epistle of CLEMENT of Rome contains but few passages that can be regarded as *quotations* from the New Testament, though the influence of the sacred writers is abundantly evident, and passages quoted from the *Old* Testament have been adopted *through* the form in which they stand in the New. IGNATIUS, now that we possess some Epistles which possess a good claim to be his, and in a genuine form, gives us a few sentences which are worth more as to the history of the Canon than for textual criticism.[1]

The Epistle of POLYCARP furnishes us with more citations, as he

[1] See Cureton's CORPUS IGNATIANUM for the account of the Syriac version of *three* Ignatian Epistles in a form free from the additions made by the interpolator of the *larger* Greek recension, and also as not containing the passages to which on strong grounds objection had been made two centuries prior to the discovery of the Nitrian MSS.

It would be a mistake to suppose that Mr. Cureton has cast doubt on anything that was previously unquestioned. The Greek copies of Ignatius have come down to us in two forms, one containing great interpolations, and with forged epistles added as part of the same collection, the other with forged epistles also intermixed, but with the rest in a shorter form;—a form, however, which showed at times an entire difference from the larger copies. Hence it was concluded by Griesbach and others that the two forms of the Greek were both of them enlargements of something which they possessed in common. This conclusion has been singularly confirmed by Mr. Cureton's discovery; for in the three Syriac Epistles we find what is common to both Greek recensions, but not the parts in which they widely diverge. It is a mistake to speak of *seven* Ignatian Epistles in Greek having been *transmitted* to us, for no such seven exist, except through their having been selected by *editors* from the Medicean MS., which contains so much that is confessedly spurious;—a fact which some who imagine a diplomatic transmission of *seven* have overlooked. In the three in Syriac we have what in form and character is attested by good and credible evidence as the actual work of Ignatius.

interwove sentences from the New Testament into what he wrote. That work of the second century which bears the name of the Epistle of BARNABAS, contains hardly anything for the present purpose.

JUSTIN MARTYR, in the second century, is a very important writer when the history of the Canon is under discussion; but though he used much from the Gospels, especially that of St. Matthew, he rarely seeks that verbal exactness which is needed for evidence in textual criticism. His quotations, however, are not to be neglected, for they sometimes show clearly what he must have read; and at other times, when the genuineness of a particular passage is under discussion on *critical* grounds, he gives a clear and decided testimony as to what he found in his copies. Thus, for instance, it is well known that some authorities *omit* the two verses, Luke xxii. 43, 44.; but Justin gives us excellent proof that he read this passage in the former half of the second century. He says, *ἐν γὰρ ἀπομνημονεύμασι, ἃ φημι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνοις παρακολουθησάντων συντετάχθαι ὅτι ἱδρὼς ὡσεὶ θρόμβοι κατεχεῖτο αὐτοῦ εὐχομένου* (Dial. c. Tryph. § 103.)

IRENÆUS, in the latter part of the second century, was a close and careful quoter in general from the New Testament. The greater part of his writings have only come down to us in a Latin translation, coeval, apparently, with that Father himself: and though a translation is not possessed of the same *certainty* as a work in the original language, yet the importance of the quotations in the writings of this Father can hardly be over-estimated; especially as he not unfrequently argues on the words which he cites, and closely discusses readings, showing what *must* have been in the copy before him, and mentioning variations in the different Gospels. Much of what we have of Irenæus in Greek has come to us through the channel of citations, *Catenæ*, &c.; and as such modes of transmission are less secure than is that of a *text* united in one work, it is always requisite to compare what is given as the Greek of Irenæus, gathered as it has been from different sources, with the contemporary Latin.

CLEMENT of Alexandria, in the end of the second century, and the beginning of the third, is a writer who quotes much from the New Testament. All his citations are worthy of notice, though it must be borne in mind that he often gives his own phrases instead of those of any writer whom he may cite. An instance of this may be seen in the extracts which he gives from Clement of Rome, where he blends his own expressions with those of his author. The quotations of this Father have great weight when they agree *with other ancient authorities;* when they stand wholly alone, they can hardly be said to have any voice in criticism, so much was it the habit of this Father to allude to Scripture passages partially or wholly in his own words. A notable instance of this is given when he says, *Πιστέον οὖν πολλῷ μᾶλλον τῇ γραφῇ λεγούσῃ, Θᾶττον κάμηλον διὰ τρυπήματος βελόνης διελεύσεσθαι, ἢ πλούσιον φιλοσοφεῖν.*[1] This latter expression is

[1] Strom. ii. 5. ed. Potter, p. 440.

Clement's own substitute, as though it were an equivalent for εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν (or τοῦ θεοῦ), as found in Matthew xix. 24.

HIPPOLYTUS, who lived in the early part of the third century, quotes a good many passages from the New Testament. Some extracts which bear the name of Hippolytus are scattered in Catenæ. In the edition of Fabricius many of his writings were collected (though in a confused order, and without much editorial skill); and the work entitled "*Philosophumena*," which appeared at Oxford in 1851 under the name of Origen, has been successfully vindicated as belonging to this Father. The *large extracts* which he gives of continuous portions of the New Testament, such as from 2 Thessalonians, and parts of the Apocalypse, make his works very valuable for critical purposes. They have, however, met with comparatively little attention on the part of those who have already published editions of the Greek Testament.

The writings of ORIGEN in the former half of the third century, would have been of critical application to almost the whole of the New Testament, if they had been all extant, and that in the original Greek. As it is, we have but a portion of his writings in Greek, and other portions in a Latin version; and yet even in what we have, the *greater part* of the New Testament is actually quoted. There is no one Father that can be compared with Origen as to his critical worth. In his Commentaries he discusses the words and expressions in such a way that we are generally *sure* what he must have read in the copy before him. It has indeed been objected that Origen is not consistent in his quotations, thus contradicting himself. But when the points are properly examined it will generally be found that at different times in his life he used copies which differed in the character of their text; thus his Commentaries on St. John, and those on St. Matthew, in which the widest discrepancies of reading have been pointed out, were written at a wide interval of time; and it is very certain that he could not have continued to use the same copy of the Gospels at the end of this period as he had at the beginning. In judging Origen, *critically* or THEOLOGICALLY, the *times* when his different works were written must be borne in mind. When in critical editions of the Greek New Testament references are made to the readings of Origen, it is important that the notation should be very clear as to *where* he gives such or such a reading; for then he will commonly be found, if he *also* gives a reading supported by *another* class of authorities, to cite them in *different* works (as is shown in a reference by a different volume or part of a volume being mentioned). But while the general character of Origen's quotations is thus stated, it must be added that in discussing texts he uses them, as modern writers do, by interweaving his own words, and freely employing the *sentiments* of the passages. Such a use of Scripture is not to be confounded with laxity of quotations. The readings in the Latin translation of Origen, where the Greek is defective, ought not to be passed by wholly in silence; for such passages should be men-

tioned for what they are worth, though more commonly bearing rather on the criticism of the old Latin version, with which the translator was probably conversant, than on that of the Greek text itself.

There is no occasion to mention in detail the other writers of the third century, such as Dionysius of Alexandria and Gregory Thaumaturgus, from whom in particular places citations are given (some of them, too, of great value) in critical editions. The fragments that we have of Peter of Alexandria, at the beginning of the fourth century, are such as to excite the wish that more of his writings had been preserved.

Eusebius of Cæsarea is the important writer of the former part of the fourth century; and with him closes the ante-Nicene age; in and from which epoch the transition state of the Greek text began. The works of Eusebius supply much that is of value in criticism, though they have been but little used to their full extent: this has partly arisen from their not existing in a collected form. The text of the Ecclesiastical History, prepared by the late Dr. Burton, is accompanied by good critical apparatus; though editorial care was sadly lacking, so that the MSS. are not sufficiently described; and the materials which Dr. Burton had prepared, and left behind him, were not even inserted in the places to which they belonged. The late Dr. Gaisford provided good editions of several parts of the works of Eusebius; the *Præparatio Evangelica* (in which the Scripture citations are but few); *Demonstratio Evangelica* (in which they are numerous and valuable); the book *Against Hierocles* (which does not bear on textual criticism), and *Against Marcellus* of Ancyra. Dr. Gaisford was also the first to edit from a Vienna MS. Eusebius's *Eclogæ Propheticæ*. Eusebius's *Commentaries* on the Psalms and on Isaiah were published by Montfaucon. Of late years, Cardinal Mai brought to light portions of the *Quæstiones ad Marinum*, and *ad Stephanum*, and of the Commentary on St. Luke: these were inserted in his *Scriptorum Collectio Vaticana;* and they were re-edited, with the addition of fragments of the work on the *Theophania*, and extracts on the Psalms, in his *Nova Bibliotheca Patrum*.

From this period the Greek ecclesiastical writers were numerous and voluminous: their works have more relation to the *history* of the text than to its primary criticism. Athanasius is, probably, the most important of those who lived about the middle of the fourth century: in the latter half of that age were Basil, and the two Gregories, of Nazianzum and of Nyssa; at the close was Chrysostom, whose writings and citations have, however, often been modernised by copyists.

To the former half of the fifth century belong Theodore of Mopsuestia, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret. Beyond this point there is no object at present in carrying on a mere list of *names* that are sometimes cited in critical editions. There are many writers in the earlier centuries of whom no mention has been made, as the intention was only to specify the more important. The student of patristic literature will of course, if he desires complete information, seek it from

works specially devoted to the Fathers themselves, to their writings, and the bibliography of those portions of them that are still extant.[1]

The LATIN Fathers must, of course, only be referred to as authorities for readings in that version, unless they happen to refer distinctly to the original.

TERTULLIAN, at the close of the second century, introduces much from the New Testament; and thus, at first sight, there seems to be a good deal that would be available for criticism: a close examination reduces this within much narrower limits; for this writer is often very loose in his citations, and he moulds the language of Scripture very frequently into his own sentences. But when all is *sifted* there is a residuum that is available for use.

CYPRIAN, in the third century, seems in general to have followed the Latin version then in use with considerable care.

In the fourth century HILARY of Poictiers and LUCIFER of Cagliari appear to use the *old* Latin version with much exactitude.

After the *revisions* of the Latin in the fourth century the citations have but little value for criticism. VICTORINUS should be excepted, however; for in his Commentaries on some of St. Paul's Epistles, he gives the text at length as it existed prior to Jerome's recension. The writings of Jerome contain many remarks on the readings of the Greek copies in general, or of particular MSS.; and thus they furnish us with the *evidence* of codices of that age. Augustine in general, if not always, followed the *Italic* revision of the Latin version.

But little can be done in using citations in ecclesiastical writers as to any of the versions except the Latin; for in general we are wholly destitute of materials. In *Syriac*, however, besides the stores which exist in MSS., the writings of Ephrem furnish much, of which a very slight use has as yet been made. It is from his *Commentaries*, however, that such citations should be drawn, and not from his *Homilies*, which (as is well known from the description of Cardinal Wiseman and the translations of Dr. Burgess) are *metrical* in their structure. The Roman edition of the works of Ephrem is the only one which renders those in *Syriac* available for students: the editors, however, of that collection met with no MS. of any Commentary on the books of the *New* Testament (which he appears to have written); and *this* would have been of importance for the present object. Also in the Commentaries, as printed, there are several things which the

[1] It may seem superfluous to refer the reader to Cave's *Historia Literaria*.

I may mention, for the convenience of students, C. J. Stewart's singularly useful "Catalogue of the Fathers of the Church and Ecclesiastical Writers to the Fifteenth Century, arranged in Chronological Order." In this List there is nothing superfluous inserted; the only works mentioned, besides the writings of Fathers, are those which bear on their literary history, authenticity, and similar subjects. All that part which does not comprise "Collections, Catenæ," &c., is arranged century by century, so that a student can at once see to what age a writer belonged, and *who* were his contemporaries. Amongst the editions specified in Mr. Stewart's list are always the *best*, and in general the number is sufficiently great to furnish all the bibliographical information that a student needs. It has thus its value as a *work* to be preserved as one of those *pamphlets* which form so precious a portion of the library of a critic. I can hardly overrate the convenience which Mr. Stewart's Catalogue has been to me in my critical studies, in furnishing me with just the information that I required relative to writers, editions, and collections.

editors have given as Ephrem's, although it appears from the statements of Cardinal Wiseman and Professor Rödiger [1] that they belong to James of Edessa; and not only so, but that in the MS. from which the Roman edition was taken these parts are specified as belonging not to Ephrem, but to James. This gives us no very exalted idea of the trustworthiness and competency of the editorial care which was exercised.

Cardinal Wiseman says, "When we perused these commentaries, we often perceived a variety of style, both in the interpretation itself, and in the language, which betrayed sometimes a later age, and we felt no difficulty in attributing such parts to James of Edessa. However, to be more certain, we consulted the MS. from which the Roman edition was made, and found our conjecture verified; as some parts which are printed as St. Ephrem's do really belong to the other writer whom we have just named." [2]

It requires that some judgment should be exercised in making citations from the writings of the Fathers; for they have not unfrequently been quoted for readings which they did not really maintain, and which they even repudiated. This has arisen in part from the mistakes of copyists, and the ill-directed care of some editors, who thought that they were doing good service when they altered and *emended* the Scripture quotations by means of the common printed text. It is therefore necessary *always* to examine a supposed patristic citation *with the context;* for this will often supply good

[1] In Herzog's Real-Encyclopädie, iv. p. 89.

[2] Card. Wiseman's "Essays on Various Subjects," iii. 277, 278. (reprinted from "The [Roman] Catholic Magazine"). The Vatican edition of the Works of Ephrem consists of six vols. folio, three containing the Syriac works (1737–43), and three the Greek that bear his name (1732–46). The editor of the Syriac portion was Petrus Benedictus (a Maronite *Jesuit*), whose Latin *translation* accompanying the Syriac bears but an obscure relation to the works which are professedly interpreted. The *Greek* writings which bear the name of Ephrem come to us with very doubtful credentials: they are *professedly* translations from the Syriac; and yet, voluminous as are the remains of Ephrem in his native language, we possess hardly anything which bears the slightest relation to the Greek. The style, too, of these Greek works differs greatly from that which we might expect to find from the analogy of the other Christian writers of the fourth century. And yet it is to these *Greek* writings, and not to the Syriac, that Card. Wiseman turns to show what were the doctrines of Ephrem relative to the worship of the Virgin Mary. He says, "He goes far beyond all which modern tongue would venture to utter in addressing its supplications to her. And since we have been already once charged solemnly, by a grave author, and in a large book [Prof. Lee's Prologomena], with having falsified the doctrines of the Syriac Church, for the purpose of vindicating ours, we will translate a few expressions from one of these prayers so as to justify what we have said." (p. 276.) And then follow extracts from these ill-accredited *Greek* works, replete with idolatrous expressions. Where is the like to be found in any *genuine* work of the fourth century? It is singular that Wiseman, who rightly judged that part of the Syriac Commentaries, from the differences "both in the interpretation itself and in the language, which betrayed sometimes a later age," *could not* be the work of Ephrem, should bring forward for dogmatic reasons extracts from these Greek works without hinting a suspicion. Valuable as are many of Wiseman's contributions to criticism, it must always be remembered that he has definite and concrete objects which he ever keeps in view; and these objects are at times so concealed, that while something seemingly different is discussed, he endeavours skilfully to create an impression, or quietly, and in some other form, to *assume* as undoubted some momentous point really at issue. His acumen deserts him with regard to writings involving such anachronisms as those which he cites as Ephrem's. His reticences are significant to those who can really inquire; they might be misleading enough to a student. They make one look back at the earnest investigations of Tillemont, Montfaucon, and others with feelings of regret.

proof of what the writer really had in his copy of the New Testament.

Thus, whenever it is possible, an edition should be used which has been formed from good MSS., especially if the variations of other copies are noted. Good service was done in this respect to the works of Eusebius, by the late Dr. Gaisford. And still it must be remembered, that if a Father reads a passage sometimes in the same manner as it is found in good *ancient* authorities, and at other times it is found in his works in the same form as in *recent* copies, it can hardly be doubted that in the latter case it has been remodelled by a copyist.

Patristic citations *alone* have very little weight; such citations, even when in accordance with a version, have but little more; but when a citation *is* in accordance with some ancient MSS. and translations, it possesses great corroborative value. It is as *confirming* a reading known independently to exist, that citations are of the utmost importance. If alone, or nearly alone, they may be looked at as mere casual adaptations of the words of the New Testament.

The early writers are of far higher importance than those who lived after the beginning of the fourth century; and thus when patristic citations are compared, the *age* of the writer must not be overlooked. It is useless to balance those who lived from the fifth to the seventh century against those of the second and third. Particular attention should always be paid to the *express statement* of a Father with regard to a reading; for it at least shows what he had in his copy (if what he wrote has been accurately transmitted), even if it does not lead us direct to the true reading.

At times no conclusion can be drawn from the *silence* of Fathers as to any particular passage; at other times such silence is very significant: for if remarks are made, sentence by sentence, and almost word by word, on a portion of Scripture, and then a portion is passed by in silence, and then the writer again resumes in the same minute manner; and if the portion thus unnoticed is omitted in other authorities, it will not be doubted by those who know what evidence of this kind means, that such a passage was not contained in the copy used by such a Father.

Also, if Fathers with general consent exhibit no acquaintance with a passage, which might seem to be important in a controversy in which they were engaged, it can only be concluded that it was not in their copies: this will be strengthened if they quote the immediate context of such passage; and this will be regarded as a confirmed certainty if such omission (or rather *non-insertion*) is found in good MSS. and versions which *we* have received.

Thus, with care and caution, good evidence may be obtained from the Fathers; not independent, not that which ranks above MSS., but of that collateral kind which, in cases really doubtful, will often have a determining value.

In general a patristic reading is doubtful, if it agrees with the common text, as opposed to the ancient authorities, and then the presumption is that copyists or editors have assailed the citation with

their improving hands. When such a point admits of investigation, it will often be found that the patristic reading which contradicts the other early monuments is either not genuine, or that it has been (as a demonstrable fact) modernised and emended.

An instance of this may be seen in some of the authorities quoted respecting 1 Tim. iii. 16. The question there lies between a substantive and a relative pronoun; the early MSS. have ὃς (one ὃ) ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, and the early versions have also a relative, while the later MSS., and one or two versions later than the seventh century, have θεὸς ἐφαν. ἐν σαρκί, as in the common text.[1] But Dionysius of Alexandria, in the third century, is cited as reading θεός. This seems at least strange; for it would be remarkable for so distinct a reading as this to be untraceable in *any* of the early versions. This is enough to suggest inquiry; and it is well known that the Epistle of Dionysius of Alexandria to Paul of Samosata is of very doubtful genuineness. The passage stands thus in Mansi: εἷς ἐστιν ὁ χριστός, ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ πατρὶ συναΐδιος λόγος, ἓν αὐτοῦ πρόσωπον, ἀοράτος θεός, καὶ ὁρατὸς γενόμενος· θεὸς γὰρ ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί, γενόμενος ἐκ γυναικός κτλ. (Concilia, I. col. 1044.: vel Dionysii Opera, p. 211.) In examining the question of the genuineness of this letter it appeared that it was of too doubtful authority for an argument of any kind to be built upon it; and indeed it led to a settled conclusion in my mind of the doubtfulness of much that is inserted in the Acts of Councils *as at present edited.* But as to this citation, I was able to carry the argument a little farther; for there exists an old Latin translation of this very epistle, and in it the passage stands thus: — "Unus est Christus, una persona visibilis et invisibilis, id est divine et sensibiliter simplex desursum et deorsum compositus, ex Deo, et ex muliere." (Dionysii Opera, p. 300. col. II.) Thus whether the letter be a genuine work of Dionysius or not, the citation from 1 Tim. iii. 16. is, at least, an interpolation introduced subsequently to the old Latin translation having been executed. No doubt that it was thought a valuable service to dogmatic orthodoxy to introduce θεὸς εφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί into a refutation of the proleptical Socinianism of Paul of

[1] For the detail of the evidence on this passage see "Account of Printed Text," pp. 227—231. It may be well to state, that the allegations of Dr. Henderson and some others, that various ancient versions do *not* read a *relative*, but that they *may* or *must* read θεός are *utterly incorrect*; indeed, if such modes of reasoning were legitimate, it would be in vain to bring forward the evidence of versions at any time, or on any subject. The reading of G. (Cod. Boernerianus) is there discussed, p. 165. The line over the O (of *os*) in that MS. is there stated not to be the mark of contraction, but it is drawn upward from left to right over the vowel, and it is (p. 165.) compared with that found in the MS. in Gal. iii. 24. over ι, and ver. 28. over ε, with the suggestion that "it may be a mode of denoting the spiritus asper." To this remark is added, "*Perhaps* the line in question was used in 1 Tim. iii. 16. *to fill up* the *Latin* text which lies over the Greek." (Addenda, p. 2.) Besides these suggestions, it may be well to refer to Matthæi's N. Test., ed. 2. vol. ii. p. 440., who says, that the letter O in the Codex Boernerianus (which he himself edited) has often a line over it without any reason.

When I wrote the examination of the readings of 1 Tim. iii. 16. in the "Account of the Printed Text," I passed by the alleged citation of Dionysius of Alexandria with θεός, simply mentioning it as *possibly* correct, because it was impracticable to *investigate* the point with the limited resources of my own study. I knew that the Epistle to Paul of Samosata was of doubtful authenticity, and thus I was *then* obliged to leave the question.

Samosata. Alas! that those who maintain both *truth* and dogmatic orthodoxy in all its strictness should often have to exclaim "non tali auxilio."[1]

The *result* of this investigation shows, that when a reading is found in a Father utterly discordant with all contemporary or other early authority, it may be quite right to *mention* the reading so found, but to attach no authority to it *per se*, until it has been examined and vindicated.

It should also be observed that when a reading is cited from a Father, it must be investigated whether the passage is really taken from the portion of Scripture under examination. Mistakes have often been made in referring to a patristic passage which really applies to one of the Gospels, as if it had to do with what is parallel in one of the others; also at times, when an Old Testament passage is cited in the New, a passage in a Father may *certainly* relate to the place in the Old Testament, and thus unless the LXX. and the New Testament are greatly at variance, it would not be a safe procedure to quote such a place in support of any reading in the New.

In general, it must be borne in mind that copyists and editors have had the tendency to adapt the Scripture passages in Fathers to that to which they were themselves accustomed; and thus a reading which *differs* from the oldest authorities as a class, when found in an early Father, is by no means conclusive that that was the reading of which he approved: while, on the other hand, a reading in a Father which *differs* from the recent copies and accords with the most ancient may be regarded as undoubtedly the reading of the Father himself. Thus in many cases patristic citations, though given, are not intended to claim any sort of authority; they are stated rather in connection with the fact of such occurrences, than as supposing that the actual form of the patristic citation has been transmitted to us.

Some use was made of early citations even from the time when Erasmus edited the first *published* impression of the Greek New Testament. He employed as collateral aid such citations as he was able to collect at that time; when, it must be remembered, the Greek Fathers were as yet only in MS. The successors of Erasmus followed him by mentioning in their notes (as he had done) particular readings of that kind. It was not, however, till the time of Mill, that the true value of patristic citations was apprehended, or any attempt made systematically to collect them. Bishop Fell, the patron of his labours in their former part, but little apprehended the value of the patristic citations as sources of criticism; and the firmness of Mill in taking such pains to collect them, and in expending so much time on this part of his work, in opposition to the judgment and wishes of his patron, showed how full an estimate he had formed of the importance of evidence of this kind.

Bentley, in his proposed edition, would have given a due place to

[1] The mode in which θεὸς in this passage has been introduced into Chrysostom is stated in "Account of the Printed Text," p. 277. *foot-note.* The allegations from Didymus and Theodoret may admit of investigation with similar results. The appeal must often be made from the Fathers as edited to the Fathers as extant in MSS.

patristic evidence, and he would have done much to *investigate* every citation that he used, so as to know if it were really the testimony of the Father himself. Bengel used the patristic citations given by Mill, and added to them apparently from his own reading. Wetstein also increased the references of this kind, and he sometimes went farther in showing *how* a patristic statement bore on the reading of the text.

But the mere *references* were very unsatisfactory; for, in general, editors were content with mentioning the *name* of a writer, without indicating *where* the citation might be found; and this, of course, rendered comparison on the part of the reader, or verification, impossible. Also but little had been done to examine the patristic writings *systematically* so as to obtain their *whole* evidence.

Griesbach led the way in more exactitude of statement, by publishing in his Symbolæ Criticæ all the citations which he could gather from the Greek works of Origen: he also gave citations from Clement of Alexandria, but they were collected with less care. The *results* of the readings so collected were given in the second edition of his Greek Testament, whence they were transferred (with other references of the same kind) to the pages of Scholz.

Thus, though *Origen* had been pretty well examined, the other Fathers, who were so often cited, were left in the same condition as before; their evidence being always incomplete, often incorrect, and the references to the actual passages in their works not being stated at all.

In the larger Greek New Testament of Lachmann, the readings of Irenæus, Origen, Cyprian, Hilary, and Lucifer, are stated very carefully; all these having been re examined by Butmann, or by Lachmann himself[1], and the reference to the place in which each may be found is mentioned very clearly. If complaint be made that the range of authorities is not sufficiently extended, it must be owned that what is given is in a far more clear, intelligible, and satisfactory form than what had appeared in previous editions.

Tischendorf states that he himself examined various patristic works, and that those which he mentions as authorities are not wholly taken up in reliance on others: but his editions being *manuals*, references to the passages themselves are of necessity not given.

A farther attempt has been made by Tregelles to extend the limits of ascertained evidence from Fathers. In his edition of the Greek Testament will be found all the citations that he could gather from the Fathers, Greek and Latin, of the first three centuries, including Eusebius and others, who belong partly to the fourth; and besides these,

[1] Some notice was taken above (p. 135. *foot-note*) of the manner in which Mr. Alford attributed the whole of the labour in connection with the Latin readings to Butmann, and not to Lachmann himself. For this he might *seem* to have some ground from what Lachmann says (præf. p. xii.) of the Latin Codices Vercellensis and Veronensis:—"Quibus Butmannus (nam is hanc partem administravit solus) tanta cura usus est," &c. But if the statement of the title-page and the whole preface are examined together it will be seen how much had been done by Lachmann himself, and that Butmann's work as to the *Latin* readings had been simply that of arranging the extracts from the Evangeliarium Quadruplex. The manner in which the whole of the Latin readings were drawn out by Lachmann *in his own handwriting* was a good specimen of patient and useful labour.

there are given the citations of the Latin Fathers, on which Lachmann relied as authorities for the *old* Latin text. Eusebius is taken as the limit to which the Greek examination is carried, for two reasons; 1st, because he is on the line of demarcation between the earlier text, and that which afterwards became widely diffused; and, 2nd, because of the absolute necessity of confining such an examination within such limits as might be practicable for one individual to reach in any moderate number of years. It should be stated, that in this work, the citations of Irenæus and Origen, even, have not been taken from preceding investigators; but after the citations have been independently gathered, they are compared with the citations published by Griesbach and Lachmann. No actual quotation is *intentionally* omitted; though not a few that superficially *appear* to be such, have been passed by in silence after a thorough investigation, from its seeming to be certain that they do not actually relate to the passage with which they have been connected. The result is that from Tregelles's notes will be seen all the patristic evidence, *with full references* to the passages in the works themselves, which has been observed as at all bearing on the reading of the text during the three first centuries and more.

It is to be hoped that some scholars possessed of competent leisure will carry out an intention which they have expressed, to make a *combined* examination of the early Fathers on an extensive scale. Such a work would thoroughly supersede the partial examinations, and limited investigations, which have been just mentioned; and they would thus become part of the *permanent* materials to be used by all connected with critical studies. Those who have been hitherto engaged in an investigation of the kind (and they have been but *few*) can rightly apprehend the benefit to criticism likely to arise from such a *combined* effort to collect *thoroughly* all the patristic testimonies.

CHAP. XXXV.

ON THE APPLICATION OF THE MATERIALS FOR CRITICISM.

It has been remarked that critical *rules* are of but little use, because they do not give the ability to form a judgment in the application of evidence. This may be true in itself; but still it does not show that rules are useless; for it is equally true that roads, or even railroads, do not of themselves supply the means of transit from one place to another. They do, however, facilitate journeying, if the motive power can only be had *besides* the prepared track: indeed any road marked out is so far an aid to transit, that it hinders even a pedestrian from losing his way, or wandering at random, and thus making unnecessary steps. Just so critical rules are valuable in their place: they may mislead those who are incapable of understanding their application; but *where there is ability* to comprehend and use them,

they may often guide in the right direction, and, at all events, hinder from going astray.

The objection to critical rules has arisen apparently from the supposition that their application must be in a certain measure mechanical; as though in fact, if rules, their application must be rather mechanical than mental. But just as we speak of rules of evidence on any subject, so may we on this; meaning, in either case, the statement of such *principles*, positive and negative, as aid in the formation of a true conclusion. The point aimed at is a moral certainty, or a moral probability; to arrive at this we must use the *evidence* that is obtainable; the truest *principles* must be borne in mind which teach the proper estimation of such evidence; and also the *judgment* must be exercised, so as to be at least in measure accustomed to draw the moral conclusions applicable to the subject. It is thus that some critics possess that critical *tact* by which they have been distinguished: they form a sound conclusion without apparently going through any elaborate process of reasoning; and this leads others to imagine that criticism is a kind of intuitive faculty; although the conclusions have really resulted from quickness in perceiving *what* the evidence is, and a well exercised judgment in applying known principles to the evidence so apprehended. Thus the *tact* of such critics stands no more in opposition to critical *rules*, than does the facility of some in solving mathematical problems to the importance of the recognised processes in that science.

An endeavour has been made throughout this Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament to lead the student to form for himself a true apprehension of both facts and principles. The remarks, therefore, which will now be made, are *not* intended to be a full exposition of the subject, but rather an indication of such points as may, when taken in connection with what has been previously said, assist the *careful* student to form a *settled* judgment.

The principles stated by Lachmann (see above, p. 135.) and by Tischendorf (pp. 138–9), especially the former, are very useful in judging of the actual state of the evidence and its bearing on facts under discussion. All that has been said of the nature and origin of various readings will be important to be borne in mind.

The *object* of textual criticism being remembered, — viz., the ascertainment on grounds of evidence what the sacred authors actually wrote,—it will be seen that no rules will be sufficient, *unless the whole subject be remembered;* while, if the facts in general are borne in mind, certain *principles* may aid materially in their application and use.

1. Where there is no variation in authorities, criticism has no place; and as to all the text *thus* transmitted we may feel a well-assured confidence.

2. If the authorities are *all but* unanimous, the confidence is but little shaken; unless, indeed, the dissentient witnesses possess some peculiar weight.

3. If the reading of the ancient authorities in general is unanimous, there can be but little doubt that it should be followed, whatever may be the later testimonies; for it is most improbable that the inde-

pendent testimony of early MSS. versions and Fathers, should accord with regard to something entirely groundless.

4. A reading found in versions *alone* can claim but little authority, especially if it be one which might *naturally* be introduced by translators in general: it might then resemble in character the *Italic* supplements to modern versions.

5. A reading found in patristic citations alone rests on a yet weaker basis than one which only occurs in versions.

6. The readings respecting which a judgment must be formed are those where the *evidence* is really divided in such a way that it is needful to inquire on which side the balance preponderates. In such cases it is not enough to enumerate authorities: they must be examined point by point. OTHER THINGS BEING EQUAL, (*a*) an early citation will sometimes be *decisive*, especially if it is given in express terms. (*b*) Also, if one reading accords with a parallel passage, and the other does not; (*c*) or if one introduces an amplification met with elsewhere; (*d*) or if one seems to avoid a difficulty which the other does not; (*e*) or if there is *one* well-attested reading, and *several* others which may probably have been taken from it; (*f*) or if the one reading might be easily accounted for on principles connected with the known origin of variations: in such cases it is not difficult, on the whole, to form a judgment as to what was probably the original reading. It is quite true that at times it may be very doubtful whether the quantity of direct evidence may not overbalance all modes of procedure derived from the application of a principle, and as to *which* two seemingly conflicting considerations ought to have most weight.

7. When no *certainty* is attainable, it will be well for the case to be left as doubtful; the reading which has strong claims on the attention taking its place in the text, and that which seems almost equal on grounds of evidence standing in the margin. As to additions or non-insertions *brackets* in the text or margin may be well-employed. It may not seem *satisfactory* to leave such points as *doubtful;* but this is far wiser than to pretend to *certainty* in cases in which it is unattainable. A critical text of the Greek New Testament, with no indications of doubt, or of the inequality of the evidence, is never satisfactory to a scholar. It gives no impression of the ability of the editor to discriminate accurately as to the value of evidence; and it seems to place on a level, as to authority, readings which are unquestionably certain, and those which have been accepted as *perhaps* the best attested.

8. It must be remembered that sometimes we have direct early evidence of such a kind that we are *certain* of the reading of the second or third century; then we are not left to the ordinary application of the *balance of* EXISTING *authorities*, but we can take our stand as early as the express testimony carries us. At times, again, we have early evidence of the variations of MSS. *then* noticed. This enables us to use this information *in addition* to what we can gather from the sources still available.

9. At times a reading *seems* to be supported by a very small quantity of authority, *numerically;* and yet when all the evidence is examined,

it is found to receive, on various sides, so much *partial* support, that it is actually better attested than any *one* of the readings which might be placed in competition with it.

To show the application of critical principles and the mode of *using* the evidence of MSS. versions and Fathers, it has been not unfrequent to give, for the use of the student, discussions on certain passages of importance.[1] *Here,* instances of another kind will be given; the various readings supported by *ancient evidence* will be stated, just as they occur in connection with some *continuous passages* of the text; and to these will be subjoined such remarks as may seem needful. The object of this mode of presenting the subject is, that textual criticism may be seen in its *general* bearings, and not as applied to *special* passages; for it cannot be too deeply impressed on the mind that, in important passages, the common and usual principles must be applied. They must never be looked at as if they formed exceptional cases.

The first portion of the Greek New Testament which will be taken for examination in this manner is Matt. i. 18—25.

This is contained in MSS. of the *oldest* class B. C. [D.] (P.) Z. (of these D. commences in ver. 20., and P. breaks off in ver. 21. at places which are marked); in later uncials often agreeing with the oldest L. Δ.; cursive MSS. of *great* importance 1. 33.; later uncials E. K. M. S. U. V.

The *versions* are the *Vulg. a. b. c.* (and other copies of the old Latin), the Curetonian, Peshito, and Harclean *Syriac*, the *Memphitic, Thebaic,* Armenian, Æthiopic. Also the Jerusalem Syriac (*Syr. Hier.*) is cited in the places in which extracts from it have been made. The *Fathers* cited are those who lived up to the time of Eusebius, together with some more recent as to the Latin versions. In the text † marks any *omission* of something found in the common text; ‡ is prefixed to a reading in which some change is made; and * indicates where an addition is made (if any such should occur in the passages examined). § indicates where any MS. *commences,* and ¶ shows where any is defective.

[18] Τοῦ δὲ †χριστοῦ ἡ ‡γένεσις'' οὕτως ἦν· μνηστευθείσης† τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Μαρίας τῷ Ἰωσήφ, πρὶν ἢ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς εὑρέθη ἐν γαστρὶ

18. χριστου (D *Lat.* Gr. hiat) Vulg. *a. b. c. d. f. ff*[1]. Syr. Crt. *Iren.* 204, 5. 191. "Ceterum potuerat dicere Matthæus: *Jesu vero generatio sic erat;* sed prævidens Spiritus Sanctus depravatores, et præmuniens contra fraudulentiam eorum, per Matthæum ait; *Christi autem generatio sic erat.*" *Iren.* 204, 5 | χριστου ιησου B. *Bch. Orig. Int.* iii. 965[d]. | †Ιησου'' Χριστου ς. CPZL. rel. Syrr. Pst. & Hcl. Memph. Theb. Arm. Æth. *Orig.* (e schedis Grabii et Combefisii) iii. 965, ad imam paginam. *Eus.* D. E. 320[b].
— γενεσις BCPZ. Δ. 1. S. Syr. Hcl. *Eus.* D. E. 320[b]. | ‡γεννησις ς. L. 33. rel.
— μνηστευθεισης] †add. γαρ ς. C[2]PL. 33. rel. *d. Eus.* D. E. 320[b]. | om. BC*Z. 1. Vulg. *a. b. c. f. ff*[1]. Syrr. Crt. Pst. & Hcl. Memph. Theb. Arm. *Iren.* 204. (*n. l.* Æth.)
— της μητρος αυτου] om. *d.* (hiat D.)
— εὑρεθη] ηὑρεθη 1.

[1] The reader may find examples of this kind in Dr. Davidson's "Biblical Criticism," ii. pp. 382—448. In Tregelles's "Account of the Printed Text," besides many passages throughout discussed as to their reading (of which an Index is given), § 15. enters into the examination of the reading of 1 Tim. iii. 16., Acts xx. 28., John i. 18., 1 Pet. iii. 15.; and § 16. consists of Notes on John vii. 53—viii. 11., John v. 3, 4., and Mark xvi. 9—20.

ἔχουσα ἐκ πνεύματος ἁγίου. [19] Ἰωσὴφ δὲ ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς, δίκαιος ὢν καὶ μὴ θέλων αὐτὴν †δειγματίσαι," ἐβουλήθη λάθρα ἀπολῦσαι αὐτήν. [20] ταῦτα δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐνθυμηθέντος, ἰδοὺ ἄγγελος κυρίου κατ' ὄναρ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ λέγων, Ἰωσὴφ υἱὸς ‡Δαυείδ," μὴ φοβηθῇς§ παραλαβεῖν Μαριὰμ τὴν γυναῖκά σου· τὸ γὰρ ἐν αὐτῇ γεννηθὲν ἐκ πνεύματός ἐστιν ἁγίου. [21] τέξεται δὲ υἱόν,¶ καὶ καλέσεις τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν· αὐτὸς γὰρ σώσει τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν αὐτῶν. [22] τοῦτο δὲ ὅλον γέγονεν, ἵνα πληρωθῇ τὸ ῥηθὲν ὑπὸ† κυρίου διὰ τοῦ προφήτου λέγοντος, [23] Ἰδοὺ ἡ παρθένος ἐν γαστρὶ ἕξει καὶ τέξεται υἱόν, καὶ καλέσουσιν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἐμμανουήλ, ὅ ἐστιν μεθερμηνευόμενον, Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ θεός.

[24] ‡Ἐγερθεὶς" δὲ ὁ Ἰωσὴφ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου ἐποίησεν ὡς προσέταξεν αὐτῷ ὁ ἄγγελος κυρίου· καὶ παρέλαβεν τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ. [25] καὶ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκεν αὐτὴν ἕως οὗ ἔτεκεν† υἱόν†, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦν.

§ D. ¶ P.

19. ὁ ανηρ αυτης δικαιος ων και] quia vir justus erat. Syr. Crt. (Æth.)
— δειγματισαι BZ. 1. *Eus.* ad Steph. i. 221. *diserte.* | ‡παραδειγματισαι ς. CPL. 33. rel. Syr. Hcl. mg. *Gr. Eus.* D. E. 320ᵇ. ‖ add. Mariam. Syr. Crt.
20. ιδου] om. *a.* Syrr. Crt. & Hcl.
— αυτῳ] ipso Josepho. Syr. Crt. (Theb.)
— Δαυειδ B. | Δαδ per compendium Codd. | ‡Δαβιδ ς.
— Μαριαμ CDPZ. rel. *Orig.* i. 381ᵇ. *Eus.* D.E. 320ᵇ. | Μαριαν BL. 1. *Eus.* in Es. 382ᵃ.
— εν αυτη γεννηθεν] in ea nascetur. *a.* | ex ea nascetur. *b. f. g*¹. (Memph.) Æth. | ex ea nascitur. *c.* | natum ex ea. Syr. Crt.
— εστιν ἁγιου BsCPZ. rel. *Eus.* D. E. 320ᵇ. in Es. 382ᵃ. ad Steph. i. 222. | ἁγιου εστιν DL. *Iren.* 204. 259. *Orig.* i. 381ᵇ. ‖ add. genitum. Syr. Crt.
21. τεξεται] add. tibi. Syr. Crt.
— καλεσεις] καλεσει L* g^1.
— τον λαον αυτου] mundum. Syr. Crt.
22. ὁλον] om. Syr. Crt. *Iren.* 204. 216.
— Κυριου BCDZ. Δ. 1. 33. | †præm. του ς. L. rel. *Eus.* D.E. 320ᵇ.
— δια] add. Ἡσαιου D. *a. b. c. f. g*¹. Syrr. Crt. & Hcl. Syr. Hier. Arm. *Iren.* 216. | *Contra,* BsCZL. 1. 33. rel. Vulg. *ff*¹. Syr. Pst. Memph. Theb. Æth. *Iren.* 204. 259. *Eus.* D. E. 320ᵇ.
— λεγοντος] om. *f.* Syr. Pst. Arm. *Iren.* 204. 216. (*contra,* 216.)
23. καλεσουσιν *Eus.* D. E. 98ᵃ. | καλεσεις D. *d***. *Eus.* D.E. 320ᵇ. (vocabit *d. f*¹.) | vocabitur. Syr. Crt. *Orig. Int.* iii. 109ᵇ.
— ὁ θεος CDL. 1. 33. rel. *Eus.* D. E. 98ᵃ. 320ᵇ. | om. ὁ B. *Bch.* (*n. l.* Z.)
24. εγερθεις BC*Z. 1. | ‡διεγερθεις ς. DC³ L. 33. rel.
— ὁ Ιωσηφ BsCD. rel. | om. ὁ ΖΔΚ.
— την γυναικα αυτου] Mariam Syr. Crt. (add. Mariam Æth.)
— αυτου] ἑαυτου Z.
25. (In Syr. Crt. *sic:* et caste cum ea vivebat donec, &c.)
— εγινωσκεν BCZL. rel. Vulg. Syr. Hcl. | εγνω D. *b. c. d. f. ff*¹. $g^{1.2}$. (*a* hiat.) Syr. Pst. *Hil.* 612.
— ου CDZ. | om. B. *Bch.*
— υἱον BZ. 1. 33. (*a* vid.) *b. c.* g^1. *k.* Syr. Crt. | τον υἱον Memph. | τ. υἱ. αυτης Theb. | †τον" υἱον †αυτης τον πρωτοτοκον" ς. CD*. rel. Vulg. (*d.*) *f. ff*¹. Syrr. Pst. & Hcl. Arm. Æth. (om. αυτης D². L. *d.*) filium suum unigenitum g^3. (vid. Luc.)

The *text* of this portion is that which is formed as the result of evidence.

Remarks will now be made on some of the various readings which have been given, whether adopted or not.

In ver. 18. the common text has Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ; but Ἰησοῦ is *expressly stated* by Irenæus (in the passage cited) *not* to belong to this place. And yet this word is found in every Greek MS. which is here extant. There is, however, this variation, that in B. it stands *after* χριστοῦ instead of before; and ~~this~~ weakens the supposed unanimity very considerably. It may seem as though an endeavour to investigate the genuineness of a reading not extant in Greek copies

were a procedure analogous to that of determining by calculation the place and orbit of a planet, the existence of which had never been ascertained by actual observation; and yet in each case a certain result may be obtained. The statement of Irenæus is such as to prove the fact as to *some* copies, at least, in the second century. This is confirmed by the *Latin* copies, revised or unrevised, which agree in omitting Ἰησοῦ, and also by the *Curetonian Syriac*, which proves that the same reading was current in the East. And though this reading cannot be *shown* in any Greek MS., yet it may be regarded as *certain* that this was in D., for it is in the *Latin* version of this passage in this MS. where the Latin only is extant. Nothing can be more *natural* than the addition of Ἰησοῦ, by copyists in such a place; but this insertion could not have been made until Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ had become a kind of compound proper name (which in the New Testament it is *not*), as the introduction of Ἰησοῦ *between* the article and the adjective would otherwise be wholly anomalous. Indeed, with that collocation it would be difficult to give a grammatical or theological exposition of the verse; for then "the adjective does not distinguish the substantive from any other but from itself in other circumstances." And thus with the common reading, we might be led to inquire, How was Jesus born except as the Christ?

Thus the express testimony of Irenæus to the reading τοῦ δὲ χριστοῦ is confirmed in various ways, and is amply vindicated as that which was in widely extended use in the second century. That found in B. looks like an unconscious correction from some copyist who knew intuitively that the common reading is not really Greek or true Christian doctrine. This passage affords a curious proof of the manner in which patristic readings were moulded from time to time. The quotation from Irenæus has come down to us in the old Latin version; but Germanus of Constantinople cites it in Greek, and there Irenæus is made to quote St. Matthew in a form *which he expressly repudiates.*

Ver. 18. γέννησις of the common text is altogether outweighed by γένεσις, on the ground of *evidence:* the versions here give but little aid. γένεσις being here the true reading, we see that the application of βίβλος γενέσεως in ver. 1. cannot be limited to the genealogy.

Ver. 19. δειγματίσαι is preferable rather than παραδειγματίσαι, although the evidence of MSS. is pretty nearly equal. The express statement of Eusebius is sufficiently decisive; and this, too, shows that the passage in the *Demonstratio Evangelica*, where Eusebius has the common reading, has been *improved* by some copyist *pro more*, out of the Greek text which he had before him. It is worthy of remark that the passage out of *Euseb.* ad Steph. was known before it was edited by Mai, as found in certain scholia; but in the scholia the reading and agreement were *precisely reversed.* The person who formed the Catena had adapted it to his reading.

Ver. 22. The addition of Ἡσαΐου, though supported by what appears to be a respectable array of witnesses, ought not to be admitted even to a place in the margin as an alternative reading. Such amplifications belong to the class of "common additions," and the

presumption is against them, and not in their favour, even if the evidence were in other respects equal. It is an ignorant mistake to suppose that the tendency of copyists to omit was at all equal to their tendency to amplify, though there are many who seem as if they would not learn this simple fact.

Ver. 23. The evidence *for* καλέσουσιν is not given in detail; but Eusebius is cited for *it* because of his also having been brought forward for *another* reading. The variations noticed are all that can be said against it; of these κλήσεις appears to have been introduced from ver. 21.

Ver. 23. ὁ θεός. Various passages in Origen *look* like citations of this reading: they have, however, all of them been *advisedly* passed by; for, perhaps, every one of them properly relates to Isaiah viii. 8. and not to this place. Such points always require great attention in the use of quotations.

Ver. 25. For τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς τὸν πρωτότοκον, a shorter reading, υἱὸν (with or without some *slight* addition), is found in some of the very best authorities; in MSS. which are excelled by none, and in versions of the earliest centuries, and of various regions, Syria, North Africa, and Egypt. This would in common cases be decisive. And farther, the longer reading of the common text is *verbally* the same as that which is found in Luke ii. 21.; so that this would be a reason for regarding the shorter reading in Matthew as original, and the longer as one of the many instances of adaptations of one Gospel to another. But Mr. Alford, adopting and repeating a kind of traditional notion about this passage, says, of the reading υἱὸν merely, "an omission evidently made from superstitious veneration for Mary;" an assertion most easy to make, most difficult to prove. If it be an *omission*, it must have been as early as the second century; and who in that age had heard of superstitious veneration for Mary? or what question had been raised as to her perpetual virginity? And further, when this opinion had become prevalent, and when it was thought right to render every honour to the mother of our Lord, the longer reading became that generally adopted. The old Latin has the shorter; Jerome, the zealous advocate of the dogma in question, has the longer; thus, in revising the old Latin, he added from *his* Greek copies that which is now said to have been *omitted* from reverential reasons. So far from the omission having been "evidently made" for the reason assigned, the *reverse* is a simple fact. This is patent at once by comparing monuments *anterior* to the fourth century (such as the unaltered text of the old Latin) with those of that or a subsequent age (such as the Cod. Brixianus, or the Vulgate of Jerome). The "veneration for Mary" theory is as erroneous in chronology, and involves anachronisms as hopeless, as do the false Decretals, in which a pope writes to a bishop who lived two centuries after him. Also, if the best authorities had been in this place dogmatically revised, how is it that in Luke ii. 7. this is the case with none of them. The longer reading can be accounted for easily; it may not be useless thus to have discussed the subjective notions which have been advanced in opposition to the shorter.

As another specimen of the Greek Text and the evidence furnished by authorities of different kinds, part of the 14th and 15th chapters of St. Matthew will be taken. The authorities here are:—

MSS.	Versions.
BCD(P)(ℵ)	Vulg. *a. b. c.* &c.
LXΔ(Θ)	Syrr. Crt. Pst. & Hcl.
1. 33.	Memph. Arm. Æth.
EFGKMSUV	

22 Καὶ εὐθέως ἠνάγκασεν †τοὺς μαθητὰς† ἐμβῆναι εἰς† πλοῖον καὶ προάγειν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ πέραν, ἕως οὗ ἀπολύσῃ τοὺς ὄχλους. 23 καὶ ἀπολύσας τοὺς ὄχλους ἀνέβη¶ εἰς τὸ ὄρος κατ' ἰδίαν προσεύξασθαι. ὀψίας δὲ γενομένης μόνος ἦν ἐκεῖ. 24 τὸ δὲ πλοῖον ἤδη ‡ σταδίους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἀπεῖχεν" βασανιζόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων· ἦν γὰρ ἐναντίος ὁ ἄνεμος. 25 τετάρτῃ δὲ φυλακῇ τῆς νυκτὸς ‡ ἦλθεν" πρὸς αὐτοὺς † περιπατῶν ἐπὶ ‡ τὴν θάλασσαν." 26 καὶ ἰδόντες αὐτὸν οἱ μαθηταὶ ἐπὶ ‡ τῆς θαλάσσης" περιπατοῦντα ἐταράχθησαν, λέγοντες ὅτι φάντασμά ἐστιν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ φόβου ἔκραξαν. 27 ‡ εὐθὺς" δὲ ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς

¶ II. ... 24. μέσον τῆς θαλάσσης ἦν.

22. ευθεως *Orig.* iii. 480ᵇ. 482ᵉ. | om. C*. Syr. Crt.
— ηναγκασεν] †add. ὁ Ιησους ς. LXM. rel. Vulg. *Cl.* (*a. b. c. ff*².*g*¹·² *h.*) | om. BCDP ΠΔΘ. 1. 33. *Am. e. f. ff*¹. Syrr. Crt. Pst. & Hcl. Syr. Hier. Memph. Arm. Æth. *Orig.* iii. 480ᵇ. 482ᵉ.
— μαθητας] †add. *αυτου ς. BsPXEFK. *a. b. c. ff*¹·²·*g*¹·²·*h.* Syrr. Crt. Pst. & Hcl. Memph. Æth. | om. CDIILΔΘ. 1. 33. GMSUV. Vulg. *e. f. l.* Arm. *Orig.* iii. 480ᵇ. 482ᵉ·ᵉ·ᶠ. 483ᵃ (diserte).
— εμβηναι] εμβειν (sic.) X.
— πλοιον] †præm. το ς. CDPΠ. rel. *Orig.* iii. 480ᵇ. 481ᵉ. 482ᵉ·ᶠ. | om. B. 1. 33. Arm. *Eus.* D. E. 446ᵇ.
— αυτον BsCP. rel. Vulg. *c. f. g*². rel. *Orig.* iii. 480ᵇ. 481ᵉ. 482ᵉ·ᶠ. *Eus.* D. E. 446ᵇ. | om. D. *a. b. c.* (*ff*¹.)².*g*¹. *h.* Arm. | αυτους ΠΘ.
— απολυσῃ] απολυσει K.
— τους οχλους] τον οχλον F*. Arm. MSS. (illos Syr. Crt.)
23. καθ' ἰδίαν D.
— μονος] om. F.
24. ηδη BCP. rel. *b. c. e. g*¹. *h.* Syr. Hcl. *Eus.* D. E. 446ᵉ. (hiat Π.) | om. D. Vulg. *a. f. ff*¹. Syr. Crt. & Pst. Memph. Arm. Æth. (vid. Mar.)
— σταδιους πολλους απο της γης απειχεν B. Syrr. Crt. & Pst. Memph. (sed habet σταδιους ὡς εικοσιπεντε e Joh. vi. 19.) Arm. (Syr. Hier. habet hæc post lectionem ς.) | ‡ μεσον της θαλασσης ην ς. CP. rel. (Latt. *vid.*) Syr. Hcl. Æth. *Orig.* iii. (483ᵇ. 484ᵃ·ᵉ· *ut vid.*) *Hil.* 679ᵉ. (vid. Mar. vi. 47.) | ην εις μεσον της θαλασσης D. *e.* (ην εν μεσῳ της θαλ. *Eus.* D. E. 446ᵉ).
— ην γαρ] η γαρ D*.
25. τεταρτῃ δε φυλακῃ] τεταρτης δε φυλακης D.
— ηλθεν BC²(P?) 1. 33. Latt. Syrr. Crt. Pst. & Hcl. mg. Memph. Arm. Æth. *Orig.* iii. 483ᵉ (*bis*). *Eus.* D. E. 92ᵈ. in Ps. 588ᵈ. | ‡ απηλθεν ς. C*(?) D. rel. Syr. Hcl. txt.
— περιπατων] ante προς αυτους D. ‖ †præm. ὁ Ιησους ς. C³ LX. rel. *a. b c. e. f. ff*².*g*².*h.* Syrr. Crt. & Pst. Arm. *Eus.* D. E. 92ᵈ. (ante πρ. αυτ.) in Ps. 588ᵈ. | om. BC*DPΔΘ (*ut vid.*) 1. 33. SV. Vulg. *ff*¹.*g*¹.*l.* Syr. Hcl. Memph. Æth. *Orig.* iii. 483ᵉ. (*bis.*)
— επι την θαλασσαν B *Bch.* PΔΘ. 1. *Orig.* iii. 483ᵉ. | ‡ επι της θαλασσης ς. CD. rel. *Eus.* D. E. 92ᵈ. in Ps. 588ᵈ. (της θαλασσῃ *sic.* M.)
26. και ιδοντες αυτον οι μαθηται CPLX. 33. rel. Syrr. Crt. Pst. & Hcl. Memph. (Arm.) Æth. | οι δε μαθηται ιδοντες αυτον BD. (*f.*) vid. Mar. vi. 49. | και ιδοντες αυτον (tantum) 1 (ut puto) Latt. exc. *d. f. Eus.* D. E. 92ᵈ. (vid. Mar.)
— επι της θαλασσης BCD. 1. 33. *Eus.* D. E. 92ᵈ. 446ᵉ. | ‡ επι την θαλασσαν ς. PΔΘ. rel. (om. *h.*)
— περιπατουντα CDP. rel. (Latt.) vv. rel. ut vid. | ante επι τ. θαλ. B. *Bch.* 33. *g*¹. Syrr. Crt. Pst. & Hcl. *Eus.* D. E. 92ᵈ. (vid. Mar.) | om. *b. Eus.* D. E. 446ᵉ.
27. ευθυς BD. | ‡ ευθεως ς. C. rel. (hiat P.) *Eus.* D. E. 446ᵉ.
— αυτοις ὁ Ιησους CP. rel. *f.* Syr. Hcl. Arm. Æth. | ὁ Ιησους αυτοις B. | om. ὁ Ιησους D. *ff*¹. Syr. Crt. Memph. *Eus.* D. E. 446ᵉ. | ante ελαλ. (Latt.) Syr. Pst.
— θαρσειτε *Orig.* iii. 485ᵇ. | θαρρειτε D.

ὁ Ἰησοῦς λέγων, Θαρσεῖτε· ἐγώ εἰμι, μὴ φοβεῖσθε. [28] ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν, Κύριε, εἰ σὺ εἶ, κέλευσόν με ‡ ἐλθεῖν πρός σε" ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα. [29] ὁ δὲ εἶπεν, Ἐλθέ.¶ καὶ καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ πλοίου † Πέτρος περιεπάτησεν ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα, ἐλθεῖν πρὸς τὸν Ἰησοῦν. [30] βλέπων δὲ τὸν ἄνεμον ἰσχυρὸν ἐφοβήθη· καὶ ἀρξάμενος καταποντίζεσθαι ἔκραξεν λέγων, Κύριε, σῶσόν με. [31] εὐθέως δὲ ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐκτείνας τὴν χεῖρα ἐπελάβετο αὐτοῦ, καὶ λέγει αὐτῷ, Ὀλιγόπιστε, εἰς τί ἐδίστασας; [32] Καὶ ‡ἀναβάντων" αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ πλοῖον ἐκόπασεν ὁ ἄνεμος. [33] οἱ δὲ ἐν τῷ πλοίῳ ἐλθόντες προσεκύνησαν αὐτῷ λέγοντες, Ἀληθῶς θεοῦ υἱὸς εἶ.

[34] Καὶ διαπεράσαντες ἦλθον ‡ἐπὶ" τὴν γῆν* εἰς" Γεννησαρέτ. [35] καὶ ἐπιγνόντες αὐτὸν οἱ ἄνδρες τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου ἀπέστειλαν εἰς ὅλην τὴν περίχωρον ἐκείνην, καὶ προσήνεγκαν αὐτῷ πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας· [36] καὶ παρεκάλουν αὐτὸν ἵνα μόνον ἅψωνται τοῦ κρασπέδου τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ· καὶ ὅσοι ἥψαντο διεσώθησαν.

XV. [1] Τότε προσέρχονται τῷ Ἰησοῦ † ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων ‡ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς" λέγοντες, [2] Διὰ τί οἱ μαθηταί σου παραβαίνουσιν τὴν παράδοσιν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων; οὐ γὰρ νίπτονται τὰς χεῖρας [αὐτῶν,]

27. [ὁ Ἰησοῦς.] ¶ Θ. 29. καὶ ἦλθεν. 33. [ἀληθῶς]

28. αυτῳ ὁ πετρος ειπεν C(D)LX. 1. rel. (hiat P.) *b.e.f.ff*$^{1.2.}$*g*^{2}*.h.* Syr. Hcl. Arm. *Eus.* D.E. 92^{d}. (D. om. ὁ) | ὁ πετρ. ειπ. αυτῳ B. *g*^{1}. Syr. Pst. Memph. | ὁ πετρ. αυτ. ειπ. 33. | om. αυτῳ Δ. Vulg. *a.c.* Æth. [Syr. Crt.]
— με *Eus.* D.E. 92^{d}. | μοι CΔ.
— ελθειν προς σε B. *Btly.* CDΔΘ. 1. 33. (hiat P.) *Am.* Latt. rel. Syrr. Crt. Pst. & Hcl. Memph. Arm. Æth. *Eus.* D.E. 92^{d}. | ‡ προς σε ελθειν ς. LX. rel. Vulg. *Cl.*
29. ὁ δε] add. Ιησους E. Syr. Pst.
— πετρος] †præm. ὁ ς. C. rel. | om. BD. *Eus.* D.E. 92^{d}. (hiat P.)
— ελθειν C^{2}D. rel. *Orig.* iii. 483^{d}. vv. (C* n.l.) | και ηλθεν B. Syr. Crt. Arm. | et veniens Æth. (hiat P.)
30. ισχυρον] om. 33. Memph.
— με] om. 1.
31. ὁ Ιησους] om. E*. | om. ὁ D.
32. αναβαντων αυτων BD. 33. *Orig.* iii. 483^{d}. | ‡ εμβαντων αυτων ς. CP. rel.
33. ελθοντες DPLX. 33. rel. (Latt.) Syrr. Crt. Pst. & Hcl. Arm. | om. BC^{1}. 1. *ff*^{1}. Memph. Æth. (*Orig.* iii. 486^{b}.) (οἱ δε εν τ. πλ. in C a 2^{a} manu sunt: de C* n. l.)
— θεου υἱος ει BsCP. rel. *Orig.* iii. 486^{b}. (*bis*) 503^{e}. | υἱ. θεου ει συ D. (*a.b.* sed sine συ.)
34. επι την γην BCDΔ. 33. | ‡ εις την γην ς. P. rel. Memph. Arm. *Orig.* iii. 483^{e}. 487^{e}. 502^{b}. ‖ add. *εις" BDΔ. 33. Syrr. Crt. & Hcl. (et mg. *Græce.*) Arm. | Contra, ς. CP. rel. Syr. Pst. *Orig.* iii. 483^{e}. 502^{b}. (vid. Mar.) ‖ in terram (tantum). Latt. Æth. (ad terram *e.*)
— Γεννησαρετ B. *Bch. Blc.* C. 1. 33. Ss. Syr. Hcl. et mg. *Græce.* Arm. | Γενησαρετ B. *Btly. f. Orig.* iii. 487^{e}. 502^{b}. (Γενεσαρετ *Orig.* iii. 483^{e}. 484^{b}.) | Γεννησαρεθ PXEGKMUV (Memph.) | Γενησαρεθ LΔF. *g*^{2}. Æth. | Γεννησαρ D*. *Am. a.e.ff*^{1}. Syrr. Crt. & Pst. *Hil.* 684^{e}. (Genesar Vulg. *Cl. b.c.ff*^{2}*.g*^{1}.) | Γενννησαρατ D^{2}. (Gennasar *d.*)
35. εκεινου] add. et adoraverunt eum *a.b.c.ff*$^{1.2.}$ *Hil.* 684^{e}.
36. ἱνα] add. καν. 1. 33. *Orig.* iii. 486^{d}. 487^{d}.
— ἁψωνται] ἁψονται X. 1. E.
— του 2°] om. Δ.
— ὁσοι] add. αν C.
1. προσερχονται *Orig.* iii. 487^{e}. *cit* (sed infra in com. habet απερχονται) | προερχονται D*.
— τῳ Ιησου] προς αυτον D. Latt. (exc. *f.*) Æth. *Hil.* 684^{f}. | αυτῳ 1. *Orig.* iii. 487$^{a.b.}$ | Contra, codd. et vv. rel. *f.*
— απο] †præm. οἱ ς. CP. rel. | om. BD. 1. *Orig.* iii. 487$^{a.d.}$
— φαρισαιοι και γραμματεις BD. (1). 33. *e.* Syr. Pst. Memph. Arm. *Orig.* iii. 487$^{a.d.}$ | ‡ γραμμ. και φαρ. ς. CP. rel. (Latt.) Syrr. Crt. & Hcl. Æth. *Hil.* 684^{f}. (ante απο Ἱερ. 1. *a. b.c.f.ff*^{2}*.g*^{1}. Syrr. Crt. Pst. & Hcl. *Hil.* | Contra, Vulg. *e.ff*^{1}*.g*^{2}. (Memph. Arm. Æth. *Orig.*)
2. αυτων CDP. rel. (Latt.) | om. B. *Btly. Blc.* Δ. 1. *f.g*^{1}. Arm. *Orig.* iii. 487^{a}. iv. 418^{b}.

ὅταν ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν. [3] ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Διὰ τί καὶ ὑμεῖς παραβαίνετε τὴν ¶ ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν; [4] ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ‡ εἶπεν", § Τίμα τὸν πατέρα† καὶ τὴν μητέρα· καὶ Ὁ κακολογῶν πατέρα ἢ μητέρα θανάτῳ τελευτάτω· [5] ὑμεῖς δὲ λέγετε, Ὃς ἂν εἴπῃ τῷ πατρὶ ἢ τῇ μητρί, Δῶρον, ὃ ἐὰν ἐξ ἐμοῦ ὠφεληθῇς, [6] † οὐ μὴ ‡ τιμήσει" τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ ἢ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἠκυρώσατε ‡ τὸν λόγον" τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν παράδοσιν ὑμῶν. [7] ὑποκριταί, καλῶς ‡ ἐπροφήτευσεν" περὶ ὑμῶν Ἡσαΐας λέγων, [8] † Ὁ λαὸς οὗτος† τοῖς χειλεσίν με τιμᾷ, ἡ δὲ καρδία αὐτῶν πόρρω ἀπέχει ἀπ' ἐμοῦ· [9] μάτην δὲ σέβονταί με διδάσκοντες διδασκαλίας, ἐντάλματα ἀνθρώπων. [10] Καὶ προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν ὄχλον εἶπεν αὐτοῖς, Ἀκούετε καὶ συνίετε· [11] οὐ τὸ εἰσερχόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα

¶ P. § Θ. 5 [ἡ τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ.]

3. αυτοις] om. D. *e.*
— παραβαινετε] παραβαιναι D. | παραβενεται P.
4. ειπεν BD. 1. (Latt.) Syrr. Crt. & Pst. & Hcl. mg. Memph. Arm. Æth. *Iren.* 238. *Ptolem.* (ap. Epiph. xxxiii. 4.) *Orig.* iii. 489ᵃ. | ‡ ενετειλατο λεγων ς. CΘ. rel. *f.* (.... λεγων inc. Θ.) [Syr. Hcl. txt.]
— πατερα] †add. σου ς. C²L. 33. KMU. *Am. a.b.c.f.ff².g¹.* Syrr. Crt. & Pst. & Hcl.† Memph. Arm. (*Ptolem.* *Orig.* iii. 489ᵃ. sed, ut vid. e Vet. Test.) vid. Mar. vii. 10. | om. B. *Bch.* C*DXΔΘ. 1. EFGSV. Vulg. *Cl. For. Harl.** *e.ff¹.g².* Syr. Hcl.† Æth. *Iren.* 238. *Orig.* iii. 490ᵃ.
— μητερα] add. σου *a.b.c.f.* Syrr. Crt. & Pst. Memph. (*Orig.* iii. 489ᵃ. sed qu. e Vet. Test.) | Contra, MSS. Vulg. *e.ff¹.²·g¹.²* Syr. Hcl. Æth. *Iren.* *Orig.* iii. 490ᵃ.
— ἡ μητερα] om. *a.*
5. αν] εαν LΘ. 33. S. *Orig.* iii. 491ᵈ. | δ' αν D.
— ειπῃ] om. Syr. Crt. (vos autem dicitis quisque patri suo et matri suæ.)
— ὁ εαν *Orig.* iii. 491ᵉ. 492ᵃ. | ὁ δ' αν D*. | ὁ αν D². 1.
— ωφεληθῃς] ωφελῃς G.
6. ου μη] † prem.ᵐ και ς. LXΘ. rel. Vulg. *e.f.* Syrr. Pst. & Hcl. Arm. | om. BCD. 1. 33. *a.b.e.ff².g¹.* Syr. Crt. Memph. Æth. [*ff¹*]. *Orig.* (iii. 491ᵉ). *Orig. Int.* iii. 841ᵈ.
— τιμησει B. *Bch.* CDΔΘ. 1. 33. E². *Orig.* iii. 491ᵉ. | ‡ τιμηση ς. L. rel. honorificabit Vulg. *g¹.* -cavit *Am. a. b.ff¹.²·* honorificat *c.* honoravit *e.*
— αυτου post πατερα] om. 1. *Orig.*
— η την μητερα αυτου CLXΘ. rel. Vulg. (*b*).*c.f.ff¹.(²·)*(*g¹*).(*l*). Syrr. Pst. & Hcl. Memph. Arm. Æth. *Orig.* iii. 491ᶜ. | om. B. *Bhy. Blc.* D. *a.e.* Syr. Crt. ‖ αυτου] om. 33. *Am. b.ff².g¹.l.*
— τον λογον BD. *a.b.e.ff¹.²·* Syrr. Crt. Pst. & Hcl. mg. Memph. Arm. Æth. *Iren.* 238. *Orig.* iii. 490ᵃ. *Eus.* in Es. 443ᵉ. | του νομου C. *Ptolem.* (ap. Epiph. xxxiii. 4.) | ‡ την εντολην ς. LXΘ. rel. Vulg. *c.f.g¹.* Syr. Hcl. txt. Arm. MSS. (*Orig.* iii. 490ᵇ. *Orig. Int.* iii. 841ᵈ.) *vid.* Mar. vii. 9. (om. την Δ).
7. επροφητευσεν CDL. *Orig.* iv. 121ᵇ. | ‡ προεφητευσεν ς. BsXΘ. rel. (προφητευσεν Δ).
— περι ὑμων Ἡσαιας] Ἡσ. περι ὑμων 33. K. (Esaias propheta Syrr. Crt. & Pst. Memph.)
8. ὁ λαος ουτος BDL. 33. Latt. (exc. *f.*) Syrr. Crt. & Pst. Memph. Arm. Æth. (?*Clem. Rom.* ad Cor. i. 15.) *Ptolem. Clem.* 461. *Orig.* ii. 723ᵃ. iii. 492ᵉ. (discrte) iv. 121ᵇ. *Orig. Int.* iii. 841ᵉ. *Eus.* in Ps. 473ᵉ. et ap. Mai p. 75. *Tert.* adv. Marc. iv. 17. *Cypr.* 118, 139. *Hil.* 590ᵃ. | † præm. εγγιζει μοι et add. τῳ στοματι αυτων και ς. CXΘ. rel. *f.* Syr. Hcl. (παρέθετο ῥητὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἡσαΐου, ὅπερ αὐταῖς λέξεσιν οὕτως ἔχει, καὶ εἶπε κύριος, ἐγγίζει μοι ὁ λαὸς οὗτος ἐν τῷ στόματι αὐτῶν, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς· καὶ προείπομέν γε ὅτι οὐκ αὐταῖς λέξεσιν ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Ματθαῖος τὸ προφητικόν. *Orig.* iii. 492ᵉ.) | ὁ λαος ουτος εγγιζει μοι tantum 1. | μοι] με. F. | ουτος] om. Δ. ουτως E*.
— απεχει απ' *Orig.* ii. 723ᵃ. (absistit a *Tert.* separatum est *Cypr.*) | εστιν απ' D. (est a me Latt. *Hil.* 590ᵃ.)
9. με] om. Δ.
— ενταλματα] et mandata Latt. (exc. *d.*)
10. τον οχλον] των οχλων Δ.
11. ου] add. παν D.
— εισερχομενον *Orig.* iii. 494ᵈ. 497ᵉ. 498ᵇ·ᵉ. (εισερχομενα. *Clem.* 175. 455.) | ερχομενον B.
— κοινοι *bis*] κοινωνει D*. (2°. communicat *c*) | Contra, 1°. *Clem. Orig.*
— εκ] απο 33.
— τουτο] εκεινο D. | om. *a. e.ff¹.*
— τουτο κοινοι τον ανθρωπον] om. 1. *g²*. (De hac clausula ubique silet *Orig.* i. 762ᶠ. iii. 494ᵈ. 497ᵃ. 498ᵇ.)

κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκπορευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ στόματος, τοῦτο κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. [12] Τότε προσελθόντες οἱ μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ ‡ λέγουσιν αὐτῷ, Οἶδας ὅτι οἱ Φαρισαῖοι ἀκούσαντες ¶ τὸν λόγον ἐσκανδαλίσθησαν; § [13] ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν, Πᾶσα φυτεία, ἣν οὐκ ἐφύτευσεν ὁ πατήρ μου ὁ οὐράνιος, ἐκριζωθήσεται. [14] ἄφετε αὐτούς· ‡τυφλοί εἰσιν ὁδηγοὶ τυφλῶν· τυφλὸς δὲ τυφλὸν ἐὰν ὁδηγῇ, ἀμφότεροι ¶ εἰς βόθυνον πεσοῦνται. [15] ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ ὁ Πέτρος εἶπεν αὐτῷ, Φράσον ἡμῖν τὴν παραβολήν †. [16] ὁ δὲ † εἶπεν, Ἀκμὴν καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀσύνετοί ἐστε; [17] ‡ οὐ νοεῖτε ὅτι πᾶν τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον εἰς τὸ στόμα εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν χωρεῖ, καὶ εἰς ἀφεδρῶνα ἐκβάλλεται; [18] τὰ δὲ ἐκπορευόμενα ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἐκ τῆς καρδίας ἐξέρχεται, κἀκεῖνα κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον. [19] ἐκ γὰρ τῆς καρδίας ἐξέρχονται διαλογισμοὶ πονηροί, φόνοι μοιχεῖαι πορνεῖαι κλοπαὶ ψευδομαρτυρίαι βλασφημίαι. [20] ταῦτά ἐστιν τὰ κοινοῦντα τὸν ἄνθρωπον· τὸ δὲ ἀνίπτοις χερσὶν ¶ φαγεῖν οὐ κοινοῖ τὸν ἄνθρωπον.

12. *οἱ μαθηταὶ* [*αὐτοῦ*]. ¶ *b*. § Z ‡. 14. [*τυφλῶν*]. ¶ Θ. ¶ F.

12. *προσελθοντες*] add. *αυτῳ* F. *ff*[1]. Syr. Hcl. Memph. (Syr. Pst. MS)
— *οἱ μαθηται αυτου*] om *αυτου* BD. | Contra, CLXΘ. rel. vv. omnes.
— *λεγουσιν* BD. 1. 33. (*ff*[1].) Syrr. Crt. & Pst. Arm. | ‡ *ειπον* 𝔖. CLΘ. rel. (Latt.) Syr. Hcl. Æth.
— *τον λογον*] om. K. Æth.
13. *ειπεν*] add. *αυτοις* Δ.
14. *αφετε αυτους* BCZΘ. rel. *Orig.* iii. 496[c]. | *αφετε τους τυφλους* D.
— *τυφλοι εισιν οδηγοι* B(D)Z(*ut vid.*)L. 1. 33. (ὁδαγοι D.) *Am. Fuld. a. c. e. f. ff*[(1)-2]. *g*[1-2]. (hiat *b*.) Syrr. Pst. & Hcl. (Memph.) (Arm.) (Æth.) *Orig.* iii. 497[c]. *Orig. Int.* iv. 488[a]. *Cypr.* 54. 200. *Hil.* 685. (cæci sunt et duces Vulg. *Cl.* cæci sunt enim duces. *ff*[1].) | ‡ *οδηγοι εισιν τυφλοι* 𝔖. CXΘ. rel. Syr. Crt. | *οδηγοι εισιν* K.
— *τυφλων* CZLXΘ. 1. 33. rel. Latt. Syrr. Pst. & Hcl. (Memph.) Arm. Æth. *Orig.* iii. 497[c]. *Orig. Int.* iv. 488[a]. *Cypr.* 54. 200. *Hil.* 685[a]. | om. BD. Syr. Crt.
— *εαν*] om. F.
— *οδηγη*] *οδαγη* D.
εις βοθυνον πεσουνται BsCX. 33. rel. *Orig. Int.* ii. 439[d]. | *πεσ. εις βοθ.* (D) ZL. 1. Æth. (*εμπεσουνται* D.) ‖ *εις βοθρον* habent D. 1. ‖ *εμπεσουνται εις βοθυνον* F. (cum eo in foveam cadet. Syr. Crt.)
15. *ὁ Πετρος*] Simon Petrus Syrr. Crt. & Pst.
— *ειπεν αυτῳ*] *αυτῳ ειπεν* B. (om. *αυτῳ* Arm.)
— *παραβολην*] † add. *ταυτην* 𝔖. CDL. rel. Latt. Syrr. Arm. Æth. (*αυτην* Δ.) | om. BZ. 1. Memph. *Orig.* iii. 498[b].
16. *ὁ δε*] † add. *Ιησους* 𝔖. CL. rel. *f*. Syr. Hcl. Arm. | om. BDZ. 33. (Latt.) Syrr. Crt. & Pst. Memph. Æth.
— *ειπεν*] add illi Syrr. Crt. & Hcl.* | add. illis. Syr. Pst. Memph. MS.
17. *ου* BDZ. 33. Latt. Syrr. Crt. & Pst. (Arm.) Æth. | ‡ *ουπω* 𝔖. CL. rel. Syr. Hcl. Memph. (*ετι ου Orig.* iii. 498[b]. in comm.)
— *εισπορευομενον* CDZ. rel. *Orig.* iii. 499[c]. | *εισερχομενον* B. *Bily. Blc. Orig.* iii. 498[c].
18. *εξερχεται*] *εξερχονται* FM.
— *κακεινα*] *εκεινα* D. *c. ff*[1]. Memph.
— *κοινοι*] *κοινωνει* D*.
19. *φονοι*] *φθονοι* 1.
— *φονοι μοιχειαι πορνειαι Orig.* iii. 500[a]. *Eus.* in Ps. 650[d]. | *πορν. μοιχ. φον.* L. | (*πορνειαι*] om. F. | *μοιχ.*] om. *a*.)
— *βλασφημιαι* BCZ. rel. (Latt.) *Orig.* i. 763[a]. iii. 500[c]. *Eus.* in Ps. *Hil.* 332[a]. 443[c]. | *βλασφημεια* D*. *e*. Syrr. Crt. & Hcl. Æth.
20. *εστιν τα κοινουντα* BCZ. rel. *Orig.* iii. *Eus.* in Ps. | *εισιν τα κοινωνουντα* D*.
— *κοινοι* BCZ. rel. *Orig.* iii. 502[a]. | *κοινωνει* D*.

Ver. 22. *εὐθέως.* It is of some importance to *specify* a patristic reading in such a case; as it, with the other authorities, counterbalances any suspicion which the omission in some might raise.

Ver. 22. *αὐτου* after *μαθητάς.* Even if the evidence in such a case had been evenly balanced, *good* testimony would be decisive in requiring the omission; such an addition in MSS. and versions is

habitual; in the latter it weighs hardly any more in criticism than do the Italic supplements in modern translations.

Ver. 22. τὸ before πλοῖον. Comparatively little evidence would weigh sufficiently against the insertion of the article. What was indefinite to an original writer often became definite to the mind of a copyist, and not *vice versâ*.

Ver. 24. ἤδη. The non-insertion of this word in Mark may be sufficient to account for its omission here in authorities of different kinds. In the following words authorities are so much divided, that either reading must be considered *doubtful*. That here given in the text is supported by some of the later MSS. as well as by B.: it seems, *on the whole*, to be the best supported, as the reading early current in the East and in Egypt; while Mark vi. 47. might suggest the other.

Ver. 26. The parallel passage in Mark gives a reason in some cases of conflicting evidence in this verse for deciding in favour of the *contrary* reading.

Ver. 29. The omission of ὁ before Πέτρος seems to be attested by but a small measure of evidence; but here the citation of Eusebius strongly confirms the oldest MSS.

Ver. 29. The readings ἐλθεῖν and καὶ ἦλθεν seem to be so evenly balanced (the latter might easily have been changed into the former) as to *ancient* evidence, that the citation of Origen seems not so much to decide which is genuine, as which of the alternative readings has the best claim to be inserted in the text.

Ver. 34. It must be observed that, for the insertion of εἰς before Γεννησαρέτ, the *margin of the Harclean Syriac* is equal in authority to a Greek MS. of the same age; for here, as in several other places, the Greek word itself is given. The evidence *against* this reading is greatly weakened by the fact that εἰς does not occur in the parallel passage in Mark.

Chap. xv. ver. 1. Φαρισαῖοι καὶ γραμματεῖς. This *order* is so much less common in the New Testament, that even if the evidence were *about* equal it would be preferable. This peculiar *order* indicates *design*, and this is more likely to have been on the part of the sacred writer than on that of a copyist, while the more usual arrangement would *naturally* occur to the mere scribe.

Ver. 4. Few as are the MSS. which read εἶπεν, yet this lection is so abundantly confirmed by *other* authorities, that this is an excellent example of the places in which *mere numbers* weigh extremely little. A few MSS. of proved character may suffice to give an assurance tantamount to moral certainty to the reading found in several versions and some early citations.

Ver. 8. This reading is a good specimen of the manner in which amplifications were introduced from the Old Testament. The longer reading is defended *pro more* by those who rest on numbers and on numbers only. It is instructive to see that the reading of the *few* Greek MSS., which have been classified as of the most importance, is so strongly supported. The longer reading is found in no version prior to the later Syriac. To those who are not committed to the

defence at all risks of the theory that mere numbers should prevail, it must be a cause for surprise that the *express testimony* of Origen should be deemed worthy of no weight. In fact, in such a place to maintain the longer reading as genuine is almost the same as to uphold *mere conjecture* as to what is or is not the text of Holy Scripture. The citation of the passage by Clement of Rome is marked as doubtful: he does not quote from Isaiah, because he gives the shorter reading. From the *order* of words, however, it *looks* more as if he were using the citation as found in the parallel passage in St. Mark's Gospel.

Ver. 20. It may be worthy of remark that in the last reading given κοινοι *is* the reading of C. The text of that MS., as edited by Tischendorf, appears to have κοινει, but he has himself pointed out that that was an erratum; but as this was done in *another* publication, the correction has been overlooked.

The few remarks which have been made on some of the readings have been intended for the *assistance* of learners; they may suffice as showing what *kind* of considerations may be applied when evidence is used in order to produce results. It is far too common for those who themselves know nothing of true criticism to make the most superficial, incorrect, and yet dogmatic assertions on the readings of passages. Authorities are called "slender" or "insufficient" when really the counter-evidence is next to none; and often enough (it is needful to speak the *plain truth* to students as to this, though some deem it *uncharitable*) through some unaccountable hallucination, statements of evidence are made which are *entirely false;* MSS. are quoted for readings which they do *not* contain, and those who have truly cited them are charged with having invented the readings which they quote correctly. If the premises are thus invented, of course *any* predetermined conclusions may be deduced. It is needful to say thus much to put students on their guard against the *assertions* of *some* of the professed defenders of the text found in the later copies in general, against those who uphold what is attested by early evidence. A heavy responsibility rests on those who have so habitually falsified statements of evidence as to the text of Holy Scripture, and who have so freely and recklessly accused those whom they oppose on critical subjects, of irreverence and reprehensible conduct.

Let then the student weigh the evidence on *both* sides before he judges that of the oldest versions in general, that of the best MSS. (even though but few in number) and of the early Fathers, to be "slender." If there be any such thing as *truth* in evidence, then such combined testimony *must* be worthy of the greatest attention. And when paradoxical assertions are made as to the readings of valuable MSS., let the student, if possible, *test* them: this he may do by comparing such *asserted* readings with actual collations of the MSS., and this will soon determine whether statements based only on the same collations are trustworthy or not. The fallacy of these

assertions is sometimes shown in a manner which is very decisive: for so undiscriminating have the inventors of evidence been, that they have quoted MSS. for readings in those very portions in which they are defective. It is, however, remarkable that they have *persisted* in doing this even after the fallacy of hallucination had been fully pointed out. This must proceed from such confusion of mind or inability to apprehend obvious facts as can scarcely be exceeded.

Thus much as a *necessary caution* to those who may wish to examine into evidence for and against various readings.

Although various considerations have great and at times *decisive* weight when evidence is thoroughly conflicting, it would be a great mistake if we were to suppose that we could always discuss and determine readings on such grounds. We may indeed speculate as to what may have been the origin of any particular reading; but we should go very far astray if we allowed this *pragmatism* to overbalance or even seriously to interfere with actual *evidence:* we know by experience to what kinds of errors copyists were obnoxious, but *evidence* may often show that readings are well supported, the origin of which might have been attributed to one of the causes of occasional mistake.

There is one benefit which will always result from the examination of the various readings of any passage which is under consideration: even if it does not remove all feeling of doubt, it will at least show within what limits (often very narrow) all uncertainty is confined.

CHAP. XXXVI.

ON THE READING OF 1 JOHN V. 7.

It may seem superfluous to enter into a formal and detailed discussion of the reading of this passage; for it may be thought that the application of the ordinary rules of evidence will amply suffice to lead to a definite conclusion. It may also be considered that this subject belongs rather to obsolete discussions than to those which can be regarded as if they were possessed of any importance in the present day. This view of the question is perfectly correct; and on the part of critical scholars there exists now but one opinion on the question which was once so warmly debated, and which, prior to the examination of MSS., seemed so far enveloped in mystery as to afford *some* apparent ground for those who maintained what they regarded as the more orthodox view of the passage.

But though the maintainers of the doctrine of the Trinity know full well that this essential article of the Christian faith is proved by passages of the most unquestionable authority, and though they are aware *how* the *longer* reading of this passage was introduced into our common copies, so that they rest nothing on a foundation worse than precarious, yet the discussions which once took place have an *his-*

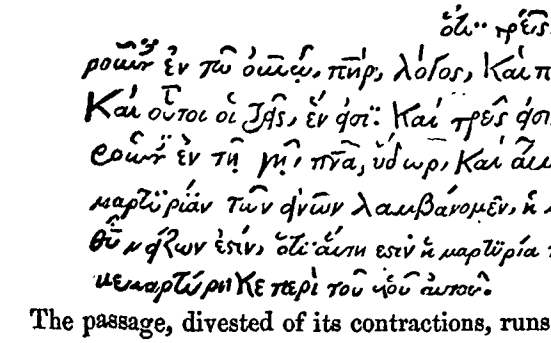
torical importance; and in an Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament *some statement of the evidence* is not out of place: any where else it would now appear as superfluous as an exposition of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy does to the man of science.[1]

The passage 1 John v. 7, 8. stands thus in the common printed text:—ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες [ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ὁ πατήρ, ὁ λόγος καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς ἕν εἰσι. καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ] τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὸ αἷμα, καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἕν εἰσιν. The words inclosed between brackets are those under discussion; they comprise the greater part of the seventh verse and a portion of the eighth. This must be remembered; for the controversy is commonly said to be about the genuineness of 1 John v. 7.; and this, though sufficiently exact for a *general* statement, might cause misapprehension as to the *precise* limits of the discussion.

When the genuineness of any word or clause which claims to be a portion of Scripture (or other ancient writing) is in question, if the *affirmative* evidence be first considered, we have something positive, definite, and tangible to discuss; the *negative* statement may then follow.

The Greek MSS. which contain this passage in the text in any form are two; the Codex Montfortianus, and the Codex Ottobonianus, 298. in the Vatican.

The following is a facsimile of the passage in the Codex Montfortianus:—



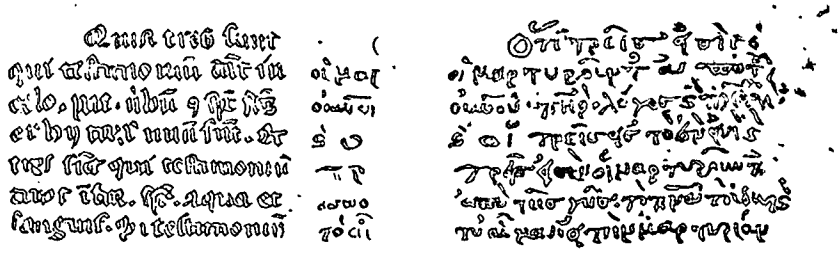
The passage, divested of its contractions, runs thus:—

ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, πατὴρ, λόγος, καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον, καὶ οὗτοι οἱ τρεῖς, ἕν εἰσι. Καὶ τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἐν τῇ γῇ, πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ, καὶ αἷμα· εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν τῶν ἀνθρώπων λαμβάνομεν, ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ μείζων ἐστίν, ὅτι αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ μαρτυρία τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι μεμαρτύρηκε περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ.

This MS., which is of very recent date, is described above (p. 213.).

[1] One special reason for this subject being treated *here* in some detail is, that it forms a part of the topics discussed by the Rev. T. H. Horne under the 1st Epistle of St. John. Its omission would therefore have been a serious defect. It is now transferred with some additions, &c. to what appears to the present writer to be a more suitable place in this volume; the general argument, however, is that of Mr. Horne.

In the Codex Ottobonianus, the passage is thus found in Greek and Latin.



which runs thus in ordinary characters: —

Quia tres sunt	Ὅτι τρεῖς εἰσὶν
qui testimonium dant in	οἱ μαρτυροῦντες ἀπὸ τοῦ
celo, pater, verbum, et spiritus sanctus,	οὐρανοῦ· πατὴρ, λόγος καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον
et hi tres unum sunt. Et	καὶ οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσὶ καὶ
tres sunt qui testimonium	τρεῖς εἰσὶν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες
dant in terra, spiritus, aqua et	ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς· τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ
sanguis. Si testimonium	τὸ αἷμα· εἰ τὴν μαρτυρίαν[1]

Besides these there is no occasion here particularly to describe those MSS. which have been mentioned as authorities for the passage; which all of them prove to be either modern copies taken from printed editions, or else MSS. in which a recent hand has added the passage in the margin. A MS. of the latter kind, preserved at Naples, is described above, p. 218.[2]

VERSIONS. — Although printed editions may be produced of some of the ancient versions containing this passage, it is not to be found in the MSS. of the greater part of them; such, for instance, as the Peshito and Harclean Syriac, the Memphitic, the Thebaic, the Armenian, and the Æthiopic; it may, in fact, be said briefly that with the single exception of the Latin there is not an ancient version which can be *claimed* as containing the passage. In some it is not found at all, either in MSS. or editions; in others it has been inserted in printed editions without any MS. authority; and in others it has

[1] In giving the *reading* of the facsimile above, p. 218., Scholz was followed, who commences the last line but one ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς; whereas it is most certainly ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, as any one may see who will *study* the formation of the letters in the facsimile. The letters between the columns appear to consist of the *beginnings* of lines. The two first seem to be

οἱ μαρ . . . .
οὐνου . . . . .

and the last τὸ αἷ[μα].

[2] This Codex Regius Neapolitanus is *mystified* in more ways than one by Scholz: 1st, he gives this reading from it without stating that it is a *marginal* addition (putting together "34. 162. 173. iique ex versione latina sacc. xvi. vel. xvii. in his tribus codd. trajectum"); 2nd, he *also* cites 173. on the opposite side; 3rd, he quotes from it the readings ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ and ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, in opposition to that which we know from Birch (see above, p. 219.) to be the actual reading; and 4th, Scholz seems entirely to confound the MS. which he calls 173. with that which is 83. in the notation both of Griesbach and himself. He cites 83., another Neapolitan MS. (or the same), as not containing the passage *a prima manu*, but without stating what the alteration may be. In fact, it is very clear that two different MSS. have been confounded, or else one MS. has been doubly cited. As Scholz professed to have met with no *new* MS. except the Codex Ottobonianus containing the passage, we are precluded from imagining *another* Neapolitan Codex of this kind besides the one described by Birch.

been introduced into very recent MSS., subsequent in date to the invention of printing.

It is found in the common printed copies of the Latin Vulgate. It is also found in the greater part of the MSS. of that version; but if an examination be instituted, it is seen that the *oldest* Latin MSS. have no trace of the passage. In some more recent it is found as a marginal scholion appended to the eighth verse. Then it is introduced *pro more* into the text *after* ver. 8., with the antithesis of "in terra" and "in cælo," and then it finds its present place *before* ver. 8. The variations, however, are considerable as to verbal phraseology, even when its place in the Latin text was established. Some copies read "filius," and others "verbum;" and in MSS. of the thirteenth and following centuries the final clausule of ver. 8. was (for dogmatic reasons) omitted.

The earliest proof which has been given of the insertion of this passage in Latin copies, is its occurrence in the "Speculum," published by Cardinal Mai.[1]

FATHERS.—There is no citation of this passage by any of the Greek Fathers; nor, in reality, by any of the early Latins.[2]

Thus *for* the passage there can only be cited *two* modern Greek MSS. and the more recent copies of one version.

But though absent from the known Greek MSS. in general, this passage is found in the Complutensian Polyglott, which contains the first printed edition of the Greek New Testament, where it stands as on the opposite page.

'On this facsimile it is to be observed, 1. That the first five lines, both of the Greek and Latin, are at the top of the opposite page to that on which the other four lines are found; and, 2. That the alphabetical letters, intermingled with the Greek text, refer to the corresponding words in the Latin text, which is printed in a parallel column in the Complutensian edition, and marked with the same letters, in order to ascertain more easily the corresponding Greek and Latin words. As the size of the page does not admit of the Greek and Latin texts being disposed in parallel columns, they are necessarily placed one below the other.

'But the Complutensian Polyglott, however rare and valuable in other respects, is in this case of no authority beyond that of any common Greek Testament, any further than it is supported by ancient MSS. The editors of the Complutensian Greek Testament, indeed, *profess* to have followed the best and most ancient manuscripts of the Vatican: but in that age copies two or three hundred years old were considered as ancient. It is also most certain that they did not consult the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, which is reputed to be one of the most ancient MSS., if it be not the most ancient manuscript extant (for that manuscript has *not* the disputed clause), and that they have not only departed from its readings in many places,

[1] This is described above, pp. 239, 240, amongst the Latin MSS. of the Old Version under the designation of "*m*."

[2] Further details as to some of the points connected with Versions and Fathers will be given below.

[b]ότι [i]Τρείς [k] ει=
σίν/οι [l] μαρτυρούντες [m] εν/Τω [n] ουραμώ,/ο [o] πα=
τήρ [p] και/ο [q] λόγος [r] και/Το [s] άγιον [t] πνεύμα, [u] και
/οι [x] Τρεις [y] εις/Το [z] εν [a] εισί. [b] και [c] Τρείς [d] εισίν/οι [e] μαρ
τυρούντες [f] επί/Της [g] γης,/Το [h] πνεύμα [i] και/Το [k] ύ
δωρ [l] και/Το [m] αίμα. [n] ει/Την [o] μαρτυρίαν/Των [p] αν
θρωπων [q] λαμβάνομεν,/η [r] μαρτυρία/Του [s] θεού
[t] μείζων [u] εστίν. [x] ότι [y] αύτη [z] εστίν/η [a] μαρτυρία/Του
[b] θεού: [c] ην [d] μεμαρτύρηκε [e] περί/Του [f] υιού [g] αυτού.

[h] Qm̃ [i] tres [k] sunt ∞∞∞
[l] qui [l] testimonium [l] dant [m] in [n] celo: [o] pater:
[q] verbum: [r] et [t] spiritus [s] sanctus: [n] ⁊ hi ∞∞
[x] tres [z] vnum [a] sunt. [b] Et [c] tres [d] sunt [e] qui ∞∞
[e] testimoniuꝫ [e] dant [f] in [g] terra: [h] spũs: [k] aqua
[l] ⁊ [m] sanguis. [n] Si [o] testimonium [p] hominum
[q] accipimus: [r] testimonium [s] dei ∞∞∞∞
[t] maius [u] est. [x] Qm̃ [y] hoc [z] est [a] testimoniuꝫ ∞
[b] dei qđ mai9 ē: [c] qm̃ [d] testificat9 [d] est [e] de [f] filio
[g] suo.

but have also varied from the order of things in point of time and place. Wetstein, Semler, and Griesbach[1], are unanimously of opinion that the MSS. used by the Complutensian editors were neither ancient nor valuable: for they scarcely ever consent with the most ancient copies or Fathers, except in conjunction with modern copies, and they almost always agree with the modern copies where these differ from the more ancient. Because the Complutensian editors admitted the disputed passage into their text of the New Testament, it has been supposed that they found it in their MSS.; but it is more probable that they inserted it upon the authority of the Latin Vulgate Version. For,

'(1.) In the first place, It is not usual—indeed it forms no part of the plan of the Complutensian edition—to insert notes in the margin of the Greek text. Not more than three instances of such notes occur throughout this edition: "and therefore," as Sir Isaac Newton has forcibly argued, "there must be something extraordinary, and that in respect of the *Greek*, because it is in the margin of this text. In 1 Cor. xv. there is noticed in this margin a notable variation in the Greek reading. In Matt. vi. 13., where they, in their edition, recede from the Greek copies and correct it by the Latin, they make a marginal note to justify their doing so. And so here, where

[1] See also Marsh, cited above, pp. 119, 120.

the testimony of 'the Three in heaven' is generally wanting in the Greek copies, they make a third marginal note, to secure themselves from being blamed for printing it. Now, in such a case as this, there is no question but they would make the best defence they could; and yet they do not tell of any various lections in the Greek manuscripts, nor produce any one Greek manuscript on their side, but have recourse to the authority of Thomas Aquinas."[1] "Thomas, say they, in treating of the three which bear witness in heaven, teaches, that the words 'these Three are one,' are subjoined for insinuating the unity of the Essence of the Three Persons. And whereas one Joachim interpreted this unity to be only *love* and *consent*, it being thus said of the Spirit, Water, and Blood, in some copies, that 'these Three are one:' Thomas replied, that this clause is not extant in the true copies, but was added by the Arians for perverting the sense." Thus far, this annotation. "Now this plainly respects the Latin copies (*for Aquinas understood not Greek*), and therefore part of the design of this annotation is to set right the Latin reading. But this is not the main design. For so the annotation should have been set in the margin of the Latin version. Its being set in the margin of the Greek text shows that its main design is to justify the Greek by the Latin thus rectified and confirmed. Now to make Thomas thus, in a few words, do all the work, was very artificial: and in Spain, where Thomas is of apostolical authority, it might pass for a very judicious and substantial defence of the printed Greek. But to us, Thomas Aquinas is no apostle. We are seeking for the authority of Greek manuscripts."[2]

'(2.) Secondly, we have a further proof that this text was not extant in Greek, but was inserted from the Latin Vulgate (and consequently translated into Greek), in the fact that when Stunica, one of the four editors of the Complutensian Polyglott, on censuring Erasmus for omitting it, was challenged by him to produce his authority for inserting it, he *never appealed* to Greek manuscripts. On the contrary, he affirmed that the Greek copies were corrupt, but that the Latin contained the very truth.[3] Now this declaration is of great importance, as it amounts to a confession that none of the manuscripts procured for that edition by the great influence of Cardinal Ximenes contained the disputed passage.'

It was not inserted in the two earlier editions of Erasmus 1516,

[1] The following is a literal transcript of the original of the marginal note above alluded to:—"Sanctus Thomas in expositione secunde decretalis de suma trinitate et fide catholica, tractans istum passum contra abbatem Joachim ut Tres sunt qui testimonium dant in cœlo. pater: verbum: et spiritus sanctus: dicit ad literam verba sequentia. Et ad insinuandam unitatem trium personarum subditur et hii tres unum sunt. Quod quidem dicitur propter essentie unitatem. Sed hoc Joachim perverse trahere volens ad unitatem charitatis et consensus inducebat consequentem auctoritatem. Nam subditur ibidem: et tres sunt qui testimonium dant in terra. s. [i. e. scilicet] spiritus: aqua: et sanguis. Et in quibusdam libris additur: et hii tres unum sunt. Sed hoc in veris exemplaribus non habetur: sed dicitur esse appositum ab hereticis arrianis ad pervertendum intellectum sanum auctoritatis premisse de unitate essentie trium personarum. Hec beatus Thomas ubi supra."

[2] Sir Isaac Newton's History of Two Texts (1 John v. 7, 8. and 1 Tim. iii. 16.). Works, vol. v. pp. 520—522.

[3] Sir Isaac Newton's Works, vol. v. pp. 522, 523.

1519, the first that were published, nor yet in some reprints which were taken from them. This *omission*, as it was deemed, of something contained in the Latin, led to much vituperation; he therefore promised that if a Greek MS. were produced which contained the text (for none such had he seen) he would insert it. This he was compelled to do by the production of the Codex Montfortianus (see above, p. 214.); and afterwards he brought the passage into a rather more correct form as to its Greek phraseology. From Erasmus, even more than from the Complutensian text, the passage obtained a place in the common text. And when Stephens, in his large Greek Testament, 1550, noted that in several of the collated MSS. the words commencing ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ were absent; the mark which indicated *how far* the omission extended having been wrongly placed after those three words, and not after ἐν τῇ γῇ in ver. 8.; it was imagined that the copies in question omitted those three words only, and that thus they were authorities for all the rest of the passage. The real state of the case is known not only from the non-appearance of any of the MSS. which omit ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ and contain the rest, but also from the demonstration by Bishop Marsh that one of these MSS. is now in the University Library at Cambridge, which contains no part of the introduced text.[1]

Thus *against* the passage are all the *known* Greek MSS. which are extant in this place of various ages and countries, with the exception of those above named. The number of these is about *one hundred and eighty.*

'VERSIONS.—*It is contained in the manuscripts of no other ancient version besides the Latin.*[2]

'It is wanting in the manuscripts of the *Peshito Syriac* version[3], and also in that of the *Harclean Syriac.* It is wanting in the manuscripts of the *Memphitic,* a version in the dialect anciently spoken in Lower Egypt; and in those of the *Thebaic,* a version in the dialect anciently spoken in Upper Egypt. It is wanting in the manuscripts of the *Æthiopic* version, and in those of the *Armenian.* It is wanting in all the manuscripts of all the known *Arabic* versions; and it is absent from *all* the manuscripts of the *Sclavonic* or Old Russian version, executed in the ninth century.

'*Not all the manuscripts, even of the Latin version, contain this clause, which is wanting in the most ancient manuscripts of that version, which contain the entire New Testament.*

'The VULGATE LATIN VERSION is justly valued as an important relic of Christian antiquity, and, generally speaking, as a good and

[1] See Marsh's "Letters to Travis."

[2] The expression "*manuscripts* of no other ancient version," is here designedly used: for the disputed clause has been inserted in some *printed* editions of the Syriac and Armenian *versions*, in opposition to the Syriac and Armenian *manuscripts*. See Bp. Marsh's Letters to Archdeacon Travis. Preface, notes 8, 9, 10, 11:; and also Mr. Oxlee's Three Letters to the Rev. F. Nolan, pp. 130, 131. (See above, pp. 312, 313.)

[3] Dr. Buchanan did not find it in a Peshito Syriac manuscript which belonged to the Syrian church in India above a thousand years, nor in any copy of the Syriac Scriptures which he had seen. (Christ. Researches in Asia, p. 118.) This manuscript is now in the Public Library at Cambridge. Nor is it in any of the ancient Syriac MSS. brought from

faithful translation: but, in its passage from the fifth to the fifteenth century, it has undergone many corruptions and interpolations. The disputed clause is *wanting* in more than fifty of the OLDEST Latin manuscripts, containing the ENTIRE New Testament.[1] "Some of them, indeed, have the passage in the margin, added by a later hand; but it is the reading of the *text* which constitutes the reading of the *manuscript* . . . At the *end* of the fourth century, the celebrated Latin Father, Augustine, who wrote ten treatises on the first Epistle of St. John, in all of which we seek in vain for the *seventh* verse of the fifth chapter, was induced in his controversy with Maximin to compose a gloss upon the eighth verse. Augustine gives it professedly as a gloss upon the words of the eighth verse, and shows by his own reasoning that the seventh verse did not then exist.[2] The high character of Augustine in the Latin church soon gave celebrity to his gloss; and in a short time it was generally adopted. It appeared, indeed, under different forms; but it was still the gloss of Augustine, though variously modified. The gloss having once obtained credit in the Latin church, the possessors of Latin manuscripts began to note it in the margin, by the side of the eighth verse. Hence the oldest of those Latin manuscripts, which have the passage in the margin, have it in a different hand from that of the text. In later manuscripts we find margin and text in the same hand; for transcribers did not venture immediately to move it into the *body* of the text, though in some manuscripts it is *interlined*, but interlined by a later hand. After the eighth century the insertion became general. For Latin manuscripts written *after* that period have generally, though not always, the passage in the body of the text. Further, when the seventh verse made its first appearance in the Latin manuscripts, it appeared in as many different forms as there were forms to the gloss upon the eighth verse.[3] And though it now *precedes* the eighth verse, it *followed* the eighth verse, at its first insertion, as a gloss would naturally follow the text upon which it was made."[4]

the East by the late Mr. Rich, which are preserved in the British Museum, nor in any of the Nitrian MSS., or any described by Adler or others.

'[1] Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part vi. p. 18. The disputed clause is wanting in the very ancient manuscript of Alcuin's revision of the Latin Vulgate (written under his superintendence towards the close of the eighth century), which is now in the British Museum, and is commonly termed the "Charlemagne Manuscript," from its having in all probability belonged to the Emperor Charlemagne. It is one of the older manuscripts of the Latin Vulgate which is extant.

'[2] Augustine, in his Treatise contra Maximinum Arianum, lib. ii. cap. 22. (tom. viii. col. 725. ed. Benedict.), thus quotes the words of the eighth verse: "Tres sunt testes, spiritus, et aqua, et sanguis; et treś unum sunt." He then makes various remarks on the words spiritus, aqua, sanguis, and proceeds thus: "Si vero ea, quæ his *significata* sunt velimus inquirere, *non absurde occurrit* ipsa Trinitas, quæ unus, solus, verus, summus est Deus, Pater et Filius, et Spiritus sanctus, de quibus verissime *dici potuit*, 'Tres sunt testes et tres unum sunt;' ut nomine spiritûs *significatum* accipiamus Deum Patrem—*nomine* autem sanguinis Filium—et nomine aquæ Spiritum Sanctum." The gloss which Augustine here puts on the eighth verse very clearly shows that he knew nothing of the seventh verse, which appears also from the fact that he has never quoted that verse.

'[3] The various forms in which the seventh verse made its first appearance in the Latin MSS. may be seen on consulting the notes of Erasmus, Mill, and Sabatier, on 1 John v. 7. Simon, Hist. des Versions, chap. ix. and Porson's 6th Letter.

'[4] Bengelii Appar. Crit. pp. 467. ed. 2da. It is so placed also by Vigilius Tapsensis,

'Many manuscripts of the Vulgate version, and also the printed text, even that of Pope Clement VIII., have the final clause of the eighth verse, *tres unum sunt*, which is manifestly a corruption from the *homoioteleuton*[1], ΤΡΕΙΣΕΙΣ: while others omit that final clause. Some add, *in Christo Jesu*; some read *Filius* instead of *Verbum*; some omit *Sanctus*; others transpose *quoniam* and *et*; and the more ancient of those, which have the passage, put the *eighth* verse *before* the seventh. This uncertainty and fluctuation is, itself, a most suspicious mark of interpolation. "It is not, therefore, a matter of mere *conjecture*, that the 7th verse originated in a Latin gloss upon the 8th verse: it is an historical fact, supported by evidence which cannot be resisted."[2]

'It is also an important fact, that the disputed clause is wanting in such MSS. as the Codex Amiatinus at Florence, and in the Codex Fuldensis, as also in the copy of JEROME'S LATIN VERSION of the New Testament, found in the celebrated "Book of Armagh," a precious manuscript written in the seventh century by Aidus, bishop of Slepten, (now Sletty, in Queen's County, Ireland,) in pure *Irish* characters, intermixed with Greek.'[3]

The arguments brought forward of late years by Cardinal Wiseman on this subject relate almost entirely to the Latin versions. He tries to prove (Essays, vol. i.) that the "Speculum" described above (p. 239.) is the work of Augustine, and that in it, he, in contradiction to his usual practice, employed *African*, not *Italian* codices, and that *therefore* this passage must have been known to that Father, and must *then* (and previously) have formed a part of the old Latin version current in Africa; though (as Wiseman himself admits) previously lost in the Latin copies current elsewhere, as well as in the Greek. But this mode of arguing is like upholding one hypothesis by imagining another. It may be regarded as a *demonstrated fact* that Augustine knew *nothing* of the verse in question; its citation therefore in this "Speculum" would almost prove that *that part* of this collection of passages could not have proceeded from him; also the *African* character of the text is in opposition to all the *known* works of Augustine, and this is explained in a very unsatisfactory manner on Wiseman's theory.

He also argues on the existence of the verse in an ancient MS. of the Vulgate at La Cava, between Naples and Salerno. But even if all Wiseman's primary positions were good, they would only show

who quotes thus: "Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in terra, aqua, sanguis, et caro; et tres in nobis sunt: et tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo, Pater, Verbum, et Spiritus Sanctus, et hi tres unum sunt." Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part vi. pp. 18—22.

[1] That is, the recurrence of the same word at the end of two contiguous clauses.

[2] Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part vi. p. 22. Bishop Burgess has endeavoured to obviate the above very forcible arguments by stating that, although the seventh verse is wanting in some of the "more ancient" manuscripts, yet it is found in some of the "most ancient," for instance, in the Vauxcelles Bible [by this term he meant a Roman Codex Vallicellensis] of the eighth century, and in three MSS. containing the Catholic Epistles, which are in the library at Verona, of the same century, in one of which the eighth verse is wanting. (Vindication of 1 John v. 7. p. 54.) But his observations are shown to be inapplicable by "Crito Cantabrigiensis." Vindication of Porson's Literary Character, pp. 138. *et seq.*

[3] Sir W. Betham's Irish Antiquarian Researches, vol. i. pp. 244. 256, 257.

that some *Latin* copies had the passage very early. An addition in some one version is of itself *no* authority for the adoption of the passage as genuine: it is a process scarcely worthy of the amplifying copyists of old.

'FATHERS.—*The clause in question is* NOT ONCE *quoted in the genuine works of any one of the Greek Fathers, or early Ecclesiastical Writers, even in those places where we should most expect it.*

'For instance, it does not occur in the works of Irenæus, Clemens Alexandrinus, Hippolytus against Noëtus, Dionysius Alexandrinus in the epistle addressed to Paul of Samosata, Athanasius, Didymus, Basil, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Epiphanius, Cæsarius, Chrysostom, Proclus, Alexander of Alexandria, the author of the Synopsis of Scripture, Andreas Cæsariensis, Joannes Damascenus, Elias Cretensis, Germanus of Constantinople, Œcumenius, Theophylact, Euthymius Zigabenus, Nicetas, in six different catenæ cited by Simon, and one cited by Matthæi, nor in the Greek Scholia of various manuscripts.[1] But the bare silence of these writers is not all. Many of them wrote professedly on the Trinity, the Deity of Christ, and of the Holy Spirit; their unity, equality, consubstantiality, &c.; and in order to prove these points, they diligently examined the entire Bible; and, in particular, they have frequently cited the preceding verse, as well as that which immediately follows. "The manuscripts which were used by Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria could not have been written later than the *second* century. The manuscripts used by Origen could not have been written later than the *third* century. The manuscripts used by the Greek Fathers, who attended the Nicene council, could not have been written later than the *fourth* century. In this manner we may prove that the Greek manuscripts, in *every* century, were destitute of the passage until we come to the period when the oldest of our *existing* manuscripts were written."[2] Now, that the Greek Fathers should not avail themselves of so strong and apposite a text in their controversies with the Arians and other sectaries, as an additional confirmation of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, is utterly inexplicable on any other supposition than that of its not being in existence. Bishop Burgess, indeed, contended that it is quoted in the second Symbolum Antiochenum, or creed drawn up at the council which was convened at Antioch A. D. 341, and which consisted of ninety-seven bishops, of whom nearly one half were Arians, and who professed in that creed to follow "the evangelical and apostolical tradition." After declaring their belief in one God the Father, in one Lord Jesus Christ, and in the Holy Ghost, they add the following sentences:—"The Father being truly a Father, and the Son truly a Son, and the Holy Ghost truly a Holy Ghost,—the names being given not vainly and unmeaningly, but accurately expressing the

[1] In the sixth volume of the Christian Observer, for 1807, pp. 285—289., there is a neat abstract, with English translations, of the principal passages of the most eminent Greek Fathers, who must have quoted the disputed clause, had it been extant in their copies of the New Testament.

[2] Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part vi. p. 17.

subsistence, order, and glory of each of the persons named; so that *they are* THREE *in substance, and* ONE *in consent, ὡς εἶναι τῇ μὲν ὑποστάσει* TPIA, *τῇ δὲ συμφωνίᾳ* "EN: or, without the explanatory terms, *ὡς εἶναι τρία ἕν*, so *that the three are one.*" These expressions he considered as a quotation from St. John: they are not, he admitted, precisely the same as the words of 1 John v. 7., but he was of opinion that they may nevertheless be a quotation from it.[1]

"There is, doubtless, some similarity between this passage and 1 John v. 7.: but similarity and identity are very different things.[2] And it is (we apprehend) as plain as possible that the words in the Antiocheian Creed are *not* a quotation from the disputed text,—not only from the total silence of the Greek Fathers of that particular period concerning the disputed text, which they must have cited during their keen controversies with the Arians, if it had really been in their copies; but also from the fact, that the *sentiment* of the passage above given from the Antiocheian Creed is in unison with the last clause of 1 John v. 8. *οἱ τρεῖς εἰς τὸ ἓν εἰσίν, and these three* AGREE *in one* and the same thing; viz. that the Son of God is come. (See Sir Isaac Newton's Paraphrastic Exposition, in page 376.) Further, it will be observed, that the Antiocheian Creed varies from the commonly received text, the *masculine τρεῖς* being turned into the *neuter τρία*: if a quotation had been intended, the framer of that confession of faith would have used the words *οἱ τρεῖς ἓν εἰσί*—these *three are one.* But what most materially neutralises the passage adduced by Bishop Burgess from this creed, is the fact, that the clause was not cited by any Greek writer[3] earlier than Manuel Calecas, who lived in the *fourteenth* century, and whose attachment to the Romish church was so great, that he became a Dominican monk, and adopted the tenets of that church concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit, in opposition to those maintained by the Greek church. Calecas is succeeded by Bryennius[4], a writer of the *fifteenth* century, who also was so attached to the Romish church, that he quotes 1 John v. 6. not with *τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθεία* (*the Spirit is truth*), but with *ὁ Χριστός ἐστιν ἡ ἀληθεία* (CHRIST *is truth*), which is the reading of

[1] Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's, pp. 97. 104. 10, 11.

[2] Memoir of the Controversy respecting the three Heavenly Witnesses, p. 214.

[3] The only expression which approximates very nearly to that in the Antiocheian Creed is the following, which occurs in the works of Gregory Nazianzen, who lived and wrote during the middle and latter part of the fourth century:—"For the Godhead is one in three, and *the three are one.*" *Ἐν γὰρ ἐν τρίσιν ἡ θεοτὴς, καὶ τὰ τρία ἕν.* (Opp. p. 630. Coloniæ, 1690.) But it has been shown by Crito Cantabrigiensis, that there is nothing in Gregory's manner of introducing this expression which indicates an intention of quoting the sacred writers. (Vindication of Prof. Porson, pp. 53, 54.) It is proper to remark, that Crito adduces another passage from Gregory, which, together with that just produced, was traced by Mr. Porson as being cited from him by Euthymius Zigabenus: this is here omitted, because it has no immediate reference to the present argument. As it is impossible to condense within the limits of a note the facts and arguments of "Crito," to show that the Greek Fathers, cited by Porson, did *not* cite the disputed clause, the reader is necessarily referred to his "Vindication," pp. 37—75.

[4] "In the Greek Acts of the Lateran Council, *verbum et spiritus sanctus* (the Word and the Holy Spirit) had been badly translated by *λόγος καὶ πνεῦμα ἅγιον*, without an article, because there is none in the Latin; but Calecas and Bryennius, who were native Greeks, and therefore felt this deficiency, wrote *ὁ λόγος καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* with an article more than the Complutensian editors and Erasmus inserted." Bishop Marsh's Letters to Travis, p. xvii. note 21.

the Latin, and omits the final clause of the eighth verse, in opposition, likewise, to the Greek manuscripts, and in conformity with only modern transcripts of the Vulgate. The next Greek writer who has cited this clause, is Peter Mogilas, who lived in the seventeenth century, and who is followed by the Greeks in general of the present age. Nor should it be forgotten, that, when the passage first appeared in Greek, it presented itself under as many different shapes as when it first made its appearance in the Latin, which would scarcely have happened, if it had been derived from the autograph of St. John.[1]

'*The disputed clause is* NOT ONCE *quoted by any of the Latin Fathers, even where the subject of which they were treating required it, and where we should expect to see it cited.*

'For instance, it is not cited by the author of the treatise on the baptism of heretics among Cyprian's works, nor by Novatian, Hilary bishop of Poictou, Lucifer bishop of Cagliari, Ambrose, Faustinus the Presbyter, Leo the Great (who transcribes the whole context, but passes over this verse in his celebrated epistle to Flavianus, which was translated into Greek, and read in the council of Chalcedon), the author of the treatise De Promissis, Jerome, Augustine, Eucherius, the pseudo-Athanasius, the author of the Disputation against Arius, Facundus, Junilius, Cerealis, Rusticus, Bede, Gregory, Boethius, Philastrius bishop of Brescia, Paschasius, Arnobius junior, and pope Eusebius I. The advocates for the genuineness of the disputed clause, indeed, affirm that it is quoted by Tertullian, Cyprian, and other ancient Fathers of the Latin church; but this again has been denied by those who maintain that the clause in question is spurious. The supposed testimonies of these Fathers are considered below.

'*It may also be added that some of the Protestant Reformers either rejected* 1 John v. 7., *or at least marked it as doubtful; and though the editors of the English New Testament, during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., uniformly admitted this verse into the text, yet some of them expressed a doubt of its authenticity.*

'Thus it is wanting in the German translation of the illustrious reformer, Dr. Martin Luther, and in all the editions of it published during his lifetime. The last edition printed under Luther's superintendence (and which was not quite finished till after his death) was that of 1546, in the preface to which he requests that no person will make any alterations in it. But this great and good man had not been dead thirty years, when the passage was interpolated in his German translation. The first edition, in which this act of injustice took place, and in which Luther's text at least was corrupted, is that which was printed at Frankfort in 1574. But in the edition of 1583, printed in the same place, and also in several still later Frankfort editions, the passage was again omitted. The oldest Wittenberg

[1] Bp. Marsh's Letters to Travis, pp. xvi.—xix.

edition, which received it, was that of 1596; and in the Wittenberg edition of 1599 it is likewise contained, but is printed in Roman characters. In 1596 it was inserted also in the Low-German Bible, printed in that year at Hamburg. In the seventeenth century, if we except the Wittenberg edition of 1607, which remained true to Luther's text, the insertion was general; and since that time it is found in every edition of his German translation of the Scriptures.

'Calvin, who retained it, speaks very doubtfully of it. In the Latin version, printed by Stephens in 1544, and ascribed to Leo Juda (who embraced the theological views of Zwingle the reformer of Switzerland), it is dismissed from the text, but retained in the margin; and in Castalio's Latin version, printed at Basil in 1551 and again in 1563, it is included between brackets.

All the early printed editions of the English versions contain 1 John v. 7., but some have marks of doubt, either including the verse between parentheses, or printing it in diminutive letters. Thus, in Cranmer's Bible, usually called the Great Bible, on account of its size, in the edition of 1539, it appears in the following manner:—

"This Jesus Christ is he that came by water and bloud, not by water onely, but by water and bloud. And it is the sprete that beareth wytnes, because the Sprete is trueth.

(For ther are thre which beare recorde in heaven, the father, the worde, and the wholy goost. And these thre are one), and ther are thre which beare recorde (in erth) the sprete," &c.[1]

'But, on the other hand, for the genuineness of the controverted clause, it was contended,

'(1. *External evidence.*)

'1. '*That it is found in the ancient Latin Version, which was current in Africa before the Vulgate Version was made, and also in most manuscripts of Jerome's, or the Vulgate Latin Version.*

'The ancient version current in Africa, and which is preserved in the writings of the African Fathers, is not only older by many centuries than the most ancient copy of the Vulgate Latin Version of the Catholic Epistles now extant (so that it was said that we have in these versions *two distinct authorities* for the verse), but is also much more ancient than the oldest Greek manuscripts. But it must be admitted, that although most of the manuscripts of the Vulgate Latin Version contain the disputed clause, yet they are the least ancient and most incorrect. It must also be recollected, that some of the Latin transcribers took the most unwarrantable liberties, inserting in one book of the New Testament passages which they took from another, and frequently transferring into the text what they found written in the margin of the manuscript whence they copied. Under

[1] In his prologue, Cranmer explains what is meant by the small letters:—"Where as often ye shall finde a small lettre in the texte, it signifyeth, that so moche as is in the small lettre doth abounde, and is more in the common translacyon in Latyne, than is founde, either in the Hebrue or the Greke, which wordes and sentences we have added, not only to manifeste the same unto you, but also to satisfie and content those that herebeforetyme hath myssed such sentences in the Bybles and New Testaments before set forth."

these circumstances, Michaelis concludes, every one must immediately suspect that a passage, which is wanting in all the ancient Greek manuscripts, and is likewise wanting in many ancient copies even of the Latin version, is an interpolation in those Latin manuscripts which contain it. And, in the present instance, the same cause that has procured so many zealous advocates in favour of 1 John v. 7. was the principal cause of its introduction and general reception; viz. the importance of the doctrine which it contains. Also we have no MS. of these Epistles in the *old* Latin version.

'2. *It is found in the Confession of Faith, and also in the Liturgy of the Greek Church.*

'The *Confession of Faith of the Greek Church* thus introduces the clause:—GOD, in his nature, is true and eternal, and the Creator of all things, visible and invisible; such also is the SON and the HOLY SPIRIT. They are also of the same essence among themselves, according to the doctrine of John the Evangelist, who says, "*There are three that bear testimony in Heaven,* THE FATHER, THE WORD, AND THE HOLY SPIRIT, AND THESE THREE ARE ONE."

'In the *Liturgies of the Greek Church,* among other portions of Scripture, this verse is directed, by the Greek rituals, to be read in its course, in the thirty-fifth week of the year.[1]

'3. *It is found in the ORDO ROMANUS, or Primitive* (?) *Liturgy of the Latin Church,* which recites this verse in the offices for Trinity Sunday, and for the octave of Easter, and also in the office for the administration of baptism.[2]

'These two testimonies, Dr. Hales imagines, are decisive in favour of the authenticity of the clause. For (he argues) when we consider the lasting schism that prevailed between the Greek and Latin churches, from the time of the Arian and Athanasian controversy, about the Homo-ousian and Homoi-ousian doctrine of the Father and of the Son; and about the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Father and from the Son; which was maintained from both by the Latin church; but contested respecting the latter by the Greek, inasmuch as the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son is not expressly asserted in Scripture, though it may fairly be implied[3]; we may rest assured that the clergy of the Greek church would never have adopted the clause merely upon the authority of the Latin, if they had not sufficient vouchers for it in their own Greek Verity; and even, perhaps, in the autograph and primary copies of St. John's Epistles, which were probably subsisting in the church of Ephesus, till the end of the fourth century, at least.[4] The two testi-

'[1] Dr. Smith's Miscellanea, p. 155. London, 1686.

'[2] Travis's Letters to Gibbon, pp. 61, 62.

[3] That the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father, we learn from the express authority of Christ, who says, "The Spirit of Truth which proceedeth from the Father." (John xv. 26.) In the same verse he says, "I will send the Spirit." And St. Paul tells the Galatians, "God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts." (Gal. iv. 6.) Hence we infer, that the Spirit proceeds from the Son also.

'[4] The author of the Chronicon Alexandrinum, in the fourth century, affirms, that the originals of St. John's writings were then preserved at Ephesus. Dr. Hales on the Trinity

monies, on which this learned writer thus argues, would unquestionably be entitled to great weight, if the Confession and Liturgies of the Greek church had come down to us uncorrupted. But there is every reason to believe that the clause in question was interpolated therein, in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, by some of the Greek clergy, who were devoted partisans of the Romish See, or else still later, after the invention of printing, when the majority of the common people from their ignorance could *not* detect the imposition; consequently this argument falls to the ground.'

It is surprising that the Latin Liturgies should have been cited on the supposition that they were unaltered Christian monuments,—especially those containing an office for the comparatively recent festival of Trinity Sunday.

'4. *It was said that it is cited by numerous Latin Fathers.*

'In reply to this argument it is urged that the authority of the Latin Fathers is inferior to that of the Greek Fathers in determining the readings of the Greek manuscripts; for, in writing to the Latin churches, they usually refer to their own version of the Scriptures, and, like our divines, must be understood to quote the established translation, unless they give notice of the contrary: now, if the Latin Fathers were unexceptionable witnesses, and if they had quoted in express terms the whole of the controverted passage, their quotations would prove nothing more than that the passage stood in their manuscripts of the Latin version, and consequently that the Latin version contained it in a very early age; but their evidence, it is *asserted*, is very unsatisfactory.

'Among the Latin Fathers, whom the advocates for the genuineness of 1 John v. 7. affirm to have quoted this verse, Tertullian in the second, Cyprian in the third, Jerome in the fourth[1], and the African bishops at the close of the fifth, century have principally been relied on.

'(1.) The evidence of Tertullian, the oldest Latin writer who has been quoted in favour of 1 John v. 7., is contained in the following passage of his treatise against Praxeas, respecting the Paraclete or Comforter:—

"Cæterum, *de meo sumet*, inquit, sicut ipse de patris. Ita connexus Patris in Filio, et Filii in Paracleto tres efficit cohærentes, alterum ex altero: qui tres *unum* sunt, — *non unus;* quomodo dictum est, '*Ego et Pater unum sumus*' ad substantiæ unitatem, non ad numeri singularitatem." Tertullian adv. Praxeam, c. 25.

"This comforter," says he (Christ), "*shall take of mine*, as the Son himself had taken of the Father's. Thus, the connection of the Father in the Son, and of the Son in the Paraclete, makes three cohérent Persons, one in the other; which three are *one*" [*in substance, unum*] "not one" [*in number, unus*]; "in the same manner in which it was said, *I and my Father are one*, to denote the unity of substance, not singularity of number."

vol. ii. pp. 196, 197. But this tale is now justly rejected by all. In its original form it seems only to have related to the Gospel.

[1] The testimony of Vigilius bishop of Thapsus, who wrote in the *fifth century*, is designedly omitted, as he is a writer of very little credit, who imposed his sentiments upon the world under the names of Athanasius, Idatius, and others; and also because the passage, in which he is supposed to have referred to the disputed clause, is suspected not to be genuine.

'It is contended that if these words—*which three are one, qui trés unum sunt*—had not been in Tertullian's copy of the New Testament, most assuredly we should never have seen them in this place. But it has been replied, What can be made of these words of Tertullian, in order to prove the genuineness of this text? It is plain that he has *not* cited the controverted passage, because his quotation begins with *quomodo dictum est*, in the same manner as it is written, *I and my Father are one.* (John x. 30.) That the controverted text was neither known to him, nor cited by him, is highly probable; for he has never quoted it in all his works. Indeed he would have had no occasion to have cited John x. 30. if he had known anything of a text which had affirmed of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, that *these three are one.* For that would have sounded better, and appeared more like a proof of the unity of the substance of the Holy Spirit with the Father and the Son, than any text which he has alleged in proof of that point.[1]

'(2.) From the writings of Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, two passages have been cited to prove that 1 John v. 7. was contained in his manuscript of the Latin version. The first is from his seventy-third Epistle, addressed to Jubaianus, in A. D. 256, the object of which is to invalidate the baptism administered by heretics. In this Epistle, the following passage occurs:—

"Si baptizari quis apud bæreticum[-cos] potuit, utique et remissam peccatorum consequi potuit,—si peccatorum remissum consecutus est, et sanctificatus est, et templum Dei factus est; quæro cujus Dei? Si Creatoris, non potuit, qui in eum non credidit; si Christi, non [nec] hujus potest fieri [fieri potuit] templum, qui negat Deum Christum; si Spiritus Sancti (,) *cum tres unum sunt* [*sint*], quomodo Spiritus Sanctus placatus esse ei potest, qui aut Patris aut Filii [Fil. aut Pat.] inimicus est?" Cypriani Opera a Fell. p. 203. folio. Oxon. 1682. [Ed. Baluz. p. 133. Par. 1726.]

"*If any one could be baptized by a heretic, and could obtain remission of sins,—if he has obtained remission of sins, and is sanctified, and become the temple of God; I ask, of what God? If of the Creator, he cannot be his temple, who has not believed in Him; if of Christ, neither can he who denies Him to be God, be His temple; if of the Holy Spirit, since the three* are one, *how can the Holy Spirit be reconciled to him, who is an enemy, either of the Father or of the Son?*"

'In this passage Dr. Mill, and other advocates for the genuineness of the disputed clause, contend that there is plainly an argument founded upon the *unity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit.* But how does Cyprian make out or prove that unity? He attempts no proof of such unity, but presupposes it as a point that must be admitted:—"*Since the three,*" he says, "are one, *the Holy Spirit cannot be reconciled to him, who is an enemy either of the Father or of the Son.*" That they *are* one, he supposes every one will know, who has read the New Testament, and therefore he only just alludes to the text as his authority. In opposition to this reasoning, Michaelis observes, that the words—*cum tres unum sunt,*—

[1] Benson on the Epistles, vol. ii. p. 632. Michaelis (vol. iv. p. 421.) has considered the above-cited passage of Tertullian, which, he determines, is not a quotation. But the fullest consideration of it will be found in Bishop Kaye's Ecclesiastical History of the Second and Third Centuries, illustrated from Tertullian (pp. 544—546.); who concludes his observations by expressing his opinion, that "the passage in Tertullian, far from containing an allusion to 1 John v. 7., furnishes most decisive proof that he knew nothing of the verse." p). 546.)

though inserted in the later editions of Cyprian's works, are *not* contained in that edition which was published by Erasmus; and that even if they were genuine, they will prove nothing more than the same words which are quoted by Tertullian. Also Augustine doubted the genuineness of this Epistle.

'The other passage of Cyprian, above alluded to, is to be found in his treatise on the Unity of the Church, written A. D. 251, where he was said thus expressly to cite the disputed clause: —

"Dicit Dominus, *Ego et Pater unum sumus:* et iterum de Patre, et Filio, et Spiritu Sancto scriptum est, *Et tres unum sunt.*" De Unitate Ecclesiæ, Op. p. 109 [195–6.]

"The Lord saith, *I and my Father are one;* and again it is written of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, *And these three are one.*"

This, it is urged by the advocates of the contested clause, is a plain citation of two different texts of Scripture, viz. the first, of what Jesus Christ says of himself, in John x. 30., "The Lord says, *I and my Father are one;*" and the second (which is expressly accompanied with the ancient formula of quotation, *it is written,*) is a citation of what is spoken of them and of the Holy Spirit in some other place. "And again," it is written, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, *And these three are one.* But where is it so written, except in 1 John v. 7.? On the other hand, admitting that the words *Et tres unum sunt*—*And these three are one*—were so quoted from the verse in question, Michaelis asks whether a passage found in no ancient Greek manuscript, quoted by no Greek Father, and contained in no other ancient version but the Latin, is therefore to be pronounced genuine, merely because one single Latin Father of the first three centuries, who was Bishop of Carthage, where the Latin version only was used, and where Greek was unknown, has quoted it? Under these circumstances, should we conclude that the passage stood originally in the Greek autograph of St. John? Certainly not; for the only inference which could be deduced from Cyprian's quotation would be this, that the passage had been introduced into the Latin version so early as the third century. This answer Michaelis thinks sufficient to invalidate Cyprian's authority, in establishing the authenticity of 1 John v. 7., on the supposition that Cyprian really quoted it. But that he did so, it is asserted to be more than any man can prove. The words *Tres unum sunt* are contained not only in the seventh but likewise in the eighth verse, which is a part of the ancient and genuine text of John; and therefore it is at least possible that Cyprian took them, not from the seventh, but from the eighth verse. It is true that he says, These words are written of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, whereas *Tres unum sunt* in the eighth verse relate only to the spirit, the water, and the blood. But it must be observed that the Latin Fathers interpreted *Spiritus*, *Aqua*, et *Sanguis*, not literally but mystically, and some of them really understood by these words Pater, Filius, et Spiritus sanctus, taking aqua in the sense of Pater, sanguis in the sense of Filius, and spiritus in the sense of Spiritus sanctus.[1]

[1] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iv. p. 423. He adduces instances of such mystical interpretation from Augustine, who wrote a century after Cyprian; from Eucherius, who wrote

'(3.) The third Latin Father, produced in favour of this disputed passage, is Jerome; who flourished in the latter end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century, and resided chiefly at Bethlehem. His profound knowledge of the original Scriptures has caused his biblical labours to be held in the highest esteem. In several editions of the Latin version, there is a preface or prologue to the Catholic Epistles, ascribed to him; which pretends that all the Greek copies had the seventh verse, and complains of the Latin translators as unfaithful, for leaving it out.

'On this supposed prologue of Jerome many advocates of the disputed clause founded, as they imagined, a powerful argument for its genuineness; while others have candidly admitted that the prologue is spurious. In fact, this preface is of no authority whatever; for, 1. Its style is so barbarous as to prove that it could not have been written by Jerome; 2. It is wanting in his catalogue of prefaces, as well as in the best and most ancient manuscripts of Jerome's version; 3. It is often found in Latin copies without his name; it makes use of the term *Epistolæ Canonicæ*, "Canonical Epistles," whereas Jerome's title for them was *Epistolæ Catholicæ*, "Catholic Epistles;" 4. Further, this preface is prefixed to some Latin copies of the Catholic Epistles, in which the disputed text is not inserted; whence it is evident that the ancient MSS. from which such copies were made had not the disputed text, though the transcribers had the folly to insert that preface; 5. And, finally, what proves that it is utterly destitute of authority, is the fact, that "it insinuates one falsehood, and asserts two other direct and notorious falsehoods. It insinuates that all the Greek copies of the New Testament had this verse; whereas none of them had it, nor" (as we have already seen) "has any of the genuine works of the Greek Fathers once mentioned it. And Jerome, above all men, who was so conversant in the Greek copies of the New Testament and in the Greek Fathers, must needs have known this to have been a direct falsehood. Again, the preface asserts that the Latin translators were unfaithful in leaving out the testimony of the Father, the Word, and the Spirit, and that he [Jerome] had restored it."[1]

'(4.) But a chief argument arising from the quotations of the Latin Fathers is derived from the confession of faith, drawn up by Eugenius,

A. D. 434; and from Facundus, who wrote in the middle of the sixth century. (Ibid. p. 424.) Bishop Marsh, after Michaelis, has collected similar instances of mystical interpretation. (Letters to Travis, Pref. pp. xii.—xiv. note 15.) Dr. Hales (on the Trinity, vol. ii. pp. 197, 198.) has endeavoured to vindicate the citations of Augustine and Eucherius as real quotations, and not mystical interpretations of the eighth verse; and Bishop Burgess has argued, that neither Cyprian nor any other Father before Facundus (who flourished about the middle of the sixth century) did interpret the eighth verse mystically. (Vindication of 1 John v. 7. pp. xvii. *et seq.* 136—138.) His arguments, however, are ably and satisfactorily controverted by Crito Cantabrigiensis, who has particularly considered the passages supposed to be cited by Augustine, Eucherius, Fulgentius, Casiodorus, and Leo the Great, Bishop of Rome. (Vindication of Porson, pp. 230—288.) See also on this topic Dr. Benson, on the Epistles, vol. ii. pp. 633, 634.

[1] Benson on the Epistles, vol. ii. p. 635. Hieronymi Opera à Martianay, tom. i. col. 1671—1673. Paris, 1693. Kettner, who reluctantly admits that the preface in question is not the production of Jerome, yet maintains that it is good evidence for the genuineness of the disputed text in the eighth, ninth, and following centuries! (Historia Dicti Joannei, 1 Joh. v. 7. p. 172.) See also the Vindication of Professor Porson by Crito Cantabrigiensis, pp. 182—209.

Bishop of Carthage, at the end of the fifth century, and presented by nearly four hundred bishops to Hunneric, king of the Vandals, an Arian and a bitter enemy to those who professed the orthodox faith. In this confession, which is recorded by Victor Vitensis [1], the following passage occurs: —

"Ut adhuc luce clarius unius divinitatis esse cum Patre et Filio Spiritum Sanctum doceamus, Joannis Evangelistæ testimonio comprobatur. Ait namque, TRES SUNT, QUI TESTIMONIUM PERHIBENT IN CŒLO, PATER, VERBUM, ET SPIRITUS SANCTUS, ET HI TRES UNUM SUNT."

In English thus: — "That we may further show it to be clearer than the light, that the divinity of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit is one, we have the testimony of the evangelist John; for he says, — THERE ARE THREE WHICH BEAR RECORD IN HEAVEN, THE FATHER, THE WORD, AND THE HOLY SPIRIT, AND THESE THREE ARE ONE."

'In this passage of the confession of the African bishops, 1 John v. 7. is clearly and distinctly quoted; and the circumstances under which it was delivered to sworn enemies of the Catholic faith (for which these bishops suffered very severe persecutions) have been urged as proofs for the genuineness of the disputed clause, the authenticity of which the hostile Arians would not fail to have challenged or denied, had it even been considered of doubtful origin.[2] But the appearance of this verse in the confession of the African bishops, Michaelis remarks, proves nothing in respect of its authenticity; for the only inference which we can deduce is, that the passage was contained in the Latin manuscripts then used in Africa. "We may infer that Eugenius, who drew up the confession, found the passage in his Latin manuscript; but that all the bishops who signed this confession found the quoted passage likewise in their manuscripts is a very unwarrantable inference. For when a formulary of religious articles is composed, however numerous the persons may be who set their names to it, it is in fact the work only of him who drew it up; and a subscription to such a formulary, though it conveys a general assent to the doctrines contained in it, by no means implies that every subscriber has, previous to his subscription, examined every argument adduced, or every quotation that is alleged in it, and obtained a thorough conviction that not one of them is exceptionable. But it is said, the Arians themselves who were present when this confession was delivered made no objection to the quotation, '*Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo*,' &c.; that they acknowledged, therefore, by their very silence, that the passage was not spurious. Now this is a very weak and even absurd argument. For, in the first place, we have no further knowledge of this trans-

[1] Historia Persecutionis Vandalicæ, p. 29. edit. Ruinart. Mr. Travis has related the history of this transaction in his "Letters to Edward Gibbon, Esq." pp. 57—60.; and he has printed the confession at length in his Appendix, No. xxxi. pp. 31. *et seq.*

[2] See Mr. Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, vol. ii. pp. 292—295. 2d edit. The arguments briefly noticed above are urged at length under twelve heads with great ingenuity by Mr. Butler; and if the historian, from whose expressions he has deduced them, had been a writer of unimpeachable veracity, they would go far towards deciding the controversy. But, unhappily for the testimony of Victor Vitensis, that historian has not only rendered his credit extremely suspicious by his account of the Vandalic persecution, but he has also excited the sneers of infidelity (see Gibbon's Decline and Fall, vol. vi. pp. 283—295. 8vo. edit.), by recording some ridiculous miracles, the truth of which, notwithstanding, he solemnly pledged himself to prove

action than what the orthodox themselves have given of it; and, therefore, it is not fair to conclude that the Arians made no objections, merely from the circumstance that no objections are on record. Secondly, if the conclusion were admissible, nay, were it absolutely certain, that the Arians, who were present at this conference, admitted, '*Tres sunt qui testimonium perhibent in cœlo*,' &c., it would follow only that the passage was in their Latin manuscripts, as the quotation of it shows that it was in the Latin manuscript of Eugenius, who drew up the confession. For these Arians were Vandals who had been driven out of Spain into Africa, who read the Bible only in the Latin translation, and were totally unacquainted with Greek. Consequently their silence on the quotation of a passage from the Latin translation, at the end of the fifth century, affords no presumption whatsoever that the passage existed in the Greek original. Lastly, the whole transaction between Hunneric with his Arian Vandals on the one side, and the orthodox bishops of Africa on the other, was of such a nature as was very ill adapted to the decision of a critical question. For these Vandals did not combat by argument, but by force; and they brought their adversaries to silence, not by reasoning with them, but by cutting out their tongues. To argue, therefore, from the silence of such men to the authenticity of 1 John v. 7. is nearly the same as an appeal in its favour to the testimony of a Russian corporal." [1]

'Such is the *external* evidence *for* the genuineness of this much litigated clause. It only remains that we briefly notice,

'2. *The internal Evidence adduced in its Behalf.*

'1. *It is contended that the connection of the disputed clause requires it to be inserted, in order to complete the sense; while those who reject it affirm that its insertion injures the whole passage.*

'Various commentators both of the Romish and Protestant churches have given explications, the design of which is to show that the verse, if properly interpreted, instead of disturbing the sense of the verses with which it is joined, rather renders it more connected and complete. But the argument, which they would derive from this supposed necessary connection, is denied by the opponents of the genuineness of the disputed clause, who contend that the sense would also be more complete, and the connection more clear, without it. That the reader may be enabled duly to estimate the force or weakness of this argument, the exposition of Bishop Horsley, which is drawn up on the assumption that it contains the "genuine words" of the apostle, shall be subjoined, together with the explanation of Sir Isaac Newton, the object of which is to show that the sense is entire *without* the disputed clause.

'i. *Bishop Horsley's Paraphrastic Exposition.*

"*There are three in heaven that bear record*, — record to this fact, that Jesus is the Christ,—'*the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost.*'

"The *Father* bare witness by his own voice from heaven, twice declaring Jesus

[1] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iv. pp. 427, 428.

his beloved Son; first after his baptism, when he came up out of the river, and again at the transfiguration. A third time the Father bare witness when he sent his angel to Jesus in agony in the garden.

"The eternal *Word* bare witness by the fulness of the Godhead dwelling in Jesus bodily,—by that plenitude of strength and power with which he was supplied for the performance of his miracles, and the endurance in his frail and mortal body of the fire of the Father's wrath. The Word bare witness, — perhaps more indirectly,—still the Word bare witness, by the preternatural darkness which for three hours obscured the sun, while Jesus hung in torment upon the cross; in the quaking of the earth, the rending of the rocks, and the opening of the graves, to liberate the bodies of the saints which appeared in the holy city, after our Lord's resurrection; for these extraordinary convulsions of the material world must be ascribed to that power by which God in the beginning created it, and still directs the course of it,—that is, to the immediate act of the Word; for 'by him all things were made, and he upholded all things by the word of his own power.'

"The *Holy Ghost* bare witness, by the acknowledgment of the infant Jesus, made, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, by the mouths of his servants and instruments, Simeon and Anna; and more directly, by his visible descent upon the adult Jesus at his baptism, and upon the apostles of Jesus after the ascension of their Lord.

"Thus the *three in heaven bare witness; and these three*, the apostle adds, *are one*, — one, in the unity of a consentient testimony; for that unity is all that is requisite to the purpose of the apostle's present argument. . . . He goes on: *And there are three in earth that bear witness,—the Spirit, and the Water, and the Blood; and these three agree in one.*

"The *Spirit* is here evidently to be understood of the gifts preternaturally conferred upon believers.

"The *water* and the *blood* mentioned here as witnesses are the water and the blood which issued from the Redeemer's side, when his body, already dead, was pierced by a soldier with a spear.

"But how do this water and this blood bear witness that the crucified Jesus was the Christ? Water and blood were the indispensable instruments of cleansing and expiation in all the cleansings and expiations of the law. 'Almost all things,' saith St. Paul, 'are by the law purged with blood; and without shedding of blood there is no remission.' But the purgation was not by blood only, but by blood and water; for the same apostle says, 'When Moses had spoken every precept to all the people, according to the law, he took the blood of calves and of goats, with water, and sprinkled both the book and all the people.' All the cleansings and expiations of the law, by water and animal blood, were typical of the real cleansing of the conscience by the water of baptism, and of the expiation of real guilt by the blood of Christ shed upon the cross, and virtually taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's supper. The flowing, therefore, of this water and this blood immediately upon our Lord's death, from the wound opened in his side, was a notification to the surrounding multitudes, though at the time understood by few, that the real expiation was now complete, and the cleansing fount set open.

"Thus I have endeavoured to explain how the water and the blood, together with the Spirit, are witnesses upon earth, to establish the faith which overcometh the world."[1]

'It will, however, be observed, that this argument assumes that ἐν τῇ γῇ, *upon earth*, in the eighth verse, implies that something had preceded with ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, *in heaven*. "But they who argue in this manner" (Bishop Marsh observes) "forget that ἐν τῇ γῇ is *wanting* in the *Greek* MSS. as well as ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ." Also, in the oldest *Latin* MSS. the eighth verse is equally destitute of *in terra*, which was inserted for the very purpose of having something to correspond with *in cœlo*, and shows how well the several parts of the interpolation have been fitted to each other."[2]

[1] Bp. Horsley's Sermons, vol. i. pp. 193—201.
[2] Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part vi. p. 27. note.

'ii. *Sir Isaac Newton's Paraphrastic Exposition.*

"*Who is he that overcometh the world, but he that believeth that* JESUS *is the Son of God*, that Son spoken of in the Psalms, where he saith, 'Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.' *This is he that*, after the Jews had long expected him, *came*, first in a mortal body, *by* baptism of *water*, *and* then in an immortal one by shedding his *blood* upon the cross, and rising again from the dead; *not by water only, but by water and blood;* being the Son of God, as well by his resurrection from the dead (Acts xiii. 33), as by his supernatural birth of the Virgin. (Luke i. 35.) *And it is the Spirit* also, *that*, together with the water and blood, *beareth witness* of the truth of his coming; *because the Spirit is truth*, and so a fit and unexceptionable witness. *For there are three that bear record* of his coming; *the Spirit*, which he promised to send, and which was since sent forth upon us in the form of cloven tongues and of various gifts; *the* baptism of *water*, wherein God testified 'this is my beloved Son;' *and the* shedding of his *blood*, accompanied with his resurrection, whereby he became the most faithful martyr or witness of this truth. *And these three*, the Spirit, the baptism, and passion of Christ, *agree in* witnessing *one* and the same thing (namely, that the Son of God is come); and therefore their evidence is strong; for the law requires but two consenting witnesses, and here we have three: *and if we receive the witness of men, the* threefold *witness of God*, which he bare of his Son, by declaring at his baptism 'This is my beloved Son,' by raising him from the dead, and by pouring out his Spirit on us, *is greater;* and therefore ought to be more readily received."

"This," Sir Isaac Newton observes, "is the sense plain and natural, and the argument full and strong; but if you insert the testimony of the three in heaven, you interrupt and spoil it: for the whole design of the apostle being here to prove to men by witness the truth of Christ's coming, I would ask how the testimony of 'the three in heaven' makes to this purpose? If their testimony be not given to men, how does it prove to them the truth of Christ's coming? If it be [given], how is the testimony in heaven distinguished from that on earth? It is the same Spirit which witnesses in heaven and in earth. If in both cases it witnesses to us men, wherein lies the difference between its witnessing in heaven and its witnessing in earth? If in the first case it does not witness to men, to whom doth it witness? And to what purpose? And how does its witnessing make to the design of St. John's discourse? Let them make good sense of it who are able. For my part, I can make none. If it be said, that we are not to determine what is Scripture, and what not, by our private judgments, I confess it in places not controverted; but, in disputable places, I love to take what I can best understand."[1]

'2. *At the seventh verse, the three that bear record, are manifestly persons, and the words that express two of them are masculine nouns,* ὁ Πατήρ (THE FATHER), *and* ὁ Λόγος (THE WORD); *whence we may naturally expect that the adjuncts, or adjectives which allude to them, would all be of the masculine gender likewise: consequently we find the heavenly witnesses to be denoted by the words* τρεῖς εἰσιν οἱ μαρτυροῦντες (*there are three that bear record*).

'Thus far, all is conformable to the rules of plain grammar. Besides, it cannot be difficult to conceive that the sacred writer, when

[1] Sir Isaac Newton's Hist. of Two Texts. Works, vol. v. pp. 528, 529.

about to express the earthly witnesses in the next verse, might carry on the same expression or adjuncts to that verse; and the correspondence in the number of witnesses, and the similarity of their design in bearing witness to the truth of the religion of Christ, may tend to confirm this sentiment. But if the former verse did not precede, and should be rejected as spurious, it will be difficult to account for the use of the masculine gender; and we should rather be inclined to suspect that the words would have been τρία εἰσὶ τὰ μαρτυροῦντα, as all the terms that follow to denote the earthly energies, or attestations, are every one of the neuter gender. It appears, then, that the turn of the language, as well as the nature of the witnesses, would require the use of this gender; and therefore the accuracy of the construction, or the strict rules of grammar, must *favour the present text.*[1]

'3. Bishop Middleton has a long and elaborate dissertation, the design of which is to show that the article TO before ἕν εἰσιν in the eighth verse must necessarily refer to the word 'EN in the preceding verse, and consequently that *both* verses must be retained, or *both* rejected.[2]

'This argument is not of a nature to admit of abridgment; but, in order to be strictly correct, there should be an *identity* in the subject, and not a *similarity* only. A doubt may be reasonably entertained, whether, in the language of St. John, TO 'EN is not used as an equivalent to TO ATTO, as it is in Phil. ii. 2.; in which case no reference to any preceding expression would be applied. To this we may add, that if the Vulgate preserves the true reading, the translators must have supposed the EIΣ TO 'EN of the 8th verse to be equivalent to the 'EN of the 7th; for all the manuscripts which retain the concluding clause of the 8th verse (a very large portion of them omitting it), read *tres unum sunt,* as in the 7th verse.[3]

'4. *The mode of thinking and diction is peculiar to St. John. No other evangelist or apostle speaks of the witness of the Father or the Holy Spirit, as he does in his Gospel; and no other evangelist or apostle calls the Son of God the* WORD.

'This argument has been strenuously urged by Kettner, Bengel, and other zealous advocates for the disputed clause.[4] But, on the other hand, it is contended that there is no such identical expression in the whole Bible besides.

'5. Further, critics who advocated the genuineness of this text,

[1] Classical Journal, vol. ii. pp. 869—871. See also Mr. Nolan's Inquiry, pp. 260. 304.
[2] See Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 633—653.
[3] Quarterly Review, vol. xxvi. p. 330.
[4] In support of the above argument, Bishop Burgess refers to John v. 31—37., viii. 13., and xv. 26.; and before him, Griesbach (who gives up the disputed passage as spurious) had candidly said, that John here refers to Christ's discourse in John v. 31—39., compared with John viii. 13. 18.; and adds, that what Jesus Christ had there taught, the apostle wished to prove to his readers by the same arguments; which being the case, the seventh verse (it is inferred) could not be wanting. Bp. Burgess's Vindication, p. 115. 2d edit.

observed that *omissions* in ancient manuscripts, versions, and authors, are neither absolute contradictions, nor direct impeachments of facts. They only supply food for conjecture[1], and conjectural criticism ought to be sparingly and cautiously applied before it can be admitted as sufficient authority for altering the received text. Besides, the omission in the present case may (they said) be satisfactorily accounted for, from various circumstances. Thus,

'(1.) *There may have been* TWO *editions of this Epistle, in the first of which the disputed clause was omitted, but is retained in the second or later edition.*

'This hypothesis was first announced by the late Mr. Charles Taylor[2], the English editor of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible. According to his hypothesis verses 5—9. of 1 John v. stood thus in the two editions: —

FIRST EDITION.	SECOND EDITION.
Who is he that overcometh the world, unless it be one who believes that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he who came by water and blood; Jesus the Christ: not by water only, but by water and blood: but the spirit is that which beareth witness. They which bear witness, then, are these three; the spirit, and the water, and the blood, and these are combined in one. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater; *and* assuredly this is the witness of God, which is witnessed of his Son, &c.	Who is he that overcometh the world, unless it be one who believes that Jesus is the Son of God? This is he who came by water and blood; Jesus the Christ; not by water only, but by water and blood: but the spirit is that which beareth witness. They which bear witness then *on earth*, are these three; the spirit, and the water, and the blood; and these three are combined in one. *Correspondently, those who bear witness in heaven, are three; the Father, and the Word, and the Holy Spirit; and these three are the* ONE. If we receive the witness of men, the witness of God is greater; *and* assuredly this is the witness of God which is witnessed of his Son.

'From this hypothesis it is impossible to withhold the praise of ingenuity; but it cannot be admitted as positive evidence in determining the genuineness of the disputed clause, from the total absence of historical or even traditionary testimony to support it. It can hardly be maintained in any form that would admit the *inspiration* of the work.

'(2.) *The great havoc and destruction of the ancient copies of the Greek Testament, in the Diocletian persecution especially, which raged throughout the Roman empire, as far as Britain, but was lighter in Africa, probably occasioned a scarcity of ancient Greek copies; and left the remnant more open to adulteration, either from the* negligence *of transcribers, or the* fraud *of heretics; especially during the prevalence of the Arian heresy in the Greek church, for forty years, after the death of Constantine the Great (particularly during the reign of Constantius), until the accession of Theodosius the Great.*

'That such an adulteration of the sacred text *might* take place, is within the verge of possibility. It is, however, all but morally impossible that it *could* take place without detection; for, how is it possible that the Arians could conspire all the world over, *at once*, in the latter end of Constantius's reign, to get into their possession *all* the copies of the New Testament then in being, and correct them *throughout*, without being perceived? And that they should accomplish this in

---

'[1] But this is an utterly false use of the word "conjecture," one which in ordinary criticism would not be admitted for a moment. This is a question of *evidence*, whether a passage may be inserted in spite of all testimony.

'[2] Calmet's Dictionary, vol. iv. (4th edit.) pp. 281—288. Fragment, no. dccxxi.

such a way, as to leave no blot or chasm in such copies, by which the fraud might be suspected or discovered; further, that they should succeed in so utterly effacing the very memory of it, that neither Athanasius nor any other of their contemporaries could afterwards remember that they had ever before seen it in their sacred books; and, finally, that they should erase it out of their own copies, so that when they turned to the consubstantial faith (as they generally did in the western empire soon after the death of Constantius), they could remember no more of it than any other person.[1]

'(3.) *The Arians* might *have designedly expunged it, as being inimical to their doctrine.*

'The charge of having expunged this passage has been brought against the Arians only in modern times; but it is indignantly repelled by Dr. Mill (an advocate for the disputed clause), who asks, How should the Arians expunge these words, which were out already, one hundred and fifty years before Arius was born? To which we may add that it is utterly incredible that the orthodox should have been so careless, as to have allowed the Arians to get possession of all their copies, for the purpose of expunging the words in question.

'(4.) *The orthodox themselves* might *have designedly withdrawn it out of regard to the mystery of the Trinity, under the persuasion that such a passage as* 1 *John* v. 7. *ought not to be exposed to every reader.*

'Without examining the strength or weakness of this and the preceding reason, Michaelis observes, that such causes, though they *might* have produced the omission of the passage in *some* copies, *could not* possibly have occasioned it in *all* the ancient Greek manuscripts, and in all the ancient versions, except the Latin. Besides, they are wholly foreign to the present purpose: they do not tend to show the authenticity of 1 John v. 7., but account merely for its omission, on the previous supposition that it is authentic. But this is the thing to be proved. And it is surely absurd to account for the omission of a passage in Saint John's first Epistle before it has been shown that the Epistle ever contained it. "Suppose," he continues, "I were to cite a man before a court of justice, and demand from him a sum of money, that on being asked by the magistrate whether I had any bond to produce in support of the demand, I answered, that I had indeed no bond to produce, but that a bond might have been very easily lost during the troubles of the late war. In this case, if the magistrate should admit the validity of the demand, and oblige the accused party to pay the sum required, every man would conclude not so much that he was unjust, as that his mental faculties were deranged. But is not this case similar to the case of those who contend that 1 John v. 7. is genuine, because it might have been lost? In fact, their situation is still worse, since the loss of a single manuscript is much more credible than the loss of one and the same passage in more than eighty manuscripts."[2]

'(5.) *The negligence of transcribers may have caused the omission of the disputed clause. The seventh verse begins in the same manner as the eighth; and therefore the transcribers might easily have overlooked the seventh verse, and consequently have omitted it by accident.*

'The following illustration will enable the reader who understands no other language but English, readily to apprehend how the words came to be omitted:—

'The word which in the seventh verse is rendered *bear record*, and in the eighth *bear witness*, is the same in Greek (*οἱ μαρτυροῦντες*); and if it had been translated in both verses alike, as it ought to have been, the two verses would have run thus:—

FOR THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR WITNESS
IN HEAVEN, THE FATHER, THE WORD, AND THE

'[1] Hewlett's Commentary, vol. v. p. 508. 8vo. edit.

'[2] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iv. p. 434.

HOLY GHOST, AND THESE THREE ARE ONE. AND THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR WITNESS IN EARTH, THE SPIRIT, THE WATER, AND THE BLOOD, AND THESE THREE AGREE IN ONE.

'Now, how easy it is, for one who is transcribing, and perhaps in haste, to slip his eye from the words THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR WITNESS in the 7th verse, to the same words THERE ARE THREE THAT BEAR WITNESS in the 8th verse, any person may easily conceive who has been accustomed to transcribing himself, or who has ever read and observed the transcripts of others, or has been much employed in correcting the press. Similar omissions frequently occur in Mill's and Griesbach's critical editions of the New Testament. For where the beginning and ending of two sentences, within a line or two, happen to be alike, the copyists so frequently omit the former, that if the text under dispute had been found in all the manuscripts and copies, we should have had a great deal more reason to wonder than we have now, that it appears in so few. Let it be granted, therefore, that an omission of the intermediate words might naturally happen; yet still, the appearing of the omission, both early and wide, proves no more than that the words happened to be early dropped, and overlooked in some still more early copy. It might be dropped, for any thing we know, out of a copy taken immediately from the original of St. John himself. And then, most assuredly, all future transcripts, mediately or immediately derived from that copy, must continue, at least, as imperfect and faulty as that first copy itself. And if there should have been but few copies taken from the original in all, (and who will pretend to say how many were really taken?) it is no wonder that while some churches, as those, for instance, in Africa and Europe (whither the perfect copies had been carried), had the true reading, other churches in Asia and the East, from an imperfect copy, should transmit an imperfect reading.

'(6.) *Several of the early Fathers may have designedly omitted to quote the clause in question, from considering it as a proof of the* unity of the testimony *of the heavenly witnesses to the Messiahship of Christ, and not of the unity of their nature, and consequently not relevant to the controversies in which those writers were engaged.*

'(7.) *The silence of several of the earlier Greek Fathers is no proof at all that their copies of the Greek Testament wanted the clause in question; since in their controversies they have omitted to quote other texts referring to the doctrine of the Trinity, with which* other *parts of their writings show that they must have been well acquainted. Besides, the silence of several of the Fathers is more than compensated by the total silence of all the heretics or false teachers, at least from the days of Praxeas (in the second century), who never charged the orthodox Fathers with being guilty of interpolation.*

'Let us now briefly recapitulate the evidence on this much litigated question.

'I. AGAINST *the genuineness of the disputed clause, it is urged, that*

'1. It is not to be found in a single genuine and unaltered Greek manuscript, written before the sixteenth century.

'2. It is wanting in the earliest and best critical editions of the Greek Testament.

'3. It is contained in the manuscripts of no other ancient version besides the Latin; and

'4. Not all the manuscripts even of the Latin version contain this clause.

'It is *wanting* in upwards of fifty of the oldest Latin manuscripts, and in other MSS. it is found only in the margin, *evidently inserted by a later hand;* and even in those manuscripts which do contain it, this passage is variously placed, sometimes before and sometimes after the earthly witnesses.

'5. It is not once quoted in the genuine works of any one of the Greek Fathers, or early ecclesiastical writers, even in those places where we should most expect it.

'6. It is not once quoted by any of the Latin Fathers, even where the subject of which they were treating required; and where, consequently, we should expect to see it cited.

'On the other hand,

'II. *In* BEHALF *of the genuineness of the disputed clause, it is contended that*

'(1. *External Evidence.*)

'1. It is found in the Latin version which was current in Africa before the Latin Vulgate version was made, and also in most manuscripts of the Vulgate version.

'But the old Latin is not found in any known MS. of this epistle; and as to the Vulgate, the authority of these manuscripts is justly to be suspected, on account of the many alterations and corruptions which the version has undergone.

'2. It is found in the Confession of Faith, and Liturgy of the Greek Church.

'3. It is found in the Primitive Liturgy of the Latin Church.

'But it is very probable that the clause in question was interpolated from the Liturgy of the Latin church into that of the Greek church by some of the Greek clergy, who were devoted partisans of the Romish church, in the fourteenth or fifteenth century, at which time the majority of the common people, from the ignorance which at that time generally prevailed throughout Europe, were incapable of detecting the imposition. And those parts of the Latin Liturgies which contain it are *not* ancient.

'4. It is cited by numerous Latin Fathers.

'The contrary is maintained by the antagonists of the disputed clause; and it has been shown above that the authorities of Tertullian, Cyprian, Jerome, and the African bishops, which have principally been relied on, are inapplicable to prove the point for which they have been adduced.

'(2. *Internal Evidence.*)

'1. The connection of the disputed clause requires its insertion, inasmuch as the sense is not perfect without it.

'This argument is rebutted by the fact that the context admits of an exposition, which makes the sense complete *without* the disputed clause.

'2. The grammatical structure of the original Greek requires the insertion of the seventh verse, and consequently that it should be received as genuine.

'Otherwise the latter part of the eighth verse, the authenticity of which was never questioned, (as indeed it cannot be, being found in *every* known manuscript that is extant,) must likewise be rejected.

'3. The doctrine of the Greek article, which is found in both verses, is such, that both must be retained, or both must be rejected.

'4. The mode of thinking and diction is peculiar to St. John.

'To this it is replied, that there is no such identical expression in the whole Bible, besides 1 John v. 7.

'5. The omission of this clause may be satisfactorily accounted for. Thus

(1.) There may have been two editions of this epistle, in the first of which the disputed clause was omitted, though it is retained in the second.
(2.) The great scarcity of ancient Greek copies, caused by the persecutions of the Christians by the Roman emperors, would leave the rest open to the negligence of copyists or to the frauds of false teachers.
(3.) The Arians might have designedly expunged it, as being inimical to their doctrine.
(4.) The orthodox themselves might have designedly withdrawn it out of regard to the mystery of the Trinity.
(5.) The negligence of transcribers is a cause of other omissions.
(6.) Several of the Fathers may have designedly omitted the clause in question.
(7.) The silence of several of the Greek Fathers is no proof that their copies of the Greek Testament wanted the clause in question; since, in their controversies respecting the Trinity, they have omitted to quote other texts with which they must have been well acquainted.

'Upon a review of all the preceding arguments, the disputed clause must be rejected as spurious; nor could any thing less than the positive authority of *unsuspected* manuscripts justify the admission of so important a passage into the sacred canon. Much stress, it is true, has been laid upon some points in the internal evidence, and particularly the supposed grammatical arguments (Nos. 2. and 3.), and the reasons assigned for the omission of this clause. But some of these reasons have been shown to be destitute of the support alleged in their behalf; and the remainder are wholly hypothetical, and unsustained by any satisfactory evidence. "Internal evidence," indeed (as Bishop Marsh forcibly argues), "may show that a passage is *spurious*, though external evidence is in its favour; for instance, if it contain allusions to things which did not exist in the time of the reputed author. BUT NO INTERNAL EVIDENCE CAN PROVE A PASSAGE TO BE GENUINE, WHEN EXTERNAL EVIDENCE IS DECIDEDLY AGAINST IT. A spurious passage may be fitted to the context as well as a genuine passage. No arguments, therefore, from internal evidence, however ingenious they may appear, can outweigh the mass of external evidence which applies to the case in question."[1]

'But, although the disputed clause is confessedly spurious, its absence neither does nor can diminish the weight of IRRESISTIBLE EVIDENCE which other undisputed passages of Holy Writ afford to the doctrine of the Trinity.[2] The proofs of our Lord's true and proper

[1] Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part vi. p. 27. Bishop Burgess has argued, at considerable length, in favour of the superiority of internal evidence, even where the external evidence is decidedly against a passage. (Vindication, pp. xxix.—xxxiv.) His arguments are minutely considered, and (it must, we think, be admitted,) set aside, by Crito Cantabrigiensis. (Vindication of Mr. Porson's Literary Character, pp. 75—84.)

[2] On this subject the reader is referred to a small volume by the Rev. T. H. Horne, intitled, *The Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity briefly stated and defended*, &c. (Second edition, 12mo., London, 1826.) In the appendix to that volume he has exhibited the *very strong collateral testimony*, furnished to the scriptural evidence of this doctrine, by the actual

Godhead remain *unshaken* — deduced from the prophetic descriptions of the Messiah's person in the Old Testament — from the ascription to him of the attributes, the works, and the homage, which are peculiar to the Deity—and from those numerous and important relations, which he is affirmed in Scripture to sustain towards his holy and universal church, and towards each of its true members. "There are," to adopt the deliberate judgment of Griesbach, "so many arguments for the true Deity of Christ, that I see not how it can be called in question; the divine authority of Scripture being granted, and just rules of interpretation acknowledged. *The exordium of Saint John's Gospel, in particular, is so perspicuous and above all exception, that it* NEVER *can be overturned by the daring attacks of interpreters and critics, and taken away from the defenders of the truth.*"[1]

Long-continued as were the discussions on this verse, it must not be thought that the investigations were of small importance in their results; for they were not confined to *this passage* alone, but they bore more or less on all the text of the New Testament. The dogmatic feeling which many brought into connection with their arguments rendered it needful to examine all that could bear even collaterally on the subject; and it was felt by those who examined the question with a really critical spirit, that the point at issue was not ultimately whether this passage be genuine or not, but whether there are *any principles* which are capable of application to the determination of the text of the New Testament on grounds of evidence.

Meanwhile, the defenders of the authenticity of the verse sought far and wide for evidence and for arguments; it is, however, a singular thing that they were more indebted to the candour of their opponents than to their own good success for the production of MSS. which might give some colour to their cause. But this led to inquiry into the locations of MSS., and an examination of their readings,—to an investigation of the ancient versions, and the manner in which they have been published in print,—and into the citations found in the writings of early Fathers.

There are many statements which *once* passed current on this subject, and which may be seen, perhaps, by students into whose way the books may fall which were *once* written by defenders of the passage, which have been passed by in silence in the statement given above. These arguments were those that were based on data so absolutely belonging only to the realm of fancy, that the demonstration of the fallacy of the proofs which such arguers as Martin and Travis

profession of faith in, and worship of, Jesus Christ and the Holy Spirit, as well as of God the Father, by the Christian church in every age; together with other documents illustrative of this important truth of divine revelation, derived from ecclesiastical history and the writings of the Fathers of the three first centuries of the Christian æra.

[1] "Atque sunt profecto tam multa et luculenta argumenta et Scripturæ loca, quibus vera Deitas Christo vindicatur, ut ego quidem intelligere vix possim, quomodo, concessâ Scripturæ Sacræ divinâ auctoritate et admissis justis interpretandi regulis, dogma hoc in dubium à quoquam vocari posse. In primis locus ille, Joh i. 1, 2, 3., tam perspicuus est, atque omnibus exceptionibus major, ut *neque interpretum, neque criticorum audacibus conatibus* UNQUAM *everti atque veritatis defensoribus eripi possit.* Nov. Test. tom. ii. Præf. pp. viii, ix. Halæ, 1775.

could use as the basis of much solemn declamation, did not a little to remove the *traditional* notion with which many regarded the subject. Amongst these statements, which hardly *now* admit of grave repetition, was the assertion that the Codex Montfortianus belonged to the *tenth* century; the appeal to *non-existent* MSS., and even the citation of this verse from the Codex Bezæ. It may be difficult to some now even to imagine that such assertions ever were made, or that they could for a moment have deceived any one: and yet it was so.

While MSS. were but little known, many appeals seemed very cogent; and thus Dr. Hales could speak as though MSS. *in general* had not been examined; but when every fresh investigation only brought more to light, that MSS., versions, and early writers were *all* combined against this verse, a different ground was taken by those who believed that they *must* defend it because of the doctrine that it contained.

They did, in fact, for the sake of this verse, take steps which made all Holy Scripture precarious; for they cast doubt and distrust upon all channels of transmissive evidence. The combined testimony of MSS. and versions was to be alike as nothing that *this verse* might be defended. Happily, these procedures have not been approved by Biblical scholars. Many a one who might have said ἐπέχω, so long as any of the data remained uninvestigated, *now* saw that the question was *decided.* The same principles in the use of evidence must be applied to this verse, and to all the rest of the New Testament. To defend this, therefore, on grounds entirely different, and to decry evidence, or to set it wholly aside, would be to do the work of the opposers of divine revelation most effectually.

And thus it became an admitted principle that the same grounds of certainty on which we rest as to the sacred books and their contents in general, must cause us to reject this passage, as not being a real portion of the Word of God. To try to place that which rests on no good evidence on the same ground as that stands on which is well confirmed, is in effect to cast doubt and obscurity over both.

APPENDIX TO CHAP. XXXVI.

*** *As a supplement to the statement of the evidence for and against the genuineness of* 1 *John v.* 7., *the following list was drawn up by the Rev. T. H. Horne, to which a few additions have now been made. Those publications or parts of publications enumerated in the following Bibliographical List, which maintain the* SPURIOUSNESS *of the clauses in question, are printed in Italics, in order that this section may not be unnecessarily protracted. For particulars respecting the line of argument advocated by most of their respective authors, the reader is referred to article* 48. *p.* 388. *infrà.*

1. Adnotationes Millii, auctæ et correctæ ex prolegomenis suis, Wetstenii, Bengelii, et Sabaterii ad 1 Joann. V. 7., una cum duabus epistolis Richardi Bentleii, et Observationibus Joannis Seldeni, Christophori Matthiæ Pfaffii, Joannis Francisci Buddei, et Christiani Friderici Schmidii de eodem loco. Collectæ et editæ a Thoma BURGESS, S.T.P. Episcopo Menevensi [postea Sarisburiensi]. Mariduni [Caermarthen] 1822. 8vo.

With the exception of *Wetstein's note on* 1 *John* V. 7. which impugns the genuineness of the disputed clause, all the pieces in this volume are from the pens of the most strenuous of its early vindicators. An appendix contains the shorter observations of J. G. Pritius, Frederick Lampe, J. F. Buddeus, John Laurence Mosheim, Bishop Fell, Pool's Compendium of the Annotations of Gerhard and Hammond, Küttner's Abridgment of *Griesbach's Disquisition on this clause*; and the concluding remarks of the learned editor on Dr. Mill's opinion concerning the old Italic version, and on Bengel's interpretation of the eighth verse and his transposition of the seventh and eighth verses.

2. Dissertatio, in quâ Integritas et αὐθεντία istius celeberrimi loci 1 Epist. Joannis cap

V. v. 7. a suppositionis notâ vindicatur. Authore Thoma SMITH, S.T.P. [in his Miscellanea, pp. 121—150.] Londini, 1690. 8vo.

3. *Critique du Passage de l'Epistre I. de S. Jean, chap. V. v. 7. Par Richard* SIMON. [In his Histoire Critique du Texte du Nouveau Testament, Part I. ch. xviii. pp. 203—218.] Rotterdam, 1689. 4to.

4. Defensio superioris Dissertationis contra exceptiones D. Simonii. Authore Thoma SMITH. [Miscellanea, pp. 151—173.] Londini, 1690. 8vo.

5. Historia Dicti Johannei de Sanctissima Trinitate, 1 Joh. cap. V. vers. 7. per multa secula omissi, seculo V. restituti, et exeunte seculo XVI. in versionem vernaculam [i.e. Germanicam D. Lutheri] recepti, una cum Apologia B. Lutheri, autore Friderico Ernesto KETTNERO. Francofurti et Lipsiæ, 1713. 4to.

This publication was caused by Simon's attack on the disputed clause, in behalf of which the weakest assertions and conjectures are here brought forward as irrefragable arguments.

6. *A full Enquiry into the original Authority of that Text,* 1 *John V. 7., containing an Account of Dr. Mill's Evidences from Antiquity for and against its being genuine. With an Examination of his Judgment thereupon.* [*By Thomas* EMLYN.] *London,* 1715; 1719, 8vo. Also in the Somers Collection of Tracts, vol. ii. London, 1748. 4to.

7. A Critical Dissertation upon the seventh Verse of the fifth Chapter of St. John's First Epistle. Wherein the authenticness of this text is fully proved against the objections of Mr. Simon and the modern Arians. By David MARTIN. Translated from the French [which was published in 1717], by Samuel JEBB, M.D. London, 1719. 8vo.

8. *An Answer to Mr. Martin's Critical Dissertation on* 1 *John V. 7., showing the insufficiency of his proofs and the errors of his suppositions; by which he attempts to support the authority of that text from supposed MSS. By Thomas* EMLYN. *London,* 1718. 8vo.

9. An Examination of Mr. Emlyn's Answer to the Dissertation. By David MARTIN. Translated from the French. London, 1719. 8vo.

10. *A Reply to Mr. Martin's Examination of the Answer to his Dissertation. By Thomas* EMLYN. *London,* 1720. 8vo.

11. The genuineness of 1 John V. 7. demonstrated by Proofs which are beyond all exceptions. By David MARTIN. London, 1722. 8vo.

12. A Vindication of that celebrated text, 1 John V. 7. from being spurious; and an Explication of it upon the supposition of its being genuine. In four Sermons, by Benjamin CALAMY, D.D. London, 1722.

13. An Enquiry into the primitive Complutensian Edition of the New Testament, as principally founded on the most ancient Vatican Manuscript; together with some account of that Manuscript. In order to decide the dispute about 1 John V. 7. In a letter to Mr. Archdeacon Bentley. [By Richard SMALBROKE, afterwards Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.] London, 1722. 8vo.; also in the Somers Collection of Tracts, vol. ii. London, 1748, 4to., or vol. xiii. London, 1815, 4to.; and in Bishop Burgess's Selection of Tracts and Observations on 1 John V. 7., No. 38. p. 387. *infrà.*

14. Dissertation sur le Fameux Passage de la première Epitre de Saint Jean, chapitre V. v. 7. Par Augustin CALMET. Commentaire Littéral, tom. ix. pp. 744—752. Paris, 1726, folio; also in tom. xxiii. pp. 536—551. of the Bible, De Vence. Paris, 1824. 8vo.

15. The Doctrine of the Trinity as it is contained in the Scriptures, explained and confirmed, and Objections answered: . . . . in eighteen Sermons preached at Nottingham. By the Rev. James SLOSS, A.M. London, 1734. Second Edition, revised and corrected. London, 1815. 8vo.

The *first* sermon contains a vindication of the disputed clause. In the second edition some few obsolete words have been expunged, and others more plain and intelligible have been substituted.

16. Joannis Salomonis SEMLERI Vindiciæ plurium præcipuarum Lectionum Novi Testamenti, adversus Whistonum atque ab eo latas leges criticas. Halæ, 1751. 8vo.

Michaelis characterises this treatise as a profoundly learned and moderate vindication of the disputed clause. Semler, however, soon afterwards, altered his opinion, and wrote what Michaelis pronounces to be "the most important work on this subject." (Introd. to New Test. vol. iv. p. 413.)

17. *Two Letters from Sir Isaac* NEWTON *to Mr. Le Clerc, upon the reading of the Greek Text* 1 *John V. 7., and* 1 *Tim.* iii. 16. *London,* 1754. 8vo.

A very imperfect copy of this tract, wanting both the beginning and the end, and erroneous in many places, was published at London, in the year 1754, under the title of "Two Letters from Sir Isaac Newton to M. Le Clerc." But in the author's MS., which was printed for the first time entire in the fifth volume of Sir Isaac Newton's Works, the whole is one continued discourse. The texts in question are the disputed clauses in 1 Tim. iii. 16. and 1 John v. 7.: the title-page, "*An Historical Account of two notable Corruptions of Scripture, in a Letter to a Friend, by Sir Isaac Newton* London, 1830," is prefixed to "Newton's Letter,"

by its modern Socinian editors. The copy in the possession of the author of this work was labelled "Sir Isaac Newton on two Corruptions of Scripture." Other copies (it appears from page 3. of Dr. Henderson's tract on the subject) were exposed to sale at the modern Socinian Depository, where this tract was published, and labelled "SIR ISAAC NEWTON on Trinitarian Corruptions of Scripture." This conduct called forth the following just but severe strictures from the pen of the Rev. Dr. Henderson. "They" [the terms of the label in question] "are obviously designed to answer a two-fold purpose. First, they are intended to imbue the public mind with the belief that Trinitarians, in order to support their system, scruple not to falsify the records of divine truth; and that this falsification is not confined to a few solitary instances, but has been practised to some considerable extent. Had there been no such design, why not candidly state the whole head and front of their offending, as alleged in Sir Isaac's impeachment? Why, instead of announcing 'two corruptions,' or, if deemed preferable, 'two *notable* corruptions of Scripture,' is it given indefinitely, as if scores or even hundreds of passages had suffered from the fraudulent hand of Trinitarian corruption? Secondly, the celebrated name of Sir Isaac Newton is put forth to support with its high sanction the cause of anti-Trinitarianism; and superficial thinkers, or such as may not possess the means of determining what were the real sentiments of the 'first of philosophers,' will naturally suppose that he espoused that cause, and that a system of opinions, which commanded the approval of so mighty a mind, cannot but be true." (Ibid.)

18. *Dissertation concerning the genuineness* of 1 John V. 7, 8. By George Benson, D.D. [In his Paraphrase and Notes on the seven Catholic Epistles, pp. 631—646. Second edition.] *London*, 1756. 4to.

19. Letters to Edward Gibbon, Esq., in defence of the Authenticity of the seventh verse of the first Epistle of St. John. By George Travis, M.A., Archdeacon of Chester, third and best edition. London, 1794. 8vo.

20. *Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, in Answer to his Defence of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, 1 John V. 7. By Richard* Porson, M.A. *London*, 1790. 8vo.

21. *Dissertation on 1 John V. 7.* By John David Michaelis. [In vol. iv. pp. 412—441. of his Introduction to the New Testament, translated from the German, by Herbert Marsh, D.D.]

22. *Letters to Mr. Archdeacon Travis, in Vindication of one of his Notes to Michaelis's Introduction . . . . With an Appendix, containing a Review of Mr. Travis's Collation of the Greek MSS. which he examined in Paris; an Extract from Mr. Pappelbaum's Treatise on the Berlin MS.; and an Essay on the Origin and Object of the Velesian Readings. By Herbert* Marsh, [D.D., afterwards Bishop of Peterborough.] *Leipzig*, 1795. 8vo.

A volume of extreme rarity.

23. Concerning the genuineness of 1 John V. 7. By John Hey, D.D. [In Vol. II. pp. 280—291. of his Lectures in Divinity.] Cambridge, 1796. 8vo.

This little essay will amply repay the trouble of perusal from the candid spirit in which it is drawn up. The learned author appears to have cherished the hope that future MSS. might be discovered, containing the disputed passage. Subsequent researches of other critics have shown that such a hope must now be abandoned.

24. *Diatribe in Locum 1 Joann. V. 7, 8. Auctore Joanne Jacobo* Griesbach. [At the end of Vol. II. of Dr. Griesbach's Critical Edition of the New Testament.]. *Halæ*, 1806; *Londini*, 1810. Editio Nova, 1818. 8vo.

25. A short Historical Outline of the Disputes respecting the Authenticity of the Verse of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, or 1 John, Chap. V. ver. 7. By Charles Butler, Esq. [Appendix II. to his Horæ Biblicæ, or in his Miscellaneous Works, vol. i. pp. 365—407.] London, 8vo.

26. *Observations on the Text of the Three Divine Witnesses. By Adam* Clarke, LL.D. [At the end of his Commentary on the first Epistle of John, and also in his Succession of Sacred Literature, published at London, in 1807. 12mo.]

27. *The Question concerning the Authenticity of 1 John V. 7. briefly examined.* [*By the Rev. Joseph* Jowett, LL.D. Professor of Civil Law in the University of Cambridge.] In the sixth volume of the Christian Observer for the year 1807. 8vo.

A masterly and temperate discussion of the whole of the evidence which had been adduced for and against the genuineness of the disputed clause, previously to the year 1807.

28. Note on 1 John V. 7. By T. F. Middleton, D.D. [afterwards Bishop of Calcutta.] In pp. 633—653. of his Doctrine of the Greek Article. London, 1808. 8vo.

29. The Critique on the Eclectic Review [*of the English Version of the New Testament, published by the modern Socinians*] on 1 John V. 7., confuted by Martyn's Examination of Emlyn's Answer; to which is added an Appendix, containing Remarks on Mr. Porson's Letters to Archdeacon Travis. By J. Pharez. London, 1809. 8vo.

30. Observations on 1 John V. 7. by Frederick Nolan, LL.D.—In his "Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate," pp. 293—305. 540—564. London, 1815. 8vo.

31. *Three Letters addressed to the Rev. Frederick Nolan, on his erroneous Criticisms and Mis-statements in the Christian Remembrancer, relative to the Text of the Heavenly Witnesses. . . . . By the Rev. John* Oxlee. *York*, 1825. 8vo.

32. Extensive Controversy about the celebrated Text, 1 John V. 7. By the Rev. William HALES, D.D. In vol. ii. pp. 133—226. of his Treatise on "Faith in the Holy Trinity." London, 1818. 8vo.

33. Annotatio ad 1 Epistolam Joannis cap. V. ver. 7, 8. Auctore Joanne Nepomuceno ALBER. In vol. iii. pp. 353—369. of his Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Novi Testamenti. Pestini, 1818. 8vo.

34. A Vindication of 1 John V. 7. from the Objections of M. Griesbach, in which a new View is given of the external evidence, with Greek Authorities for the Authenticity of the Verse, not hitherto adduced in its Defence. By Thomas BURGESS, D.D., Bishop of St. David's [afterwards of Salisbury]. London, 1821. 8vo.

35. *Review of the "Vindication" &c. in the Quarterly Review for March*, 1822. [Attributed to the Rev. Dr. TURTON, Regius Divinity Professor in the University of Cambridge, and subsequently Bishop of Ely.] London, 1822. 8vo.

36. A Vindication of 1 John V. 7. &c. Second Edition: to which is added a Preface in reply to the Quarterly Review, and a Postscript in answer to a recent publication entitled "Palæoromaica." By Thomas BURGESS, D.D., Bishop of St. David's. London, 1823. 8vo.

37. *Observations on* 1 *John V. 7. by Herbert* MARSH, D.D., *Bishop of Peterborough.* In part vi. pp. 13—30. of his Lectures in Divinity. *Cambridge*, 1822. 8vo.

38. A Selection of Tracts and Observations on 1 John V. 7. Part the First, consisting of Bishop Barlow's Letter to Mr. Hunt; Bishop Smalbrooke's Letter to Dr. Bentley; Two anonymous Letters to Dr. Bentley, with Dr. Bentley's Answer; an Extract from Martin's Examination of Emlyn's Answer relative to that Letter; together with Notes of Hammond and Whitby on the controverted Verse; and Dr. Adam Clarke's Account of the Montfort Manuscript. [With a Preface by the Editor, Thomas BURGESS, D.D., Bishop of St. David's, afterwards of Salisbury.] London, 1824. 8vo.

39. Three Letters addressed to the Editor of the Quarterly Review, in which is demonstrated the Genuineness of the Three Heavenly Witnesses, 1 John V. 7. By Ben David [John JONES, LL.D.] London, 1825. 8vo.

40. A Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of St. David's on a Passage of the Second Symbolum Antiochenum of the Fourth Century, as an evidence of the authenticity of 1 John V. 7. By Thomas BURGESS, D.D., Bishop of St. David's. London, 1825. 8vo.

41. *Review of the two preceding Articles in the Quarterly Review for December* 1825. *London*, 8vo. [Attributed to the Rev. Dr. Turton.]

42. *A Vindication of the Literary Character of Professor Porson from the Animadversions of the Rt. Rev. Thomas Burgess*, D.D., *Lord Bishop of Salisbury, in various publications on* 1 *John V. 7. By Crito Cantabrigiensis.* [*The Rt. Rev. Thomas* TURTON, D.D. *Bishop of Ely.*] *Cambridge*, 1827. 8vo.

43. A Specimen of an intended publication, which was to have been entitled A Vindication of them that have the rule over us, for their not having cut out the Disputed Passage, 1 John V. 7, 8. from the authorised Version. Being an Examination of the first six pages of Professor Porson's IVth Letter to Archdeacon Travis, of the MSS. used by R. Stephens. By Francis HUYSHE. London, 1827. 8vo.

This "Examination" was published *after* notice had been given in the Literary Journals that the "Vindication" of Professor Porson's character was in the press, and before that work actually appeared. "Crito Cantabrigiensis," therefore, devoted pp. 388—404. to a refutation of Mr. H.'s tract.

44. *Two Letters, respectfully addressed to the Lord Bishop of Salisbury, in Defence of certain Positions of the Author, relative to* 1 *John V. 7.: in which also the recent arguments of his Lordship are shown to be groundless surmises and evident mistakes. By the Rev. John* OXLEE. *London*, 1828. 8vo.

45. A Letter to the Rev. Thomas Beynon, Archdeacon of Cardigan, in Reply to a Vindication of the Literary Character of Professor Porson, by Crito Cantabrigiensis: and in further Proof of the Authenticity of 1 John V. 7. By Thomas BURGESS, D.D., Bishop of Salisbury. Salisbury, 1829. 8vo.

46. New Criticisms on the celebrated Text, 1 John V. 7. A Synodical Lecture, by Francis Anthony KNITTEL, Counsellor to the Consistory, and General Superintendent of the Grand Duchy of Brunswick Lüneburg. Published at Brunswick in 1785. Translated from the original German, by William Alleyn EVANSON, M.A. London, 1829. 8vo.

The original German work of Knittel, which has long been scarce upon the continent, is thus characterised by Michaelis:—"This is a valuable work, and much useful information may be derived from it: but in

the proof of the principal point the author has totally failed." (Introd. to the New Testament, vol. iv. p. 413.) This opinion has been confirmed in the following terms by a modern biblical critic: —

"Knittel's 'New Criticisms' are laboured and ingenious, written in a very declamatory style, and calculated by their plausibility to produce on the minds of novices in the controversy an impression in favour of the passage which he has taken under his protection. They are always wanting in the simplicity which an accomplished scholar will be concerned to maintain in the conduct of an important argument, and are not less deficient in the substantial proofs, and clear and strong presumptions, which command our assent. With the appearance and pretension of a methodical arrangement of his materials, there is but little of it in the discussions which follow; and we close the work without having acquired any distinct apprehensions of the subject on which we have been engaged." (Eclectic Review, Third Series, vol. iii. p. 181.)

47. *Remarks upon Mr. Evanson's Preface to his Translation of Knittel's New Criticisms on* 1 *John V.* 7. *By Clemens Anglicanus* [The Rt. Rev. Thomas TURTON, D.D., Bishop of Ely.] *London*, 1829. 8vo.

48. *Memoir of the Controversy respecting the Heavenly Witnesses,* 1 *John* V. 7., *including critical Notices of the Principal Writers on both sides of the Question. By Criticus* [the Rev. William ORME, M.A.] *London*, 1830. 12mo.

This work must have cost its author no small labour; although it does not pretend to exhibit a full and complete history of the controversy, yet not a single publication of any note is omitted. Numerous smaller notices relative to various other minor authors, who have treated directly or incidentally on the subject, are interspersed; and as many of the works given in the preceding bibliographical list are now become rare and with difficulty to be procured, the reader who is desirous of investigating the history of this memorable controversy, will be gratified with the candid spirit and diligent research which pervade every page of Mr. Orme's able and well-written Memoir.

49. An Introduction to the Controversy on the disputed verse of St. John, as revived by Mr. Gibbon: to which is added Christian Theocracy; [or the doctrine of the Trinity and the Ministration of the Holy Spirit, the leading and pervading Doctrine of the New Testament, in] a Second Letter to Mrs. Joanna Baillie. By the Bishop of Salisbury [Thomas BURGESS, D.D.]. Salisbury, 1835. 8vo.

The design of the "Introduction," (which was first privately printed in 1833,) is "to recall the attention of the readers to that state of the inquiry into the authenticity of the disputed verse of St. John, in which it was, prior to the publication of Archdeacon Travis's and Mr. Porson's Letters, when it was revived by Mr. Gibbon's celebrated note to the thirty-seventh chapter of his History." The following are the subjects discussed by the learned prelate. "Mr. Gibbon, an enemy to Christianity, and morally incapable of impartiality on any question relative to its scriptures and doctrines; — his falsifications of authorities respecting the great doctrines of Christianity; — incorrectness of his general positions respecting the controverted verse; — incorrectness of his particular objections to the verse."

50. Two Letters on some parts of the Controversy concerning 1 John V. 7.; containing also an Enquiry into the Origin of the first Latin Version of Scripture, commonly called the Italic. By Nicholas WISEMAN, D.D. Rome, 1835. 8vo.

These letters were first published in this country, in the third volume of the [Roman] Catholic Magazine. On the authority of a manuscript of the "Speculum," attributed to Augustine, preserved at Rome, in the monastery of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, which he imagines to be as old as the sixth or seventh century, and a Latin Bible (of the seventh century, as he thinks,) preserved at La Cava, Dr. W. argues in favour of the genuineness of the disputed clause in 1 John V. 7, 8. The reader will find some acute strictures on his theory in the Appendix to Dr. Wright's translation of Seiler's Biblical Hermeneutics, pp. 633—650. These Letters of Cardinal Wiseman are reprinted in his "Essays on various Subjects," vol. i.

51. Dr. Wiseman on 1 John V. 7, 8. By the Rev. Francis HUYSHE. [In the British Magazine, vol. v. pp. 702—707.] London, 1834. 8vo.

The Rev. Author of this communication is also the writer of numerous papers bearing on the authenticity of 1 John V. 7, 8., which are printed in the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes of the British Magazine, under the title of "A Vindication of the early Parisian Press."

52. *Martini Augustini* SCHOLZ. *Diatribe brevis in locum* 1 *Joannis* V. 7, 8. [In Vol. II. pp. 132, 133. of his Critical Edition of the New Testament.] Lipsiæ, 1836. 4to.

53. Three Letters to the Rev. Dr. Scholz, Editor of a new Edition of the Greek Testament, Lips. 1836, on the Contents of his Note on 1 John V. 7. By the Bishop of Salisbury [Thomas BURGESS, D.D.] Southampton, 1837. 8vo.

These letters were not published for sale: they were printed for private distribution only a few weeks before the decease of their learned and venerable author, who advocated the genuineness of the disputed clause in opposition to the evidence against it, which had been adduced by Dr. Scholz.

54. *J. Scott Porter. In his "Principles of Textual Criticism,"* pp. 494—512. London, 1848.

55. *Samuel Davidson, D.D. In his "Treatise on Biblical Criticism,"* pp. 403—426. Edinburgh, 1852.

56. *Under one general head may be mentioned the Notes of various Editors, such as the Rev. S. T. Bloomfield, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and others, and the Annotations of many writers in this and other countries, such as the late Professor De Wette, and as Dr. Edward Ash, opposed to the supposition that this passage can be a genuine portion of Holy Scripture.*

CHAP. XXXVII.

ON THE APPLICATION OF SOME OF THE RESULTS OF TEXTUAL CRITICISM.

THE subject of Textual Criticism cannot be dismissed without a few remarks on the application of some of the results to questions on which discussion has arisen. The first of these points, then, will be, how far do critical investigations or conclusions confirm or invalidate opinions formed as to *Scripture authority?*

There was a time, as has been noticed above, when even a question of various readings, or of the revision of the text, was supposed to be dangerous in the extreme, if not subversive of all Divine authority as attaching to Holy Scripture. Those who are conversant with the works of Dr. John Owen will see what the tone of feeling was two centuries ago, even amongst men of intelligence and learning, who were in many respects great and estimable, and whose doctrinal writings continue to be highly valued. How *settled* was the judgment which Owen had formed on this subject, may be learned from the fact, that it was not merely in his strange attack on Walton and his coadjutors that he thus expressed himself, but also in some of his later works, in which, likewise, he broadly laid down that the supposition that criticism could be rightly applied to the text of Holy Scripture was an *atheistical* position.

The argument (if such it could be called) which was used by those who maintained this opinion, was this:—God has given forth His Scripture by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost; it cannot then be thought that He has not in his Providence so watched over it, as to preserve it from the common accidents of loss or alteration, to which mere human writings are exposed, and by which we know that they have been injured. To imagine the contrary would be (it was said) to allege that the communication of the revelation of God, or even its preservation from total loss or entire corruption, was simply to depend upon the caprice, ignorance, or faithlessness of men. Thus, to many there seemed to be a kind of piety towards God, and reverence for His Word, in ignoring the subject altogether. Unhappily some of the effects of this tone of feeling are yet visible amongst us, like the conspicuous scar on an ill-healed wound.[1]

[1] It seems as if the sentiments which we still find propounded must be suggested to the minds of well-intentioned but ill-informed men, who read the sentiments expressed by some of these early writers or their copyists, and not being able to weigh the subject themselves, and not knowing anything of the misstatements of fact, they deem that they are doing an important service, when they restate points long ago refuted, and when they do all that in them lies to decry criticism, in its principles, results, and application. On all these points they really know *nothing* correctly; and it is this completeness of misapprehension which leads them to speak as they do against those who are better informed than themselves.

It is to be regretted that those who thus from time to time bring forward theories and statements which they have borrowed from old writers, do not *mention the sources* from which they have drawn, instead of repeating mistakes long ago refuted, not only as if they were true, but also as if they were *new*. If this were done it would in itself be a sufficient answer to those whose reading goes not a step beyond Whitby's book against Mill (see above, p. 126.), or the attacks on Bentley. It is unsatisfactory work to have to refute on the one hand the incorrect statements made by professed friends of revelation, and on the other to maintain the true authority of Holy Scripture against opposers. In

It was in vain to state, in reply, that various readings *do* exist in copies of the Word of God as well as in other writings. Those who were determined that they *ought* not to be there, denied their existence almost in the same manner as the inquisitors who cited Galileo, denied the motion of the earth; and when the copies were produced, and the variations made visible, just as the pendulum has shown that of the earth, by its tendency to retain part of its rate of circular motion, it was demanded that all such copies should be rejected, and that the fact that they differ at all from what was commonly read and printed, should be deemed sufficient for regarding them as void of authority. And thus, if pressed in argument, they would have found it difficult to give a reason for receiving and for maintaining the authority of those copies which they did receive and uphold as immaculate. He who rejects true principles of transmission, as attested by evidence, must rest in some vague notion of subjective apprehension, or must rely on some fancy of indeterminate tradition, if he would escape from mere scepticism. If those who used the argument from what they supposed to be the necessary actings of Divine Providence, had carried it a little farther, or had pressed it more consistently, they might have felt its fallacy. For as Holy Scripture was not intended for Greeks and Hebrews merely, but for all men who are concerned in knowing the revelation of God, and the way of life and salvation provided by Him, it might be argued that *He* ought to have made provision, either that all should understand the original languages of Scripture, or that authoritative versions should be set forth by inspired men in all the needed tongues. It might have been said, that to suppose the contrary would be to derogate from that which must be considered as belonging to the perfection of the actings of God. But, even if a ground less high were taken on the subject of versions, it might still be said that *if* God providentially overruled copyists, so as to prevent their so erring as to introduce the smallest variation into the sacred text, *of course* he would so provide that *translators*, those on whom most persons depend for their knowledge of what Holy Scripture teaches, would receive a general immunity from mistake.[1] And yet, so conscious were those who argued in this manner from their supposed understanding of the ways of God, that versions are *not* perfect, that

one thing both these classes are alike—their pertinacity in reiterating the same erroneous statements, and bringing forward as if new the same exploded arguments. But in this the *professed* friends of revealed truth really furnish grounds of attack to the opposers. Are not some of these "professed friends" enemies who have assumed a false uniform for the purpose of treachery? If this surmise be deemed uncharitable, it is at all events less so than are the *insinuations* which *they* bring forward against *all* who maintain the true facts relative to Scripture transmission and the state of the text. Whatever be the motive, they find no terms sufficiently severe to apply to such scholars; what wonder, then, if the real pursuit of criticism is so depreciated amongst us?

[1] A true result from considerations relative to versions is the apprehension of the responsibility of giving forth faithful translations in the languages of different peoples. Many who have the circulation of Holy Scripture much at heart show themselves but little aware of the character of some of the versions in common use in the languages of Roman Catholic countries, in which by the cautious introduction of small occasional changes a seeming ground is afforded for most of the doctrinal errors of Rome. Let those whom it may concern see well to it, for the evil has now been perpetuated for years, and that in spite of public and private remonstrance.

they particularly condemned the notion of their being allowed to have *any* voice in criticism at all, deeming them unworthy of being used even as collateral witnesses.

Thus, those who upheld the *authority* of Scripture by maintaining the immaculate purity of its text, and by denying that it could be corrupted or altered without the true doctrine of the Providence of God being set aside, were led into the most inconsistent methods of arguing, — methods which, as they themselves were conscious (though they did not formally draw the conclusion), were incapable of being applied to similar and collateral subjects. There was a strong resemblance between these transcendental reasonings and those of some of the optimists of the present day, who speak of "the intense purity of human nature," and who affirm that it contradicts all "true and worthy apprehensions of the power and benevolence of the Deity," to imagine that the heart and nature of man is as corrupt as Holy Scripture teaches, and as (in its external aspects) the every-day world around us shows manifestly. It is in vain for such to say that it is a reflection upon God to suppose that such corruption of nature can exist, to believe that either He could have formed beings so defective, or, if originally upright, He could have allowed them to fall. Notorious facts contradict such suppositions of actual purity; and the revelation of God in His word explains the mystery of the difference of the state of man, as originally created, from that in which he has passed through the fall. Maintainers of Revelation and the worst opposers use similar arguments when they fly off into their own speculations of what is worthy of Divine Providence, irrespective of those manifest facts which we are responsible for owning as such.

The true mode in which the Providence of God should be regarded in connection with the Scriptures of the New Testament, would be this: — To acknowledge, as a fact, that these books have been committed to the care of men, without any interposition in power or continuous miracle to maintain them in their purity; to know that they have, in their external history, been subjected to exactly the same kind of casualties as other writings. Copyists might err in what they transcribed; translators might depart from the meaning of what they undertook to render; compositors enjoy no immunity *now* when engaged in setting up Holy Scripture; and the eye of the corrector is not infallible when reading the proof-sheets of the Word of God, whether in the original or in translations.

And yet, with all these opportunities of error, those who will examine the subject with attentive eyes must see that there *has been* a very peculiar guardianship of Divine Providence over the text of the New Testament; not, indeed, in preserving particular copies from mistake, nor yet in causing that the best readings should have been habitually adopted, but in transmitting to us such means of critical revision or verification as do not exist with regard to any profane writer whatsoever. *This* is the fact which is worthy of deep attention; for, had not there been something special with regard to Holy Scripture, the books of the New Testament might have come down to us in a few, defective, and comparatively recent copies.

We might have had but a very small portion of those sources of criticism which have been described in preceding chapters. This whole array of witnesses must be borne in mind if we would estimate aright *what* God has done for us in the transmission of Holy Scripture. And thus, instead of doing as was suggested by unintelligent traditionists,—instead of rejecting every copy which differs from some fondly imagined standard of perfection, and casting aside every version which exhibits peculiarities of its own, until every document in which the New Testament has been transmitted at all is condemned,—we thankfully regard them as the witnesses to us of the *true* incorruptness which attaches to Holy Scripture. They are the proofs that the books have come down to us from the ages in which they are stated to have been written; and while their general agreement is most important, the variations are also of importance, as showing that they *could* not have been written, or even remodelled, by any who lived in comparatively recent time.

The *extensive character* of the *evidence* which bears on the text of the New Testament, causes its criticism *so far* to differ from that of ordinary books: similar principles must be applied in each case. But it is only those who know something of the MSS. in which *other* ancient works have been transmitted, who can feel the contrast between the one or two defective transcripts of some important work (as is often the case), and the MSS., versions, and early citations which supply us with evidence for the New Testament. With regard to the one, critical sagacity is *needed* continually to restore what may be supposed to be the author's sense, or what may have been *intended* by the copyist; in the other we are, happily, not so situated. We have nothing to do with conjectures; our only business is to ascertain, and then to follow, *evidence.* The one case is like that of restoring some shattered work of ancient art, the lost fragments of which are themselves irrecoverably gone; the other is like the work of fitting into their places the portions of an edifice which have been displaced by time, but which are not lost, but are still to be found, only requiring to be sought out and ascertained from amid the other materials with which they have been mingled.

Now, the *original authority* attaching to a document is not affected by the condition in which existing copies of such a record may now be found. This is so obvious that it might seem to be superfluous to state it; and yet it is *habitually* forgotten or overlooked by those who discuss the subject in connection with Holy Scripture. The only way in which *authority* is at all weakened, is so far as existing copies may be supposed to be imperfect representations of what was originally written.

Thus, if a law be given forth by any competent legislator, its original authority, and its binding force, would be unimpaired, even if some to whom it was addressed possessed it in a form in which it had suffered injury from either accident or design. It would be felt to be a strange process of thought that would lead any to cling with attachment to the defective form of the enactment, as though it possessed the more ample authority, rather than to revert, if possible, to

that which was more perfect. And even if such recurrence were impossible—even if there were some manifest defects which could not be rectified—still it would rightly be said that the authority of the legislator must be owned, even though we have some uncertainty as to a portion of his enactments.

Whoever receives Holy Scripture as it has been commonly accepted by spiritual Christians,—whoever, indeed, acquiesces in the claims made by the writers, and attested by the fullest proofs of their mission, admits that as to its original authority it was given forth by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost. This inspiration might or might not be accompanied by the revelation of new facts, principles, or doctrines: but whether unknown things of God were declared, or facts of which men were previously cognisant were recorded,—whether the words and actions narrated were those of the Son of God and His servants, or of the Scribes and Pharisees and other opposers of His truth,—still the *recorded narrative* of such words and actions, whether good or bad in themselves, claims the ground of inspiration as addressed to us. Now textual criticism leaves these facts and principles unaffected. The results which flow from it may in measure affect the absolute identification which some assume to exist between certain current copies and the authentic originals; but these results, if rightly understood, give a greater security and certainty as to *what* was originally given forth.

Thus, let the highest ground be taken as to the authority of Holy Scripture, and the absolute freedom from error in doctrine, fact, reasoning, or illustration, which attaches to it in virtue of its being plenarily inspired; the results of criticism only lead us to know more precisely *what* it is that has been thus given forth. It may be that words, expressions, or even whole sentences, which have been rested on in controversy or in the mental elaboration of a subject, may be proved to be rightly read in some very different manner, or they may even be shown not to belong to the record at all. This result, however it may surprise, must not be supposed to invalidate aught that has been just said; for it only tends to show what the record really is, and what, through mistake of some kind or other, has been identified with it.

At times, indeed, a result of criticism is so far unsatisfactory that it leaves a great deal of uncertainty in connection with particular words or sentences; but even though this feeling is not in itself desirable, it leads to the avoidance of relying unduly on such passages, and it teaches to discriminate between the much that is certain and the comparatively little that is really doubtful. So far from the notion of *general uncertainty* being introduced, the truth is just the contrary; for the vague, unclear, dim apprehension which must be connected with the traditional text in general by one who really reflects, is dispelled; and criticism, decried though it be in its results by some, gives a degree of objective certainty not otherwise obtainable.

Such considerations will avail little or nothing with those who rely on their own subjective feelings, and who deem that it is more

reverential so to do; but their importance will be felt by those who regard it to be far more fitting that they should use all diligence in knowing *what* the Spirit of God gave forth as Holy Scripture, than that they should leave the subject as if they cherished the sceptical notion, "that it *may be* that God hath spoken."

Scripture is a deposit given by God into the hands of Christians; to use all means in their power to know *what* has been thus given forth, is part of the responsibility of those who fully admit its divine authority.

It is well to bear in mind that one of the most important results of criticism is the ability which it gives us to estimate the difference between the most correct and the least exact text as found in copies written or printed. They mistake greatly who suppose that other doctrines are taught in some copies, that other principles and precepts are laid down, or that the general texture of divine truth is defaced or marred. As to material points the agreement is most general; and nothing which would influence the form of our dogmatic belief depends upon doubtful or precarious passages,—even though there are passages of this kind which would in some copies support particular doctrines (the truth of which is known from *other* Scriptures absolutely certain), while in others they might be void of any bearing on the subject.

This result is most important as to Scripture *authority:* it shows us that whatever injury Scripture has received during the ages in which it was transmitted by the hands of copyists, there *could* be no such thing as a general tampering with its text, or a systematised alteration, for the purpose of bringing in any new doctrines, or for extruding old ones which had become unacceptable. There are, indeed, copies which contain absurd and contradictory mistakes; but such errors are of the same *sporadic* character as are those found in certain printed Bibles, which are known through such oversights: so thoroughly does the doctrinal authority of Scripture remain unimpaired after all the accidents of transcriptural mistake to which it has been obnoxious. Some have formed a different opinion from their attention having been directed almost exclusively to certain passages to which a great dogmatic importance has attached; and from their having thought that if these passages were differently read the doctrines which they had been used to uphold would be in some measure invalidated. The more criticism is studied, the more groundless is this fear found to be; and the practical result is not to let important doctrinal truths even *seem* to depend on what is fallacious or uncertain.

The application of results of criticism to *Biblical Interpretation* is intimately connected with the remarks that have just been made on the subject of *authority.* Here, however, there are those who will be likely to feel not a little timidity. They will be inclined to judge of a supposed result of criticism not through the soundness or the contrary of the principles on which it is based, but according to the bearing which it may have on some cherished interpretation of a passage which may appear to be affected. But if criticism be treated

with shyness, it must be remembered that there are those who act similarly with regard to philology[1]; and, indeed, the two, philology and criticism, can hardly be dissociated when the mind is rightly directed to enter properly on the subject of interpretation; for if philology *must* assert her claims as showing the real force and import of the words and syllables, written by the men who were inspired by the Holy Ghost, she at the same time maintains the right of textual criticism to indicate *what* those words and syllables themselves are.

It is thus of no small importance that he who takes the place of an expositor of Holy Scripture should not only possess those spiritual qualifications which are indispensable for him who is rightly fitted for such a work, and that acquaintance with the Scripture which must be needed, but that he also should be *willing* and able to use the results of criticism with some discrimination, and have some apprehension *how* those results have been obtained. This is not to be regarded as though it were *in itself* the object sought; it is a means to an end, and nothing more; and therefore it may be judged that there is some danger lest it should unduly occupy the mind. Of course this *may be* the case; although, in this country at least, criticism has hardly received such a measure of attention as to cause this to be any peculiar danger. If criticism and philology be looked at by any, not as means leading to a right apprehension of *what* has been written, but as though they were in themselves the main objects in connection with Holy Scripture, a mistake is made of a similar kind to that of a person who, in examining some work of art or noble edifice, should think and speak exclusively of the *material* on which the artist wrought, and should minutely investigate its nature, properties, and origin, instead of considering *what* has been produced, and to what purpose the artist has employed the materials in question. The design of the artist and his skill in carrying it into execution must ever be deemed of superior moment to an inquiry into what it was on which his abilities were exerted. If, however, any question were raised as to the material, it might, in its place, be of the utmost importance to carry out what may be termed preliminary inquiries, not as taking the place of those which are directed to higher objects, but merely in relation to them. If the artist would work at all, materials he must use, and these are simply subservient to his aims. Just so if Holy Scripture should be given to men at all, it must be in *language;* hence arises the province of philology: to apply philology aright, we must investigate all that relates to the condition of the text; hence the place of *criticism:* but both of these are merely subservient to the meaning and purport of the record which has thus been transmitted. It is as if we wish to read a transcript of a letter or a law in some foreign language; we want to know two things,—whether we may rely on the copy as generally

[1] "Philology has not yet firmly established her position as the handmaid of Theology and we may be well excused if we look with extreme jealousy on any attempt to displace her. It will be time enough to take alarm when she threatens to dethrone her mistress." Rev. J. B. Lightfoot, M. A., in "Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology," March, 1856. (p. 103.)

correct, and how to read and understand the words and sentences of the tongue in which it is expressed.

He, then, who rightly regards Holy Scripture as the revelation of God, will value all auxiliaries for its right use in their proper places; he will value them because of that to which they lead, but he will not be disposed to look at them as though acquaintance with *them* could be *at all* substituted for the apprehension of the truths taught in the Word of God. It may be that critical studies have at times interfered with a devotional and spiritually intelligent use of the Word of God; it may be that they have been taken up and carried out with less enthusiasm than would be felt by an earnest scholar in connection with the writings of some favourite secular author. But even from this a lesson may be learned: the ardent classical student values criticism, as applied to Homer or Cicero, just because of its application to the words and sentences of a favourite author, and he finds the satisfactory result in the corrected or confirmed reading of the text: the truer his apprehension of the bearing and use of criticism, the less will he be disposed to give it some absolute and independent value. Its place is wholly *subjective* not *objective*. If, therefore, it is found to deaden the apprehension of the spiritual value of Holy Scripture, it should at once be admitted that its office has been misunderstood, or that it has been pursued in some measure not in that right and prayerful spirit with which a Christian should carry on all his Biblical studies, or else that the value of Scripture as the revelation of God had not itself been previously known aright, or at all.

He, however, who refuses to listen to the claims of criticism or philology will find that, in his reverence for what the Scripture teaches, he has overlooked the aids which might have checked him in giving interpretations not borne out by the words of the sacred text, or which might have prevented him from resting true and important results in doctrine on a basis which may be worse than precarious.

This consideration leads to the statement of a very important function of criticism in connection with interpretation: he whose Biblical studies have been very limited may most easily learn thus much of critical results that he may be aware that, in the judgment of some or of many, such and such passages are at least doubtful as to their reading. This will lead him, if he be at all a cautious man, to exercise some circumspection in the use which he may make of them: and though this result be only negative, it is of the same kind as was that of the *creeds* which were drawn up in the early ages of the Church; of which each statement was introduced for a definite, concrete object; and that not as an exposition of the *extent* of Christian truth that was held, but simply to contradict by an affirmative statement such and such doctrinal errors and heresies which had unhappily been brought in. Hence every such doctrinal creed was termed ὅρος: it was a *boundary* or *definition* of the limits of orthodox belief on some particular side or aspect. And such too is a critical result, even though it be very imperfectly apprehended: it is the *boundary* ὅρος which negatively marks where *caution* is needed, or where it would

be acting almost with a want of good faith to use the New Testament without fully mentioning (or else acquiescing in) critical results. In any Scriptural *investigation* of any kind, textual criticism is indispensable; otherwise, the more minute the investigation may be, the more thoroughly misleading will it prove: for it will be like some mathematical process or minute calculation, in which the preliminary of extruding errors in the statement, or in the circumstances of observation, had not been attended to; and thus errors, all the greater from the length to which the calculation is carried, pervade the whole of the results. In all such Scripture study it is not too much to say that criticism is indispensable.

Not only, however, may criticism be regarded as bearing on interpretation, but the converse is often practically assumed, and critical evidence is subjected to a mode of judgment formed wholly on the ground of supposed results. Against this habit of thought, which is in fact one form of substituting a kind of *conjecture* in the place of *evidence*, the Biblical student who values *truth* needs to be ever on his guard. Conclusions have been determined beforehand, because of the importance of the *doctrines* taught in particular forms of a passage; and then evidence has been set aside, because of its impugning the result which has been assumed as unquestionable. This has been very evident as to some of the discussions relative to passages bearing on that foundation truth of all Christianity—the proper Godhead of our Lord Jesus Christ. The value which was rightly felt for that *doctrine* led many to defend particular readings of particular passages (in the form in which they stand in the common text), so that it has been most manifest that *evidence* was not rightly weighed on such passages as 1 Tim. iii. 16., Acts xx. 28.[1], to say nothing as to 1 John v. 7. But what has been the consequence? A kind of persuasion has arisen in certain minds that it is on *these* passages, if not *alone*, yet at least *specially*, that this most certain doctrine rests; and thus the full force of the texts to which no doubt attaches has been overlooked. And this will almost of necessity be the case, when the endeavour is made to uphold important doctrines on grounds in themselves precarious, instead of relying on the unquestionable passages which support every one of the leading veritics of orthodox Christianity. It may here be added that some, from a dogmatic feeling of opposition to the Godhead of Christ, at least as a *prominent* doctrine of Scripture, have overlooked the force of evidence as to a more correct reading of certain passages, which in the earlier testimonies unequivocally assert this.[2]

The quotations from the Old Testament found in the New, open a wide field for criticism; for here copyists have so often brought such passages into verbal conformity, both in the New Testament and in

[1] These passages are discussed in "Account of Printed Text," pp. 227—234.

[2] Such passages as these are John i. 18., where wide-spread ancient testimony gives the reading *ὁ μόνογενὴς* ΘΕΟΣ (instead of *υἱός*), and 1 Pet. iii. 15., where *κύριον δὲ τὸν Χριστόν* (instead of *θεόν*): this, as being the New Test. exposition of Isaiah viii. 11, 12., determines the Lord Jesus Christ to be יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֹתוֹ. The evidence as to both these passages is stated in "Account of Printed Text," pp. 234—236.

the LXX., that a two-fold discrimination is needed. Also difficulties connected with the manner in which a citation is introduced have led to what may be deemed as *unconscious* corrections; hence the common reading in Mark i. 2. ἐν τοῖς προφήταις, instead of ἐν Ἡσαΐᾳ (or τῷ Ἡσ.) τῷ προφήτῃ, which many have approved, just because of the Evangelist having actually cited from *two* Prophets, and not from Isaiah only. This approval, however, of the *later* reading is not only uncritical, but it is connected with a very superficial apprehension of the true depth of significance found in the use of Scripture.[1] Many have greatly overlooked the *authority* with which the New Testament writers have used the Old; and though professing to admit their inspiration, they seem to have forgotten that *this* would be enough to exempt them from all charge of affixing arbitrary meanings to that which they brought forward. If *inspired*, the doctrines which they promulgated, the facts which they recorded, and the reasonings which they introduced (whether new or based on previous revelations) ought assuredly to be obnoxious to no judgments of this kind. If inspiration be denied, then of course other grounds must be taken; if indeed such deniers can imagine that anything connected with the word of God can be worthy of *their* attention.

There has been of late a disposition to magnify the difficulties and (what have been called) the discrepancies or contradictions of Holy Scripture; so that it has been quietly and firmly asserted by professed believers that they are real and insurmountable; and not only so, but attempts at explanation have been treated with scorn,—even when such attempts have been well approved by men of good sense and mental culture, and who might be supposed mentally and morally, as well as spiritually, to be good judges of such points. Now nothing in Scripture must be regarded as a difficulty which would not be so esteemed in an ordinary writer; and farther, nothing is a contradiction if a solution can be suggested: it may be that the solution

[1] "In St. Mark i. 2., where the reading adopted in the English version 'As it is written *in the Prophets*' (ἐν τοῖς προφήταις), is certainly incorrect,—and where we should read 'in Isaiah the prophet' (ἐν Ἡσαΐᾳ τῷ προφήτῃ),—we find the language of Mal. iii. 1. combined with that of Isai. xl. 3. It is obvious that the words of Malachi, 'he shall prepare the [a] way before me,' are based upon the expression of Isaiah, 'Prepare ye the [a] way of the Lord;' and that this is not a mere undesigned coincidence on the part of the later prophet is proved by Malachi (iii. 2, iv. 5.) having similarly incorporated in his own statements the language of another and earlier servant of God, viz. Joel ii. 11. and 31. The design of Malachi here was to show the Jews who had returned from the exile, and whose temporal condition seemed to present a contradiction to the promised glories of Messiah's reign, that Isaiah himself had already foretold that the evangelical promises were not as yet at hand, and that the preparation of the way must precede Messiah's glory. The passage quoted by St. Mark from Malachi, therefore, is not an *independent* prediction. Malachi is merely the *auctor secundarius*, and the Evangelist points out that this is the case by ascribing both commentary and text to Isaiah, whom he thus represents as the *auctor primarius*,—the commentary being placed first, as it serves to elucidate the text. St. Mark's exordium, 'The beginning of the Gospel,' also shows that he had in view the closing book of the Old Testament. That in St. Matt. iii. 1—4. these words of Isaiah are in like manner quoted with reference to Malachi is clear from the use of μετανοεῖτε, ver. 2., compared with Mal. iv. 5, 6., where 'Elijah the prophet' is described as the preacher of μετάνοια." *The Inspiration of Holy Scripture, its Nature and Proof*: Eight Discourses preached before the University of Dublin. By William Lee, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Trinity College, p. 333. *foot-note*; where the accompanying context contains much that is interesting and valuable on the quotations from the Old Testament in the New; their *purport, form*, &c

proposed does not happen to be the true one; but still if any can be stated which would meet the facts of the case, it proves that at all events they *can* be met, and that therefore the notion of insurmountability is futile, and that it recoils against the mental perceptions of those who can maintain it.

The connection of New Testament difficulties with criticism is this,—that in not a few places revisers of the text have endeavoured to remove them; but that so far from such steps being in accordance with *sound* criticism, they are utterly subversive of true principles; for if evidence were numerically alike, the adaptation of a quotation from the Old Testament to its form in the LXX., or the removal of a difficulty from the sacred text, would be *more likely* to have proceeded from a copyist than *vice versa*. Of course such mistakes as would be *mere errata* in a modern printed book must be judged on their own ground; but such points belong to a different category from the difficulties and (so-called) contradictions of the New Testament. If however a difficulty be raised from the *modern* reading of a passage, fully contradicted by the *ancient authorities*, criticism may boldly remove it; for *here* would be a point in which we could have recourse to that which was anterior to the existence of the difficulty in question. As to difficulties in the New Testament in general, they furnish us with the strongest kind of *transmissive evidence*. Those best acquainted with all the facts received these several books as possessed of plenary authority in spite of the difficulties which *we* see; they have thus transmitted them to us; and in this manner *they* guarantee to us that points of supposed discrepancy are only such seemingly, and did *we* know all the circumstances as *they* did, we should *see* how futile many an objection really is. Criticism has therefore to vindicate the text of Scripture against those correctors who would avoid all difficulties, either from imperfect evidence or (as has too often been the case) from conjecture.

The *topics* which have been discussed in the preceding chapters are those which I considered to be the most needful to the Biblical student relative to Textual Criticism. Such subjects will of course present themselves differently to different minds; in thinking, therefore, of what may be suited to others, I have endeavoured to give such information as I should have found useful myself in the course of my own critical studies, and which I had, in fact, to gather from many sources: I believe that in so doing I have consulted to the best of my ability the advantage of those students who may use these pages. The arrangement has been such as seems to me the most simple and natural, and the details are intended to be sufficiently full, without the introduction of unnecessary points of discussion.

I have endeavoured throughout to bear in mind the experience of my own studies in the department of criticism, and to consider *how* I should think it desirable to instruct others if I had ever occupied such a position in connection with students of Holy Scripture. I should then have had to inquire,—1. What is the outline of Textual Criticism which it is requisite that a Biblical student should be taught? 2. To what must special prominence be given in the *present state* of

Biblical criticism? 3. And how must these things be stated in connection with the tone of thought, state of learning, &c. *in this country?* And just as if I had been set in the place of giving *personal* instruction on these subjects, have I endeavoured, throughout the preceding chapters, to answer these questions. It is no doubt a great disadvantage that Biblical studies amongst us are in general of too *solitary* a character; no doubt that free and habitual *impartation to others* of what has been acquired, and the exercise of thought resulting from the necessity of meeting many minds in habitual intercourse, would present advantages to one who seeks lucidly and fully to give even written instruction to Biblical students; for the remark is as true that "*Conference* maketh a ready man," as it is that "Reading maketh a full man, and writing an exact man." These remarks are not intended to be apologetic, but explanatory; for it is probable that the subjects discussed in their present form will be found in the hands of far more solitary students than others; and thus *their* wants may perhaps be here met more fully than those of students differently situated.

It has been my earnest endeavour to state all facts and opinions accurately. Authorities have not been taken at second-hand without verification, except in the few cases in which this is expressly mentioned. It may seem to some readers that I have been too sparing in the citation of authorities and in giving references. As to the *latter*, I have tried to study the advantage of the student, by referring to such sources of information as appear desirable; and as to authorities, I have cited them as far as seemed to me to be *necessary*. But I have rarely done this with regard to such points as admit of investigation on the part of every one, or as to information which may seem to be common critical possession. Indeed, as to the latter, it would often be impossible to quote authorities with exactness or profit; for it would be impracticable to recal *where* or *how*, in the course of studies carried on for many years, such information first met my eye; and even if this were borne in mind, it would generally happen that it was mainly gathered from some much earlier source, and to *this*, if anywhere, the reference should be made. And as to points which I have examined and investigated, it would surely savour of affectation if I had cited *others* as my authorities (some of whom in past times received their information from me), and it would have been but little satisfactory to the student; it would have been as though I were to describe the scene beheld from the tower of the Capitol at Rome on the authority of some one else, just as if I had never been there,—even if I did not repeat some of the current mis-statements—such as whether the pyramid of Caius Cestius be visible or not from thence.

I trust that I have sufficiently acknowledged my obligations to others. Through information thus afforded me, and collations put into my hands, I have been able to give a more exact account of some of the versions than has ever appeared in print: students will find in each case to whom they are indebted. As to others of the versions, I have so studied them myself that I have been able to

confirm or to correct the statements of others. With regard to the Greek Testament, as printed, I have long possessed and habitually used the principal editions, so that all that relates to them has been drawn from no second-hand sources. As to MSS., I must as fully as possible acknowledge the great services of Professor Tischendorf; this has been done in connection with each MS. as named and described.[1] My own collations and examinations of MSS. will be found at least to aid the student as to what is stated with regard to this branch of the subject.

All information communicated by scholars as derived from their own personal investigations, and all drawn from special sources, will, I believe, be found to be distinctly acknowledged. If I have seemed to claim anything as my own which is really due to others, it has been from oversight, and not of set purpose. I ought perhaps to mention that the contents of my study and the results of my own investigations have been for years freely communicated to scholars, who have used them as they saw fit.

He who rightly studies the principles and facts of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament will find that he has acquired information not on one subject merely, but also on almost all of those that relate to the transmission of Scripture from the days of the Apostles; he will have obtained that kind of instruction which will impart both a breadth and a definiteness to all his Biblical studies; he will be led into a kind of unconscious connection with the writers of Scripture and their works.

It may also be observed that such a scholar will be but little disposed to give undue *prominence* to mere critical details and the *statement* of processes: when needful he will be ready with these things; but he will not seek to parade them as those do who are comparatively unskilled in criticism. The consummate mathematician does not think it necessary to say much about those elementary processes of thought with which his mind is habitually familiar; he uses them in connection with that to which they lead, he bases results on them, and he estimates them as links in a chain of reasoning, and not as if they possessed some value for their own sakes. And so too as to criticism; he who best apprehends its office will keep detailed statements and processes of reasoning in their own proper place, while he uses the results with all confidence. In order, however, to do this, the subject must be *thoroughly* apprehended; and the small measure of attention which it has really received on the part of those who aim to be Biblical scholars amongst us, necessitates *at present* statements in detail when any such questions are considered, which would otherwise be needless. Those who are familiar with a foreign tongue may read a work in it, in order simply to obtain a knowledge of the subject-matter; while those to whom the language is but partially known, must attend to *this* at the same time, if they want to learn what the work contains. This is too

[1] Professor Tischendorf issued about the beginning of 1856 the first part of a new edition of the Greek Testament, in which the authorities are given more fully than before.

illustrative of the condition of Biblical scholars amongst us with regard to Textual Criticism; and thus, much of the Biblical learning amongst us is lamentably meagre.

In reading the complaints made by some early writers, it might seem as if the text of the New Testament had even then received material injury; and this seems to contradict the general results of criticism, which prove the *substantial* integrity of what has been transmitted. It is as though some magnificent edifice which delighted many eyes were to receive injury from careless hands, so that a portion of its ornamental character were lost. Those who had seen it in all its glory, or who saw the distinct traces of the ill-treatment which had defaced much of its carved foliage, might so express their lamentations as if the work of spoliation had materially changed its structure; and yet after the lapse of many centuries, the beholder might the rather be inclined to wonder at the incorrupt preservation, and might judge that the estimate formed of early injury had been in every respect overstated. He might see that it was essentially the same,—the architectural design unmarred, and the skill of the artist's hand still fully visible; and he would thus learn that the early injuries could have been but little, and could only have affected details which seem comparatively unimportant; even though to those who *then* lived they seemed to be a general dissight to the edifice. It is in after ages, when the whole has been mellowed by time, that an estimate can be best formed of the relation of the much that is uninjured to the parts which are dilapidated, and the endeavour can be most successfully made to search out every fallen stone, every piece of broken tracery, and to fit them into the places which unskilful hands have sought (it may be) to repair with unsuited and extraneous materials.

INTRODUCTIONS

TO THE RESPECTIVE

BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

It will be for the reader's convenience to be informed that in the Introductions to the books of the New Testament, the office of the Editor has been principally confined to making such additions and alterations as would bring down the analysis of the New Testament as written by the Rev. T. H. Horne to the present time. Expressions of *opinion*, &c. (when not otherwise noted) are *his*. In some cases the accounts of past controversies require to be differently stated, and often a few additional words suffice to do this. In some places the Editor has condensed the statements as much as possible, especially when subjects of *past* rather than present inquiry are under consideration. Corrections have been freely introduced where required from the results of more recent investigations, and where needful the Editor has made additions distinguished from Mr. Horne's text. In this he believes that the reader's advantage and convenience have been consulted. Mr. Horne's references to authorities stand in general unaltered; but when there was the opportunity of referring to a more original source, the Editor has made the change. With regard to modern inquiries and sceptical objections, it has often not been needful to enter into much detail. If we are satisfied *on grounds of evidence* as to the authorship of the books of Holy Scripture, surmises and assertions to the contrary need not be made too prominent. It will also be found much more frequently than the pride of many moderns lets them allow, that recent discoveries (as they are deemed) in the region of scepticism are nothing whatever but the revival of some very old and long-refuted objection: a new dress, a new terminology, and a few German names (deemed nothing worth in their own country, and who do not themselves *believe* their own speculations), are deemed sufficient to give currency amongst some, both in this country and in the United States, to sentiments long ago refuted, and which present nothing new, so far as facts are concerned, to the minds of those who are conversant with discussions on these subjects. Others depart from the ground of facts and evidence, and assume a philosophic standing, and argue as to the truth (or the contrary) of revelation from their own subjective feelings. It is well for the

student to be kept ever alive to the absolute claims of *evidence*, and to remember that while opinions may change and re-change, *ascertained facts* and real *objective truth* must ever be the same.

CHAPTER I.

ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF THE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

VARIOUS modes of arranging the books of the New Testament have obtained at different times; nor does the order in which they are to be found in manuscripts always correspond with that in which they occur in the printed copies and modern translations. The collection and arrangement of the books of the New Testament belong properly to the history of the Canon as such. The greater part of the twenty-seven writings are known to have been in very early use. The four Gospels formed a *collection* at an early period of the second century, and so did the Epistles of St. Paul. To these collections the other books were *gradually* added, so that all were known in the early part of the third century to different Christian writers, and from the beginning of the fourth the union of all the books in one code became habitual.[1] Athanasius, or the author of the Synopsis of the Sacred Scriptures attributed to him, makes the New Testament to consist of eight volumes or parts, viz. the four Gospels; the *fifth* book is the Acts of the Apostles; the *sixth* contains the seven Catholic Epistles; the *seventh*, the fourteen Epistles of St. Paul; and the *eighth*, the Revelation of St. John. In a later age, Leontius of Byzantium[2] distributed the books of the New Testament into six books or parts, the *first* of which comprised the Gospels of Matthew and Mark; the *second* those of Luke and John; the *third*, the Acts of the Apostles; the *fourth*, the seven Catholic Epistles; the *fifth*, the Epistles of St. Paul; and the *sixth* the Apocalypse. But the more modern, and certainly more convenient arrangement, is that of the *Historical, Doctrinal*, and *Prophetical* Books.

The HISTORICAL BOOKS are such as contain principally matters of fact, though points of faith and doctrine are also interwoven. They consist of two parts; the *first*, comprising the four Gospels, relates the transactions of Jesus Christ. These, when formed into a volume, have sometimes been collectively termed Εὐαγγέλιον, *the Gospel*, and Εὐαγγελίων Γραφή, *the Scripture of the Gospels*. The *second* part of these historical books relates the transactions of the Apostles, especially those of Peter and Paul, and comprises the books called the Acts of the Apostles. The DOCTRINAL BOOKS include the fourteen Pauline, and also the seven Catholic Epistles. The appellation of *Catholic Epistles*, whatever be its origin, is of considerable

[1] See Westcott's "History of the Canon of the New Testament during the first four Centuries" (Cambridge, Macmillan, 1855); and for an outline of the evidence, Tregelles's "Lecture on the authorship and transmission of the Books of the New Testament" (Bagster, 1852).

[2] De Sectis, art. 2. cited by Heidegger, Manuale Biblicum, p. 441. and Rumpæus, Com. Crit. ad Libros N. T. p. 97.

antiquity, being mentioned by Eusebius, Jerome, and the pseudo-Athanasius.[1] The Revelation of St. John forms the PROPHETICAL class of the books of the New Testament, although in others prophecies are also interspersed.

On the preceding classification we may remark, that the appellation of Historical Books is given to the Gospels and Acts, because their subject-matter is principally historical; and that the Gospels are placed *first*, on account of the importance of their contents, which relate the history of the life, discourses, doctrines, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ, which form the primary articles of the Christian faith.[2] The book of the Acts of the Apostles is placed *second* in order, because it continues and confirms the history delivered in the Gospels, and gives an account of the churches which were planted by the Apostles. The Epistles hold the *third* place, because they contain instructions to the newly-planted churches, and more fully explain, confirm, and apply the doctrines of the Gospel. In the *fourth* place comes the Apocalypse, which, Dr. Mill remarks[3], is fitly placed last, because it predicts things that are hereafter to be fulfilled, and is therefore of a different kind from the rest; and also because it has, towards the end, that remarkable clause (Rev. xxii. 18, 19.) against adding to or taking from it, which may be applied to all the books of Scripture: to which observation we may add, that there are strong reasons for believing it to be the last written of all the books of the New Testament.[4]

With respect to the order in which particular books (especially St. Paul's Epistles) are to be placed under these respective classes, there is a considerable difference of opinion, in consequence of the diversity of the dates when the books are supposed to have been written. As these dates are particularly considered in the account of each book, given in the following pages, it may suffice at present to remark that the order now generally received is very ancient, being that mentioned by Eusebius in the early part of the fourth century, as it had probably been the order adopted long previously. Dr. Lardner (in whose judgment Bishop Tomline[5] has acquiesced) is of opinion that the received order is the best: and although it is both interesting and useful to know the order in which St. Paul's Epistles were written, yet he is of opinion that we should not deviate from that arrangement which has been so long established in most editions of the original Greek, as well as in modern versions, partly on account of the difficulty which would attend such an alteration, and also because the order of time has not yet been settled beyond the possibility of dispute.[6]

[1] Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 23. Hieronymi, Cat. Script. Eccles. (Opp. tom. i. pp. 169, 170. Francof. 1684.) Pseudo-Athanasii Synops. Sacr. Script. in Athanasii Opp. p. 59.

[2] Considerable discussion has taken place among the German critics, and some few critics in this country, respecting the sources of the four Gospels. Hypothesis has succeeded to hypothesis; and the last is as unsatisfactory as the first. For an account of the principal theories on this subject, the reader is referred to the Appendix to this volume.

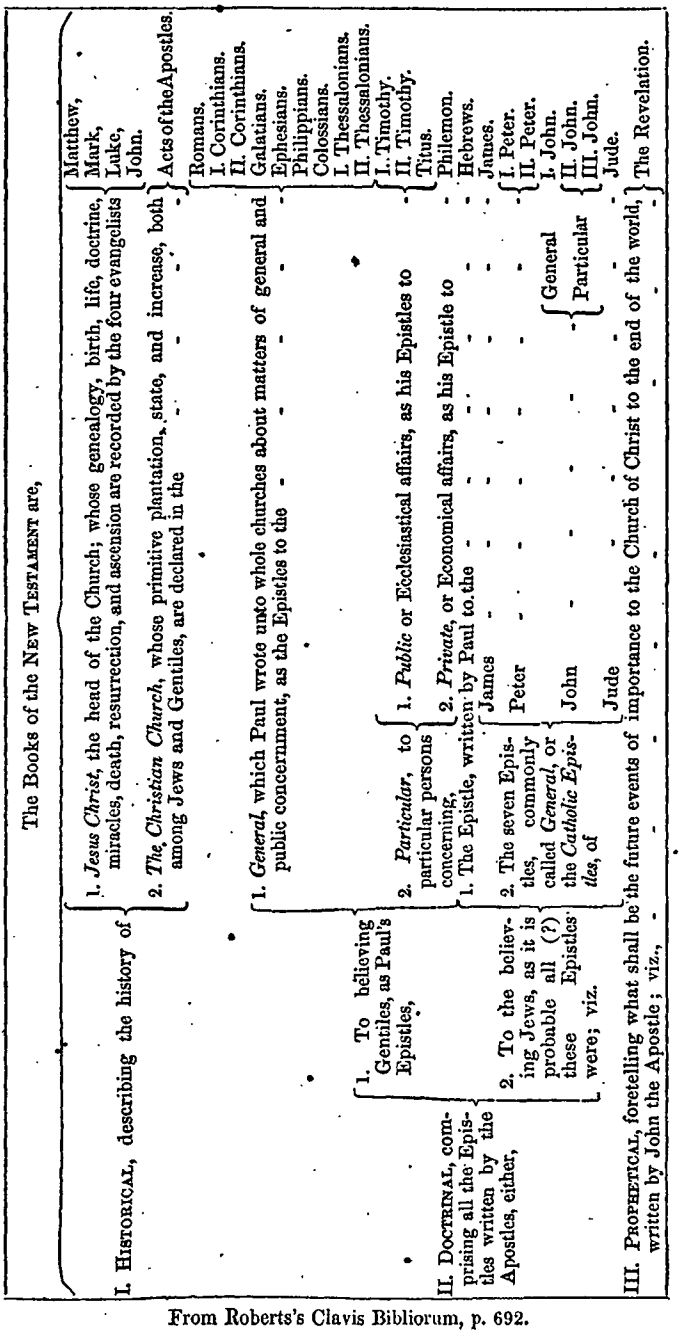
[3] Millii Prolegom. ad Nov. Test. § 239.

[4] Rumpæi. Comm. Crit. ad Nov. Test. pp. 98—120. Moldenhawer Introd. ad Lib. Bibl. pp. 204—206. Heidegger, Manuale Biblicum, pp. 441—447.

[5] Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. p. 276.

[6] Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 641—649.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 454—458.

The following table will perhaps be useful to the student, as exhibiting at one view the various classes of the books of the New Testament above enumerated.[1]


The Books of the New Testament are,
I. Historical, describing the history of
1. Jesus Christ, the head of the Church; whose genealogy, birth, life, doctrine, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension are recorded by the four evangelists
Matthew, Mark, Luke, John.
2. The Christian Church, whose primitive plantation, state, and increase, both among Jews and Gentiles, are declared in the
Acts of the Apostles.
II. Doctrinal, comprising all the Epistles written by the Apostles, either,
1. To believing Gentiles, as Paul's Epistles,
1. General, which Paul wrote unto whole churches about matters of general and public concernment, as the Epistles to the
Romans.
I. Corinthians.
II. Corinthians.
Galatians.
Ephesians.
Philippians.
Colossians.
I. Thessalonians.
II. Thessalonians.
2. Particular, to particular persons concerning,
1. Public or Ecclesiastical affairs, as his Epistles to
I. Timothy.
II. Timothy.
Titus.
2. Private, or Economical affairs, as his Epistle to
Philemon.
2. To the believing Jews, as it is probable all (?) these Epistles were; viz.
1. The Epistle, written by Paul to the
Hebrews.
2. The seven Epistles, commonly called General, or the Catholic Epistles, of
James
I. Peter.
II. Peter.
I. John.
II. John.
III. John.
Jude.
General
Particular
III. Prophetical, foretelling what shall be the future events of importance to the Church of Christ to the end of the world, written by John the Apostle; viz.,
The Revelation.

From Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 692.

CHAP. II.

ON THE NAME AND NUMBER OF THE CANONICAL GOSPELS.

I. THE word ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΝ, which we translate Gospel, among Greek profane writers[1] signifies any good tidings (from *εὖ, good,* and *ἀγγελία, message* or *tidings*), and corresponds exactly with our English word *Gospel,* which is derived from the Saxon words ȝoð, *God* or *good,* and ȝpel, *word* or *tiding,* and denotes God's word or *good tidings.* In the New Testament this term is confined to the glad tidings of the actual coming of the Messiah, and to the salvation consequently preached in his name; so that it is even opposed to the prophecies concerning Christ. (Rom. i. 1, 2.) Thus, in Matt. xi. 5. our Lord says, "the poor have the Gospel preached to them;" that is, the advent and doctrines of the Messiah or Christ are preached to the poor. Hence ecclesiastical writers gave the appellation of Gospels to the lives of Christ,—that is, to those sacred histories in which are recorded the "good tidings of great joy to all people," of the advent of the Messiah, together with all its joyful circumstances; and hence the authors of those histories have acquired the title of EVANGELISTS.[2] Besides this general title, the sacred writers use the term Gospel, when considered as a message, with a variety of epithets, which it may be necessary to mention.

Thus, it is called the *Gospel of Peace* (Eph. vi. 15.), because it proclaims peace with God to fallen man, through Jesus Christ;—*The Gospel of God concerning his Son* (Rom. i. 1. 3.), because it relates everything concerning the conception, birth, preaching, miracles, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus Christ, and their results;—*The Gospel of his Son* (Rom. i. 9.);—*The Gospel of Salvation* (Eph. i. 13.), because it brings salvation to the lost, who receive it;—*The Gospel of the Kingdom of God* (Matt. iv. 23., ix. 35., xxiv. 14., Mark i. 14.), because it proclaims the power and dominion of the Messiah, the nature and privileges of his kingdom into which it introduces, its laws, and the duties of its subjects;—*The Word or Doctrine* (λόγος) *of the Gospel* (Acts xv. 7.);—*The Word of Reconciliation* (2 Cor. v. 19.), because it makes known the manner and terms by which God is reconciled to sinners;—*The Gospel of Glory* (or the glorious Gospel) *of the blessed God* (1 Tim. i. 11.), as being that dispensation which exhibits the glory of all the divine attributes in the salvation of mankind;—and *The Gospel of the Grace of God* (Acts xx. 24.), because it is a declaration of God's free favour towards sinners who could only be met by *grace.* The blessings and privileges promised in the New Testament (1 Cor. ix. 23.); the public profession of

[1] On the various meanings of the word Εὐαγγέλιον, Schleusner's and Parkhurst's Greek Lexicon, or Leusden's Philologus Græcus (pp. 133—135.), may be advantageously consulted. [εὐαγγέλιον, *the reward of good tidings* given to the messenger, Od. 14. 152. 166. II. *good tidings, good news,* Luc. Asin. 26. Plut. &c." Liddell and Scott.]

[2] Rosenmüller; Scholia in N. T. tom. i. pp. 2, 3. Michaelis, vol. iii. pp. 1, 2.

Christian doctrine (Mark viii. 35., x. 29., 2 Tim. i. 8., Philem. ver. 13.); and in Gal. i. 6. 8, 9. any new doctrines, whether true or false, are respectively called *Gospel*[1], from what they *profess* to be, not from what they are.

II. The general design of the Evangelists in writing the Gospels was, doubtless, to confirm the Christians of that (and every succeeding) age in their belief of the truth that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, through whom alone they can obtain eternal life (John xx. 31.), and also to defend this momentous truth against the calumnies of the adversaries of the Christian faith. For, as the Jews, and those who supported the Jewish superstition, would calumniate, and endeavour to render suspected, the oral declarations of the Apostles concerning the life, transactions, and resurrection of our Saviour, it strengthened the faith and courage of the first Christians, and it was needful for their successors, that the most important events in the history of Jesus Christ should be committed to writing in an authoritative narration which should set forth his dignity and divine majesty. This task was executed by two *Apostles*, Matthew and John, and *two companions* of the Apostles, Mark and Luke. Of these Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and Luke have chiefly related the actions and doctrines of Jesus in Galilee, probably on account of the false reports circulated by the Jews of Jerusalem; who, being unable to deny the memorable and notorious transactions performed there by Jesus Christ, seem to have directed all their efforts to invalidate the credibility of what he is said to have taught and done in Galilee. This is the more likely, as we know that they held the Galileans in the utmost contempt, as well as everything which came from that country. (John vii. 52.) Such appears to have been the reason why these three Evangelists have related the transactions of Jesus Christ in Galilee more at length; while, with the exception of his passion and resurrection, they have only touched briefly on the other circumstances of his life.[2] On the contrary, John expatiates more largely on the actions and doctrines of our Saviour both at Jerusalem and in Judæa, and adds a variety of particulars omitted by the others.

III. The Gospels which have been transmitted to us are four in number; and we learn from undoubted authority that four, and four only, were ever received by the Christian church as the genuine and inspired writings of the Evangelists.[3] Many of the ancient Fathers have attempted to assign the reason why we have precisely this number of Gospels, and have fancied that they discovered a mysterious analogy between the four Gospels and the four winds, the four regions or corners of the earth, the four rivers of Paradise, and the four corners and four rings of the ark of the covenant! But the most celebrated analogy is that of the four animals described by Ezekiel (i. 5—10.),

[1] Dr. Clarke's Preface to the Gospel of Matthew, p. ii. 4.

[2] [One reason why the narratives of the Evangelists relate so much to Galilee, is because that region was the principal scene of our Lord's ministry.]

[3] Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 11. expressly states that in the *second* century the *four* Gospels were received by the church. See additional testimonies to the number of the Gospels in the Index to Dr. Lardner's Works, voce *Gospels*.

which we first find in Irenæus[1], and after him in Jerome[2], and which gave rise to the well-known paintings of the four Evangelists. The following table exhibits the most probable dates in the opinions of some, as well as the names of the places, where the historical books of the New Testament were written.

GOSPELS.	PLACES.	A. D.
Matthew (Hebrew)	Judæa	37 or 38.
——— (Greek[3])	———	61.
Mark	Rome	between 60 and 63.
Luke (Gospel)	Greece	63 or 64.
—— (Acts of the Apostles)		
John	Ephesus	97 or 98.

IV. "It is a considerable advantage that a history of such importance as that of Jesus Christ has been recorded by the pens of separate and independent writers, who, from the contradictions, whether real or apparent, which are visible in these accounts, have incontestably proved that they did not unite with a view of imposing a fabulous narrative on mankind. That St. Matthew had never seen the Gospel of St. Luke, nor St. Luke the Gospel of St. Matthew, is evident from a comparison of their writings. The Gospel of St. Mark, which was written later, must likewise have been unknown to St. Luke; and that St. Mark had ever read the Gospel of St. Luke, is at least improbable, because their Gospels so frequently differ."[4] It was an opinion received by many, that St. Mark made use of St. Matthew's Gospel in the composition of his own: but this is an hypothesis which will be discussed in a subsequent page. The Gospel of St. John, being written after the other three, supplies what they had omitted. Thus have we four distinct and independent writers of one and the same history; and, though trifling variations may seem to exist in their narratives, yet these admit of easy solutions[5]; and in all matters of consequence, whether doctrinal or historical, there is such a manifest agreement between them as is to be found in no other writings whatever.

"Though we have only four original writers of the life of Jesus, the evidence of the history does not rest on the testimony of four men. Christianity had been propagated in a great part of the world before any of them had written, on the testimony of thousands and tens of thousands, who had been witnesses of the great facts which

[1] Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 11. The first living creature, says this Father, which is like a lion, signifies Christ's efficacy, principality, and regality, viz. John;—the second, like a calf, denotes his sacerdotal order, viz. Luke;—the third, having as it were a man's face, describes his coming in the flesh as man, viz. Matthew;—and the fourth, like a flying eagle, manifests the grace of the Spirit flying into the church, viz. Mark. [In this comparison Mark and John were afterwards interchanged.]

[2] Jerome, Procem. in Matth. The reader, who is desirous of reading more of these fanciful analogies, will find them collected by Suicer, in his Thesaurus Ecclesiasticus, tom. i. pp. 1222, 1223.

[3] [This is stated on the *theory* of a twofold original of St. Matthew. The *places* at which the books are said to have been written are very uncertain.]

[4] Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 4.

[5] [It is now (1856) particularly important to remember that the contradictions which are alleged to exist in the Scriptures are only *apparent*, since not a few seek to impugn the authority of the word of God, on the ground of such *supposed* discrepancies, in a manner which would be deemed inapplicable to any other writings.]

they have recorded; so that the writing of these particular books is not to be considered as the *cause*, but rather the *effect*, of the belief of Christianity; nor could those books have been written and received as they were, viz. as *authentic histories*, of the subject of which all persons of that age were judges, if the facts they have recorded had not been well known to be true."[1]

CHAP. III.

ON THE GOSPEL BY ST. MATTHEW.

I. In some Greek and Latin manuscripts and the earlier printed editions, as well as in many Greek and Latin Fathers, the TITLE of this book is, Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον, "Gospel according to Matthew." In many other MSS., however, but of later date, it is Τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον, which should be rendered "The Holy Gospel according to Matthew," rather than "The Gospel according to Saint Matthew." In the Vatican MS. it is only KATA MAΘΘAION. But in many of the ancient Greek manuscripts, and in several editions, it is Τὸ κατὰ Ματθαῖον Εὐαγγέλιον, which in the ancient Latin versions is rendered *Evangelium secundum Matthæum*,—the Gospel according to Matthew: κατὰ Ματθαῖον being equivalent to τοῦ Ματθαίου, as the preposition κατὰ is used by Greek writers in the same manner as the ל of the Hebrews in many of the titles of the psalms,—to indicate the author. The "Gospel according to Matthew," therefore, means the history of or by Matthew, concerning the life, acts, and doctrines of Jesus Christ[2]; or the Gospel History as attested by Matthew. The title varies in the ancient versions, later amplifications being introduced.

II. Matthew, surnamed Levi, was the son of Alphæus; opinions, however, differ whether that Alphæus or Cleopas who was the father of James mentioned in Matt. x. 3.[3] He was apparently a native of Galilee, but of what city in that country, or of what tribe of the people of Israel, we are not informed. Before his conversion to Christianity, he was a publican or tax-gatherer, under the Romans, and collected the customs of all goods exported or imported at Capernaum, a maritime town on the sea of Galilee, and also received the tribute paid by all passengers who went by water. While employed "at the receipt of custom," Jesus called him to be a witness of his words and works, and afterwards chose him as one of the twelve to whom he gave the office of an apostle. From that time he continued with Jesus Christ, a familiar attendant on his person, a spectator of his public and private conduct, a hearer of his dis-

[1] Dr. Priestley's Notes on the Bible, vol. iii. p. 7.

[2] A similar mode of expression occurs in the second apocryphal Book of Maccabees (ii. 13.), where we read καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνηματίσμοις τοις KATA TON NEEMIAN, in our version rendered "the commentaries of NEEMIAS."

[3] "He was the son of Alphæus (Mark ii. 14.), and therefore probably the brother of James the Less." Alford's Proleg. II. 1.

courses, a beholder of his miracles, and a witness of his resurrection. After our Saviour's ascension, Matthew continued at Jerusalem with the other apostles, and with them, on the day of Pentecost, was endowed with the gift of the Holy Ghost. How long he remained in Judæa after that event, we have no authentic account. Socrates, an ecclesiastical historian of the fifth century, relates, that when the apostles went abroad to preach to the Gentiles, Thomas took Parthia for his lot; Bartholomew, India; and Matthew, Ethiopia. One opinion is, that he was crowned with martyrdom at Naddabar or Naddaver, a city in that country: but this is contradicted by the account of Heracleon, a learned Valentinian of the second century; who, as cited by Clement of Alexandria[1], reckons Matthew among the apostles that did not die by martyrdom: and as his statement is not contradicted, but is even confirmed, by Clement, who (as well as Origen and Tertullian) also speaks of Peter, Paul, and James the Greater as the only martyrs amongst the apostles,—it is more likely to be true than the relation of Socrates, who did not flourish until three hundred years after Heracleon.[2]

III. Matthew is generally supposed to have written first of all the Evangelists. His Gospel is uniformly placed first in all the codes or volumes of the Gospels; and the priority is constantly given to it in all the quotations of the primitive Fathers, as well as of the early heretics. Its precedence, therefore, need not be questioned, though the precise time when it was composed is a question that has been greatly agitated. Mill, Michaelis, and Bishop Percy, after Irenæus[3], assign it to the year 61; Moldenhawer, to 61 or 62; Hales to 63; Lardner and Hewlett, to 64; Baronius, Grotius, Wetstein, Jer. Jones, and others, after Eusebius[4], to 41; Benson, to 43; Cave, to 48; Owen and Tomline, to 38; and Townson, to the year 37. In this conflict of opinions, it is difficult to decide. The accounts left us by the ecclesiastical writers of antiquity, concerning the times

[1] Stromata, lib. 4. p. 502. B. See the passage in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. p. 48.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 159.

[2] Lardner's Works, vol. vi. pp. 45—47. 8vo.; or vol. iii. p. 157—159. 4to. Pritii Introductio ad Lectionem Novi Testamenti, pp. 154—157. Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iii. pp. 96—99.

[3] Of all the primitive fathers, Irenæus (who flourished in the second century) is the only one who has said anything concerning the exact time when St. Matthew's Gospel was written; and the passage (Adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 1.) in which he has mentioned it is so obscure, that no positive conclusion can be drawn from it. Dr. Lardner (8vo. vol. vi. p. 49.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 160.) and Dr. Townson (Discourse iv. on the Gospels, sect. iv. § 6.) understand it in very different senses. The following is a literal translation of the original passage, which the reader will find in Dr. Lardner's works. *Matthew put forth* (or published) *a gospel among the Hebrews while Peter and Paul were preaching the Gospel at Rome and laying the foundations of a church there.* Now, though it does not appear that Peter was at Rome until after Paul's liberation from his first imprisonment, A. D. 63., yet we may suppose that the latter arrived there in the spring of A. D. 61., consequently the date intended by Irenæus (if he has been rightly understood) must be the year 61. [The passage in Irenæus *with the context* seems only to be intended to state that Matthew *preached* first and *wrote* afterwards.]

[4] Eusebius, who lived in the early part of the fourth century, merely says that Matthew, after preaching to the Hebrews, wrote his Gospel for their information, previously to his going to evangelise other nations (Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 24.); but he does not specify the time, nor is it mentioned by any other ancient writer. In his *Chronicon*, however, Eusebius places the writing of St. Matthew's Gospel in the third year of the reign of the emperor Caligula, that is, eight years after Christ's ascension, or A. D. 41.

when the Gospels were written or published, are so vague, confused, and discordant, that they lead us to no solid or certain determination. The earliest of the writers who speak on the subject seem not to have thought about assigning a date. Since then *external* evidence affords us but little assistance, it becomes necessary to have recourse to the *internal* testimony which the Gospel of St. Matthew affords, and we apprehend that it will be found to preponderate in favour of an early date.

In the first place, it is by no means probable that the Christians should be left any considerable number of years without a genuine and authentic written history of our Saviour's ministry. "It is certain," Bishop Tomline remarks, "that the apostles, immediately after the descent of the Holy Ghost, which took place only ten days after the ascension of our Saviour into heaven, preached the Gospel to the Jews with great success: and surely it is reasonable to suppose that an authentic account of our Saviour's doctrines and miracles would very soon be committed to writing for the confirmation of those who believed in his divine mission, and for the conversion of others, and more particularly to enable the Jews to compare the circumstances of the birth, death, and resurrection of Jesus with their ancient prophecies relative to the Messiah: and we may conceive that the apostles would be desirous of losing no time in writing an account of the miracles which Jesus performed, and of the discourses which he delivered, because, the sooner such an account was published, the easier it would be to inquire into its truth and accuracy; and, consequently, when these points were satisfactorily ascertained, the greater would be its weight and authority."[1] On these accounts the learned prelate assigns the date of St. Matthew's Gospel to the year 38.

Secondly, as the sacred writers had a regard to the circumstances of the persons for whose use they wrote, we have an additional evidence for the early date of this Gospel, in the state of persecution in which the church was at the time when it was written: for it contains many obvious references to such a state, and many very apposite addresses both to the *injured* and to the *injurious* party.

[1] Elem. of Christ. Theol. vol. i. p. 301. The following observations of the critic Le Clerc, will materially confirm the preceding remarks. "Those," says he, "who think that the Gospels were written so late as Irenæus states, and who suppose that, for the space of about thirty years after our Lord's ascension, there were many spurious Gospels in the hands of the Christians, and not one that was genuine and authentic, do unwarily cast a very great reflection upon the wisdom of the apostles. For, what could have been more imprudent in them, than tamely to have suffered the idle stories concerning Christ to be read by the Christians, and not to contradict them by some authentic history, written by some credible persons, which might reach the knowledge of all men? For my part, I can never be persuaded to entertain so mean an opinion of men under the direction of the Holy Spirit. Besides, Matthew has delivered to us, not only the actions, but also the discourses of Christ; and this he must necessarily be able to do with the greater certainty, while they were fresh in his memory, than when, through length of time, he began to lose the impressions of them. It is true that the Holy Spirit was with the apostles, to bring all the things to their remembrance, which they had received of Christ, according to his promise (John xiv. 26.): but the Holy Spirit not only inspired them, but also dealt with them according to their natural powers, as the variety of expressions in the Gospel shows." Clerici Hist. Eccles. sæculi I. A. D LXII. § 9.

1. Thus, the Evangelist informs the *injured* and persecuted Christians, that their afflictions were no more than they had been taught to expect, and had promised to bear, when they embraced the Gospel (x. 21, 22. 34—36., xvi. 24.); that, however unreasonable their sufferings might be, considered as the effects of the malice of their enemies, they were yet useful and profitable to themselves, considered as trials of their faith and fidelity (v. 11., xxiv. 9—13.); that, though they were grievous to be borne at present, yet they operated powerfully to their future joy (v. 4. 10—12.); that a pusillanimous desertion of the faith would be so far from bettering their state and condition, that it would infallibly expose them to greater calamities, and cut them off from the hopes of heaven (x. 28. 32, 33. 39.); that they were not, however, forbidden to use the lawful means of preservation; but even enjoined to put them in practice, whenever they could do it with innocence (x. 16, 17. 23.); that the due observance of the Christian precepts was an excellent method to appease the wrath and fury of their enemies, and what therefore they were obliged in point of prudence as well as duty carefully to mind and attend to (v. 39., vii. 12. 24—27., v. 13—20.); that if it should be their fate to suffer martyrdom at last for their religion, it was infinitely better to continue faithful to their important trust, than by any base compliance to incur his displeasure, in whose hands are the issues not only of this life, but also of that which is to come. (xvi. 25—27., x. 28.)

2. On the other hand, again, to calm the passions of the enraged Jews, and win them over to the profession of the Gospel, he labours to soften and abate their prejudices, and to engage them in the practice of meekness and charity. (ix. 13.) To this end, he lays before them the dignity and amiableness of a compassionate, benevolent disposition (v. 43. 48., xviii. 23—35.)[1]; the natural good consequences that are annexed to it here; and the distinguished regard which the Almighty himself will pay to it hereafter. (v. 5. 7. 9., x. 40—42., xviii. 23—35., v. 21—26., xxv. 31—46.) Then he reminds them of the repeated punishments which God had inflicted on their forefathers for their cruel and barbarous treatment of his prophets, and assures them that a still more accumulated vengeance was reserved for themselves, if they obstinately persisted in the ways of cruelty (xxiii. 27—39., x. 14, 15.); for God, though patient and long-suffering, was sure at last to vindicate his elect, and to punish their oppressors, unless they repented, believed, and reformed, with the dreadful rigour of a general destruction. (xxiv. 2. &c.)

These and similar arguments which St. Matthew has inserted in the body of his Gospel (by way of comfort to the afflicted Christians, and also as a warning to their injurious oppressors and persecutors), evidently refer to a state of distress and persecution under which the church of Christ laboured at the time when the Evangelist advanced and urged them. Now the greatest persecution ever raised against the church, while it was composed only of Jewish and Samaritan converts, was that which was commenced by the Sanhedrin, and was afterwards continued and conducted by Saul with implacable rage and fury. During this calamity, which lasted in the whole about six years, viz. till the third year of Caligula A. D. 39 or 40 (when the Jews were too much alarmed concerning their own affairs to give any further disturbance to the Christians), the members of the Christian church stood in need of all the support, consolation, and assistance that could be administered to them. But what comfort could they possibly receive, in their distressed situation, comparable to that which resulted from the example of their suffering Master, and the promise he had made to his faithful followers? This example, and those promises, St. Matthew seasonably laid before them, towards the close of this period of trial, for their imitation and encouragement, and delivered it to them, as the anchor of their hope, to keep them steadfast

[1] The same temper is also particularly illustrated in all our Saviour's miracles.

in this violent tempest. From this consideration Dr. Owen was led to fix the date of St. Matthew's Gospel to the year 38.[1]

Thirdly, St. Matthew ascribes those titles of sanctity to Jerusalem, by which it had been distinguished by the prophets and ancient historians[2], and also speaks with a higher veneration for the temple than the other Evangelists[3]: as if the work were intended for Jews *before* the destruction of Jerusalem, and not *after* it, as a recent scoffing antagonist of Christianity has asserted, contrary to all evidence. The Evangelist's comparative gentleness in mentioning John the Baptist's reproof of Herod, and his silence concerning the insults offered by Herod to our Lord on the morning of his crucifixion, are additional evidences for the early date of his Gospel: for, as Herod was still reigning in Galilee, the Evangelist displayed no more of that sovereign's bad character than was absolutely necessary, lest he should excite Herod's jealousy of his believing subjects or their disaffection to him. If he was influenced by these motives, he must have written before the year 39, for in that year Herod was deposed and banished to Lyons by Caligula.

Lastly, to omit circumstances of minor importance, Matthew's frequent mention (not fewer than nine times) of Pilate, as governor of Judæa, is an additional evidence of the early date of his Gospel. For Josephus[4] informs us, that Pilate having been ordered by Vitellius, governor of Syria, to go to Rome, to answer a complaint of the Samaritans before the emperor, hastened thither, but before he arrived the emperor was dead. Now, as Tiberius died in the spring of 37, it is highly probable that St. Matthew's Gospel was written by that time[5], if he regarded Pilate as governor when he wrote.

Dr. Lardner[6], however, and Bishop Percy[7], think that they discover marks of a lower date in St. Matthew's writings. They argue from the knowledge which he shows of the spirituality of the Gospel, and of the excellence of the moral above the ceremonial law; and from the great clearness with which the comprehensive design of the Christian dispensation, as extending to the whole Gentile world, together with the rejection of the Jews, is unfolded in this Gospel. Of these topics, they suppose the Evangelist not to have treated until a course of years had developed their meaning, removed his Jewish prejudices, and given him a clearer discernment of their nature.

This objection, however, carries but little force with it. For, in the first place, as Dr. Townson has justly observed, with regard to the doctrinal part of his Gospel, if St. Matthew exhibits a noble idea of pure religion and morality, he teaches no more than he had heard frequently taught, and often opposed to the maxims of the Jews, by his divine instructor. And when the Holy Spirit, the guide into all

[1] Owen's Observations on the Four Gospels, (8vo. Lond. 1764.) pp. 8—21.

[2] Compare Neh. xi. 1. 18., Isa. xlviii. 2. lii. 1., Dan. ix. 24., with Matt. iv. 5. v. 35. xxvii. 53.

[3] Compare Matt. xxi. 12. with Mark xi. 15.; Luke xix. 45. and Matt. xxvi. 61. with Mark xiv. 58.

[4] Ant. Jud. lib. xviii. c. iv. § 2.

[5] Dr. Townson's Discourses on the Gospels, Works, vol. i. pp. 107—115.

[6] Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 57, 58.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 163, 164.

[7] Key to the New Test. p. 55. 3d edit.

truth, had descended upon him, it seems strange to imagine that he still wanted twenty or thirty years to enlighten his mind. If he was not then furnished with knowledge to relate these things as an evangelist, how was he qualified to preach them to the Jews as an apostle? And where, on such a theory, would his inspiration have been?

In the next place, it is true that the prophetic parts of his Gospel declare the extent of Christ's kingdom, and the calling and acceptance of the Gentiles. But these events had been plainly foretold by the ancient prophets, and were expected by devout Israelites to happen in the days of the Messiah[1]; and in those passages which relate to the universality of the Gospel dispensation, the Evangelist merely states that the Gospel would be successfully preached among the Gentiles in all parts of the earth. He only recites the words of our Saviour without any explanation or remark; and we know it was promised to the apostles, that after Christ's ascension, the Holy Ghost should bring all things to their remembrance, and guide them into all truth. "Whether St. Matthew was aware of the call of the Gentiles, before the Gospel was actually embraced by them, cannot be ascertained: nor is it material, since it is generally agreed, that the inspired penmen often did not comprehend the full meaning of their own writings when they referred to future events; and it is obvious that it might answer a good purpose to have the future call of the Gentiles intimated in an authentic history of our Saviour's ministry, to which the believing Jews might refer when that extraordinary and unexpected event should take place. Their minds would thus be more easily satisfied; and they would more readily admit the comprehensive design of the Gospel, when they found it declared in a book which they acknowledged as the rule of their faith and practice."[2]

Once more, with respect to the argument deduced from this Evangelist's mentioning prophecies and prophetic parables that speak of the rejection and overthrow of the Jews, it may be observed, that if this argument means, that, being at first prejudiced in favour of a kingdom to be restored to Israel, he could not understand these prophecies, and therefore would not think of relating them if he wrote early;—though the premises should be admitted, we may justly deny the conclusion. St. Matthew might not clearly discern in what manner the predictions were to be accomplished, yet he must see, what they all denounced, that God would reject those who rejected the Gospel: hence, he always had an inducement to notify them to his countrymen; and the sooner he apprised them of their danger, the greater charity he showed them.[3]

Since, therefore, the objections to the early date by no means balance the weight of evidence in its favour, it may appear that we

[1] Thus Zacharias, the father of the Baptist, speaks of Christ as coming *to give light to them that sit in darkness and in the shadow of death* (Luke i. 79.), which description includes the Gentiles; and Simeon expressly calls him *a light to lighten the Gentiles.* (Luke ii. 32.)

[2] Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christ. Theol. vol. i. p. 302.

[3] Dr. Townson's Discourses, disc. iv. sect. iv. Works, vol. i. pp. 116, 117.

are justified in assigning the date of this Gospel to about the year of our Lord 37 or 38. On the theory that St. Matthew wrote both in *Hebrew and Greek*, some have referred the early date of A.D. 37 or 38 to the *former*, and A.D. 61 to the *latter*, so as to reconcile the apparently conflicting testimonies of Irenæus and Eusebius above mentioned.

IV. The next subject of inquiry respects the LANGUAGE in which St. Matthew wrote his Gospel, and which has been contested among critics with no small degree of acrimony. Erasmus, Paræus, Calvin, Le Clerc, Fabricius, Pfeiffer, Dr. Lightfoot, Beausobre, Basnage, Wetstein, Rumpæus, Dr. Whitby, Edelmann, Hug, Fritzsche, Hoffman, Moldenhawer, Viser, Harles, Jones, Drs. Jortin, Lardner, Hey, and Hales, Hewlett, Alford (now), and others, have strenuously vindicated the GREEK original of St. Matthew's Gospel. On the other hand, Bellarmin, Grotius, Casaubon, Bishops Walton and Tomline, Drs. Cave, Hammond, Mill, Harwood, Owen, Campbell, and A. Clarke, Simon, Tillemont, Pritius, Du Pin, Calmet, Michaelis, Storr, Alber, Grawitz, Davidson, Tregelles, Westcott, and others, have supported what was stated as a fact by John the Presbyter, Papias, and Irenæus, and held by Origen, Cyril, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Jerome, and other early writers, and by *all* up to the time of Erasmus, that this Gospel was written in HEBREW, that is, in the Western Aramæan or Syro-Chaldaic dialect then spoken by the Jews, which consisted chiefly of words derived from Hebrew origin, and was in fact the Hebrew corrupted by a large mixture of foreign words. A third opinion has been offered by Dr. Townson, and some few modern divines, that there were TWO originals, one in Hebrew, and the other in Greek. He thinks that there *seems* to be more reason for allowing two originals, than for contesting either; the consent of antiquity pleading strongly for the Hebrew, and evident marks of originality for the Greek.

1. The allegation, in favour of the opinion *first* stated, that St. Matthew wrote in GREEK, rests on the opinion that that was the prevailing language in the time of our Saviour and his apostles. Matthew, too, while he was a collector of customs, and before he was called to be an apostle, would have frequent occasions both to write and to speak Greek, and could not discharge his office without understanding that language. We may therefore (say the advocates for this hypothesis) consider it as highly probable, or even certain, that he understood Greek. Besides, as all the other Evangelists and Apostles wrote their Gospels and Epistles in that language for the use of Christians (whether Jews or Gentiles) throughout the known world, and as St. Matthew's Gospel, though in the first instance written for the use of Jewish and Samaritan converts, was ultimately designed for universal dissemination, it is not likely that it was written in any other language than that which was employed by all the other writers of the New Testament. This presumption is corroborated by the numerous and remarkable instances of verbal agreement between Matthew and the other Evangelists; which, on the supposition that he wrote in Hebrew, or the vernacular Syro-Chaldaic

dialect, would not (they say) be credible. Even those who maintain that opinion are obliged (it is said) to confess that an early Greek translation of this Gospel was in existence before Mark and Luke composed theirs, which they saw and consulted. After all, the main point in dispute is, whether the present Greek copy is entitled to the *authority* of an original or not; and as this is a question of real and serious importance, we shall proceed to state the principal arguments on both sides.

2. The modern advocates for the *second* opinion above noticed, viz. that St. Matthew wrote in HEBREW, lay most stress upon the testimonies of John the Presbyter, of Papias (Bishop of Hierapolis, A.D. 116), of Irenæus (A.D. 178), and of Origen (A.D. 230); which testimonies have been followed by Chrysostom, Jerome, and others of the early Fathers of the Christian church.[1] But Wetstein says that these good men do not so properly bear testimony, as deliver their own conjectures, which we are not bound to admit, unless they are supported by good reasons. Supposing and taking it for granted that Matthew wrote for the Jews in Judæa, they concluded that he wrote in Hebrew[2]: and because the Fathers formed this conclusion, modern writers, relying on their authority, have also inferred that Matthew composed his Gospel in that language. Let us now review their testimonies.

(1.) Papias (repeating apparently the words of John the Presbyter), as cited by Eusebius, says[3], "Matthew composed the divine oracles in the *Hebrew* dialect, *and each interpreted them as he was able.*"

(2.) Irenæus, as quoted by the same historian[4], says, "Matthew published also a Scripture of the Gospel among the Hebrews, in their own dialect."

(3.) Origen, as cited by Eusebius[5], says, "As I have learned *by tradition* concerning the four Gospels, which alone are received without dispute by the whole church of God under Heaven. — The first was written by Matthew, once a publican, afterwards an apostle of Jesus Christ, who published it for the believers of Judaism, *composed in Hebrew letters.*"

In opposition to these testimonies, it is contended by the advocates for the Greek original of the Gospel,

i. That the testimony of Papias, who was a weak and credulous man[6], is vague and indecisive; that he had not seen the Hebrew Gospel itself; that it could not have been intended for universal circulation by his own account, because every one was not able to

[1] The various testimonies of the ancient Fathers concerning the Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel are produced and considered at length by J. T. Buslav, in his Dissertatio Historico-Critico Exegetica de Lingua Originali Evangelii secundum Matthæum. Vratislaviæ, 1826. 8vo.

[2] Wetstenii Nov. Test. tom. i. p. 224. *note.*

[3] Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν ΕΒΡΑΙΔΙ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΩ ΤΑ ΛΟΓΙΑ ΣΥΝΕΓΡΑΨΑΤΟ· ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἠδύνατο ἕκαστος. Eusebii Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 39. tom. i. p. 133. edit. Reading.

[4] Ὁ μὲν δὴ Ματθαῖος ἐν τοῖς ΕΒΡΑΙΟΙΣ, ΕΝ ΤΗι ΙΔΙΑι ΑΥΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΩι ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΦΗΝ ΕΞΕΝΕΓΚΕΝ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟΥ. Ibid. lib. v. c. 8. tom. i. p. 219.

[5] Ibid. lib. vi. c. 25. tom. i. p. 290. Ὡς ἐν παραδόσει μαθὼν περὶ τῶν τεσσάρων εὐαγγελίων ..... ὅτι πρωτὸν μὲν γέγραπται τὸ κατὰ .... ΜΑΤΘΑΙΟΝ ἐκδεδωκότα τοῖς ἀπὸ Ἰουδαϊσμοῦ πιστεύσασι, ΓΡΑΜΜΑΣΙΝ ΕΒΡΑΙΚΟΙΣ ΣΥΝΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΟΝ.

[6] See Jortin's Remarks on Eccl Hist. vol. i. pp. 309, 310. 2d edit.

interpret it; and that the Greek Gospel was published before his time, as appears from the express or tacit references made by the apostolical Fathers who were all prior to Papias, and all of whom wrote in Greek.

ii. The passage of Irenæus above given has been by some so translated as to signify that, in addition to his Greek Gospel, Matthew published ALSO a Hebrew Gospel, for the benefit of the Hebrews, or converts from Judaism, who used no other language but the vernacular dialect of Palestine. This, Dr. Hales thinks, was most probably the fact.[1] This might be the original basis of the Gospel of the Nazarenes, the Gospel of the Ebionites, the Gospel according to the Hebrews, cited by Origen, Epiphanius, and Jerome, which in process of time became so adulterated by these Judaising converts, as to lose all authority in the church, and be deemed spurious.

iii. The testimony of Origen has been thought perfectly to correspond with this: for surely, it has been said, when he cited *tradition* for the existence of a Hebrew Gospel, written by Matthew for the converts from Judaism, he by no means denied but rather presupposed his Greek Gospel, written for all classes of Christians, *composing the whole church of God under heaven*, for whose use the Hebrew Gospel would be utterly inadequate. In fact, in his treatise on prayer, he intimates that the Evangelist published it in Greek also; for, discoursing on the word ἐπιούσιον, he considers it as formed by the Evangelists themselves.[2] That Origen considered the Greek as the only authentic original in his time, is evident for the following reasons:—1. Origen, in his Hexapla, was accustomed to correct the *Greek* version of the Old Testament by the Hebrew original; but he virtually confesses that he had none by which he could correct the text of Matthew's Gospel[3]; and, 2. He expressly cites[4] "a certain Gospel according to the Hebrews, if any one chooses to receive it, not as of *authority*, but for illustration" of the question he was then discussing. Now, if this Hebrew Gospel had been the production of St. Matthew, he certainly would have cited it in a different manner.

iv. In the Gospel of St. Matthew, as we now have it, there is no appearance of its being a translation; but many considerations prove the contrary. For how can we account for the interpretation of Hebrew names, which, by an author writing in Hebrew, was by no means necessary? (Compare Matt. i. 23., xxvii. 33. 46.) Again, why should the testimonies and parallel passages of the Old Testament be cited, not from the original Hebrew, but generally from the Septuagint version, even when that differs from the Hebrew? Lastly, how does

[1] This conjecture, Dr. Hales remarks, derives additional weight from the incorrect reports of Eutychius and Theophylact, that Matthew wrote his Hebrew Gospel at Jerusalem, which John the Evangelist translated into Greek. Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. p. 665.

[2] Origen de oratione, i. 246 [a] edit. de la Rue. [But see the passage with the context.]

[3] See his Words, Op. tom. iii. p. 671. edit. De la-Rue, or in Bishop Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part ii. pp. 114, 115., where they are cited and explained.

[4] Dr. Lardner has given the passage at length, Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 505.; 4to. vol. i. p. 553. [Origen no doubt did not possess a Hebrew copy of St. Matthew, in its genuine form; he referred to the Gospel according to the Hebrews because of its interpolations.]

it happen, that all the versions which are extant, such as the Latin, the Syriac, the Memphitic, the Armenian, and the Ethiopic, are adapted, not to the Hebrew original, but to the Greek translation? These questions are all readily answered, if we admit that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Greek.[1]

It only remains that we briefly notice the *third* opinion above mentioned; viz. that there were two originals,—one in Hebrew, the other in Greek, but both written by St. Matthew. This opinion, we believe, was first intimated by Sixtus Senensis[2], from whom it was adopted by Drs. Whitby[3], Benson[4], Hey, and Townson, Bishops Cleaver and Gleig, Dr. Kitto, Thiersch, the Rev. William Lee, and some other modern writers. The consent of antiquity pleads strongly for the Hebrew, and evident marks of originality for the Greek. Bishop Gleig thinks that St. Matthew, on his departure to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, left with the church of Jerusalem, or at least with some of its members, the Hebrew or Syriac memorandums of our Lord's doctrines and miracles, which he had made for his own use at the time when the doctrines were taught, and the miracles performed; and that the Greek Gospel was written long after the apostles had quitted Jerusalem, and dispersed themselves in the discharge of the duties of their office. This conjecture receives some countenance from the terms in which Eusebius, when giving his own opinion, mentions St. Matthew's Gospel. "Matthew," says that historian, "having first preached to the Hebrews, delivered to them, when he was preparing to depart to other countries, his Gospel composed in their native language; that to those, from whom he was sent away, he might by his writings supply the loss of his presence."[5] This opinion is further corroborated by the fact, that there are instances on record of authors who have themselves published the same work in two languages. Thus Josephus wrote the History of the Jewish War in Hebrew and Greek.[6] In like manner we have two originals, one in Latin the other in English, of the thirty-nine articles of the Anglican church. As St. Matthew wanted neither ability nor disposition, we cannot think he wanted inducement to "do the work of an evangelist" for his brethren of the common faith, Hellenists as well as Hebrews; to both of whom charity made him a debtor. The popular language of the first believers was Hebrew, or what is called so by the sacred and ancient ecclesiastical writers: but those who spoke Greek quickly became a considerable part of the church of Christ.

[1] Mr. Hewlett's note on Matt. i. 1. Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. pp. 664—667. Lardner's Supp. to Credibility, chap. 5. (Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 45—65.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 157—167.) Pritii, Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 298—311. Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Libros Canonicos, pp. 247—254. Michaelis, vol. iii. pp. 112—201. Rumpæi, Com. Crit. in Nov. Test. pp. 81—84. Viser, Herm. Sacr. Nov. Test. pars ii. pp. 344—352. Dr. Campbell's Preface to Matthew, vol. ii. pp. 1—20. Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. §§ 8—12. Alber, Hermeneut. Novi Test. vol. i. pp. 239—244.

[2] Sixtus Senens. Biblioth. Sanct. lib. vii. p. 582.

[3] Preface to St. Matthew's Gospel, vol. i. p. 1.

[4] Benson's Hist. of the First Planting of the Christian Religion, vol. i. p. 257.

[5] Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 24.

[6] Dr. Hey's Norrisian Lectures, vol. i. pp. 28, 29. Bishop Gleig's edit. of Stackhouse, vol. iii p. 112. Dr. Townson's Works, vol. i. pp. 30—32.

From a review of all the arguments adduced on this much litigated question, we cannot but prefer the last stated opinion as that which best harmonises with the consent of antiquity, namely, that St. Matthew wrote first a Hebrew Gospel for the use of the first Hebrew converts. Its subsequent disappearance is easily accounted for, by its being so corrupted by the Ebionites that it lost all its authority in the church, and was deemed spurious, and also by the prevalence of the Greek language, especially after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the Jewish language and everything belonging to the Jews fell into the utmost contempt. It also is clear, that our present Greek Gospel is an authentic original, and consequently an inspired production of the Evangelist Matthew, written (not as Bishop Gleig and other writers suppose, long after our Lord's resurrection and ascension, but) within a few years after these memorable and important events.[1]

[On this opinion the editor of the volume may remark that in his judgment all *testimony* is in favour of a Hebrew original of St. Matthew's Gospel, and of that only. *Every* early writer who is a witness that St. Matthew wrote a Gospel *at all*, testifies that he wrote in Hebrew. Of the Greek translator they say nothing; but no one suggests that it was Matthew himself. They received the Greek copy as *authoritative*, and as that which they had held even from the apostolic age, but they *never* say that it was the original.][2]

V. Of the GENUINENESS AND AUTHENTICITY of St. Matthew's Gospel we have the most satisfactory evidence. [In the second century, this Gospel, together with the other three, was in use in all the Christian communities; of this we have sufficient evidence in Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian. The Harmony of Tatian was called *Dia Tessarōn* (of the *four*), from the four narratives which were blended into one in its formation: these four must have been the same as were, according to Irenæus, universally acknowledged by the church of God under heaven. Justin Martyr's citations from this Gospel, though somewhat loose, are demonstrated to be from this source by the critical examination of Semisch and others. And at the beginning of the second century, we find the testimony of John the Presbyter, preserved by Papias, that Matthew was the author of this our first Gospel. In the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians, and in that of Polycarp to the Philippians, there are sentences which appear to be taken from this Gospel. And thus we receive as an historical fact, that this book was written by that Matthew whose name it bears,—an apostle of Jesus Christ.

It is important to remember the *definiteness* of this testimony, because there are theories brought forward which would cast aside the objective certainty of a fact so attested; and thus it has been said, even by those who avow their belief in the historic truth of

[1] There are extant in print two editions of a Hebrew Gospel, one published by Jean de Tilet, Bishop of Brieux, at Paris, in 1555, the other published by Munster at Basle, in 1557; but it is certain that neither of these is St. Matthew's original, and that neither of them was used by the Nazarenes or by the Ebionites. See an account of them in Michaelis, vol. iii. pp. 195—201.

[2] See Tregelles "On the original language of St. Matthew's Gospel." (Bagsters, 1850.)

Christianity and in the record of facts concerning it, that our three first Gospels were written, not by those whose names they bear, but by some from traditional knowledge. The *evidence* contradicts such notions, and *far more* the opinions of those who imagine our Gospels to have been written after the middle of the second century. The fact, therefore, is fully established, that Matthew, the apostle of our Saviour, was the author of that Gospel which is placed first in our editions of the New Testament.]

Faustus, a Manichean bishop (who wrote towards the close of the fourth century), seems to have been the only one in ancient times who denied St. Matthew's authorship. He *attempted* to prove that this Gospel was not written by St. Matthew, on account of the *oblique manner of expression* which occurs in Matt. ix. 9.: *And as Jesus passed forth from thence, he saw a* man *named Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom, and he saith unto* him, *Follow me. And* he *arose and followed him.* Hence, says Faustus, "Matthew did not write that Gospel, but some other person under his name, as is clear from those words of the pretended Matthew: for who, writing concerning himself, would say, he saw a MAN, and called HIM, and HE followed him; and would not rather say, He saw ME, and called ME, and I followed him?" Nothing, however, can be more weak than this mode of arguing; for it is an undeniable fact that this oblique way of writing is common among profane historians, both ancient and modern; who frequently speak of themselves not in the first but in the *third* person. Moses uniformly speaks thus of himself, as Jesus Christ and his disciples also very frequently did.[1] So that the objection of Faustus falls to the ground for want of proof.[2]

VI. But, though we have such a chain of unbroken evidence, the most clear and decisive that can possibly be adduced or desired, to the genuineness of St. Matthew's Gospel, several attempts have been made by those who deny the miraculous conception of our Saviour[3], to expunge the two first chapters from the sacred code, as being a spurious interpolation: and, hence, an antagonist of divine revelation took occasion (without examining the mass of evidence to the contrary) to affirm that the whole Gospel is a falsehood[4]: a notion which some of his countrymen have lamentably carried out. We have, however, indisputable evidence, both internal and external, that these chapters form an integral part of that Gospel.

[i.] With regard to the *external* evidence for the genuineness of these chapters:—

1. In the *first* place, the beginning of the third chapter (ἐν ΔΕ ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις, *Now in those days*) manifestly shows that something had preceded, to which

[1] Compare Matt. viii. 20., xi. 19., xviii. 11.; Luke xviii. 8.; John v. 23. 25—27., xxi. 24.

[2] Augustin contra Faustum, lib. xvii. c. 4. Glassii Philologia Sacra, tom. i. p. 649. edit. Dathii; or column 1238 of the Leipsic edition, 4to. 1725.

[3] Particularly by Dr. Williams in his "Free Inquiry," first published in 1771, and again in 1789, 4to.; and the editors of the modern Socinian Version of the New Testament: and more recently Prof. Andrews Norton in America.

[4] Professor Bauer, of Altorf, in Germany, boldly affirms that the narrative of the miraculous conception, recorded by Matthew and Luke, is a *philosophical mythos* or fable of later date!!! Breviarium Theologiæ Biblicæ, p. 248. Lipsiæ, 1803. 8vo. So of course Strauss.

these words must refer.[1] If we examine the end of the second chapter, where Jesus is said to have come and dwelt with his parents at Nazareth, it will be manifest to what time those words are to be referred. Some, indeed, have objected that the words "*Now in those days*" are not the words of Matthew, but of his Greek translator, who thus connected the first and second chapters with the third. But this conjecture (for the objection amounts to nothing more) is based upon an assumed knowledge of such a point, and not on evidence. And, to mention no other arguments by which it is opposed, it is contradicted by the following undisputed passage in Matt. iv. 13., where we read "*And Jesus leaving Nazareth.*" Now, how could St. Matthew have thus recorded his departure from Nazareth, unless chap. ii. 13. had preceded, where we are told that he came and dwelt in that town?[2] Further, in the first and second chapters of Matthew we find quotations made from the Old Testament precisely in the same manner as in other parts of his Gospel.

2. In the *second* place, it is worthy of remark that *the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel are to be found in* ALL *the ancient manuscripts now extant* which are entire, as well as in many that have come down to us mutilated by the hand of time[3], and also in all the ancient versions without exception. Some of the manuscripts now extant, particularly the Vatican and the Cambridge manuscripts, and the Codex Rescriptus (Z) in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin[4], are undoubtedly of very high antiquity, bearing date from the fourth to the sixth centuries at latest, if they are not earlier. The versions carry us still higher. The *Peshito* or Old Syriac, and the *Old* Latin, are nearly coeval with the formation of the canon of the New Testament. The Memphitic, Thebaic, and other versions, also bear marks of high antiquity; and though some of them contain discrepancies of more or less moment from the copies generally received, yet *all* of them have this part of the Gospel of Matthew, as integral portions of the whole. So, too, the recently discovered Curetonian Syriac.

Much stress, indeed, has been laid upon the genealogy being separated from the other parts of the Gospel in some Latin manuscripts; but the spuriousness of the genealogy is not suggested by such separation. For, in the first place, as Kuinöel[5] and Marsh[6] have both remarked, the transcribers of the Latin manuscripts, who wrote the genealogy detached from the rest of the Gospel, might be actuated not by critical but by theological motives: they found difficulty in reconciling the genealogy in Matt. i. with that of Luke iii., and, therefore, *they may have wished to get rid of it.* And, secondly, although the genealogy is thus separated in some Latin manuscripts, it does not necessarily follow that the copyists either deemed it to be without authority, or were desirous of getting rid of it: for, in the illuminated copies of this Gospel, so far from any stigma being thrown upon the genealogy (though separated in the way described), it is in general *particularly* embellished, and as much ornamented by the artist as the succeeding passages.

3. Besides the uncontradicted testimony of manuscripts and versions, we have the clear and undisputed evidence of the *ancient Fathers* in favour of the genuineness of these chapters, whence they have cited both words and verses in their

[1] This was agreeable to the usage of the Hebrew writers, who, when commencing their narratives, were accustomed to add the name of the king, prince, or other person, in whose time any event is said to have come to pass, and to preface it with the formula, *In the days of . . . .* To mention no other instances, see Isaiah i. 1.

[2] Kuinöel, Comm. in Historicos N. T. Libros, vol. i. p. 15.

[3] The Codex Ebnerianus, a manuscript written at the close of the fourteenth century, was *once* supposed to begin with Matt. i. 18. Τοῦ δὲ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ ἡ γέννησις οὕτως ἦν, *Now the birth of Jesus Christ was on this wise.* But since no book can well begin with the particle δὲ, *now*, it was concluded that in the more ancient Greek manuscripts whence the Codex Ebnerianus was copied, something preceded, viz. the genealogy, as in other Greek manuscripts. Bishop Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part ii. p. 136. And such was the fact, for *this* Codex itself is not defective. See above, p. 220.; also Griesbach's Επιμετρον to his Commentarius Criticus in Græcum Matthæi Textum, 4to. Jena, 1801.

[4] An account of these manuscripts is given in a former part of this volume. In the Codex Rescriptus above noticed, we find *the first two chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel*, with the exception of some verses, which are wanting from mutilation, viz. the first sixteen verses of the first chapter; and from the seventh to the twelfth and from the twentieth verse to the end of the second chapter.

[5] Kuinöel, Comm. in Historicos Libros, Nov. Test. vol. i. p. 13.

[6] Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part. ii. p. 139.

writings; to which we may add, that the earliest opposers of Christianity never appear to have doubted their genuineness. As the miraculous conception of our Saviour is a vital and fundamental doctrine of the Christian revelation, we think it right to state these evidences more particularly.

(1.) CLEMENT of Alexandria, who lived towards the close of the second century (A.D. 194), speaking of the order of the Gospels which he had received from the presbyters of more ancient times, says expressly that the Gospels containing the genealogies were *first written*.[1] Here, then, we have two things proved, viz. the curiosity and inquisitiveness of the ancient Christians concerning the books of the New Testament which they had received, and likewise an assurance of the genuineness of the genealogies in Matt. i. and Luke iii. This testimony to the first chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel is so strong as to put its antiquity and genuineness beyond all question.

(2.) In a fragment of the ecclesiastical history composed by HEGESIPPUS, a converted Jew, who flourished A.D. 173, which is preserved by Eusebius[2], there is an account of the emperor Domitian's inquiry after the posterity of David, two of whom were brought before him: "*for*," adds the historian, "*he too was afraid of the coming of Christ, as well as Herod.*" In this passage there is an explicit reference to the second chapter of Matthew, which plainly shows that this portion of his Gospel was received by this Hebrew Christian, who used our Greek Gospel. Or, if he used only the Hebrew edition of St. Matthew's Gospel, it is equally certain that the historical fact alluded to must have been extant in it in the time of Hegesippus.

(3.) JUSTIN Martyr, who, we have already seen, flourished about the year 140, has, in his writings, so many and such decisive references to these two chapters, as nearly to supply a recapitulation of all the facts related in them, and in such language as clearly proves that his information was principally derived from those chapters. The very words, also, of St. Matthew are sometimes quoted with a precision so unequivocal as to determine the source of the quotations. Passages and phrases which occur in St. Matthew only, and applications of the prophecies of Isaiah, Micah, and Jeremiah, which are made by no other Evangelist, are adopted by him with a literal adherence to St. Matthew's text, and, what renders the demonstration perfect, with a literal adherence to those very citations from the Old Testament in which St. Matthew has departed from the words both of the Hebrew and of the Septuagint.[3]

As the testimonies of Irenæus and all the later Fathers are undisputed, it is not necessary to adduce their evidence. Let us appeal in the next place to—

4. The *Testimonies of the Enemies of Christianity.*—Three of these are peculiarly distinguished for their enmity to the Christian name and faith; viz. the emperor Julian, who wrote in the middle of the fourth century; Porphyry, who wrote in the third century; and Celsus, who wrote in the middle of the second century. Though their works are lost, their arguments are preserved in the answers of their opponents: and from these it appears that they were by no means deficient in industry to discover means of invalidating any portion of the Gospel history. They stated many objections to particular circumstances in the narrative of the miraculous conception, but never entertained the most remote idea of treating the whole as spurious. They did not contend, as our modern objectors do, that St. Matthew and St. Luke never wrote these accounts; but that, in writing them, they committed errors or related falsehoods.[4] That Celsus, in particular, was specifically

---

[1] See the passage at length, both in Greek and English, in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 211, 212. and notes; 4to. vol. i. p. 395.

[2] Eccl. Hist. lib, iii. c. 19, 20. See the original passage in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 142, 143.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 356, 357.

[3] Archbp. Magee on the Atonement, vol. ii. p. 440. In pp. 448—454. he has adduced the passages at length from Justin. See also Dr. Lardner's account of Justin, Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 119—122.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 343—345. The testimony of Justin is also examined at length in Hug's Introduction to the New Test. vol. ii. § 74, where the words of Matthew and Justin are exhibited in parallel columns.

[4] See the passage of Julian at length, in Lardner, 8vo. vol. viii. p. 397.; 4to. vol. iv. p. 334.; of Porphyry, in Dr. Mill's Prolegomena to his edition of the New Testament, § 702, 703.; and of Celsus, in Lardner, 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 10, 11. 19—22. 58, 59. 63.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 116 121, 122. 143. 145.

acquainted with the genealogy contained in the first chapter is evident; for he speaks of historians who trace the genealogy of Jesus from the first father of the human family and from Jewish kings.[1] By the former, Luke must be intended; and by the latter, Matthew. That Celsus should pass over unnoticed the seeming contradiction of the genealogy of Matthew and Luke, is no more remarkable than that he should omit to mention many other things.[2] Besides the testimonies of these enemies of the Gospel, we can produce another of still higher antiquity — that of Cerinthus, an heresiarch who was contemporary with the Evangelist St. John. Cerinthus received the Gospel of St. Matthew (though not entire), and Epiphanius expressly states that his followers "*preferred it on account of its genealogy.*" The same Father also records in terms equally explicit, that "*it is ALLOWED by all THAT CERINTHUS MADE USE OF THE BEGINNING of St. Matthew's Gospel, and from thence endeavoured to prove that Jesus was the Son of Joseph and Mary.*"[3] To these decisive testimonies of the adversaries of Christianity we add a fact by no means unimportant, as an accessary proof; which is, that no objections were ever brought against these chapters in the early centuries, during the heat of religious contention, when all parties sought to defend themselves, and to assail their opponents, by arguments of all kinds, industriously drawn from every quarter.[4]

[ii.] Against the weight of this *positive* evidence, which so clearly, fully, and decisively establishes the genuineness of the narratives of the miraculous conception by Matthew and Luke, and places them on the same footing with the other parts of the Gospels, the antagonists of their authenticity have attempted to produce arguments partly external and partly collateral or internal.

1. With regard to the *external evidence*, they affirm, on the authority of Epiphanius and Jerome, that these narratives were wanting in the copies used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites, that is, by the ancient Hebrew Christians, for whose instruction this Gospel was originally written, and consequently formed no part of the genuine narrative. In this statement, the terms Hebrew Christians, Nazarenes, and Ebionites, are classed together as *synonymous;* whereas they were decidedly distinct, as the late Bishop Horsley has long since shown.

The Hebrew Christians, to whom St. Matthew wrote, were the body of Jewish converts in his time, who laid aside the use of the Mosaic law.

Of the Nazarenes there were two descriptions: 1. The Nazarenes of the better sort, who were orthodox in their creed, though they continued to observe the Mosaic law; but being great admirers of St. Paul, they could not esteem the law generally necessary to salvation. 2. The Nazarenes of a worse sort were bigoted to the Jewish law, but still orthodox in their creed, for anything that appears to the contrary. These were the proper Nazarenes mentioned by Epiphanius and Jerome. Both of these classes of Nazarenes believed Jesus Christ to be born of a virgin by the special interposition of God, and consequently received the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel.

The Ebionites also were divided into two classes: 1. Those who denied our Lord's divinity, but admitted the fact of the miraculous conception: consequently the two first chapters of Matthew were admitted by them; and, 2. Ebionites of a worse sort, who, though they denied the miraculous conception, still maintained an union of Jesus with a divine being, which commenced upon his baptism. These Ebionites, Epiphanius relates, made use of a Hebrew Gospel of Matthew, which was not only defective, but also contained many fabulous stories. The Ebionites,

[1] Stor. Opuscula Academica, tom. iii. p. 106.

[2] Schmucker's Biblical Theology, vol. ii. p. 148.

[3] See the passage of Epiphanius, in Lardner, 8vo. vol. ix. pp. 322. 329.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 565. 570.

[4] Quarterly Review, vol. i. p. 321.

he adds, branched off from the Nazarenes, and did not appear until *after* the destruction of Jerusalem.[1]

Now, since the Ebionites "of a worse sort," as Bishop Horsley terms them, did not make their appearance until the commencement of the *second* century, and as they used a *mutilated* and *corrupted* copy of Matthew's Gospel, the absence of the two first chapters of Matthew from their Gospel, is so far from making anything against the authenticity of those chapters, that, on the contrary, it affords a strong evidence for it; since we are enabled satisfactorily to account for the omission of those chapters in their copies, and to prove from the united antecedent, concurrent, and subsequent testimonies of various writers, both Christians and adversaries of Christianity, that they did exist in all the other copies of Matthew's Gospel, and were explicitly referred to or cited by them.[2]

2. The collateral or *internal* arguments against the authenticity of these chapters, deduced from their contents, are as follow.

(1.) It has been admitted by many writers that Mark in most places agrees with the method and order both of Matthew and Luke, as also does John, after a short introduction concerning the Logos. Mark begins his Gospel at what we call the third chapter of Matthew, that is, at the time when John came baptizing in the wilderness. It is farther urged that, as it is most probable that Luke was the first who published a Gospel, and as he had given the genealogy and a full account of the birth, &c. of Christ, there was no necessity for those who came after him to repeat the same things, as they were not particularly important to the salvation and happiness of man,—the great ends which our Saviour and his disciples had in view. Besides, it is alleged that Luke's account of the birth of Jesus, and of all the subsequent events, till Joseph and Mary carried him home to Nazareth, which he has fully detailed, is totally different from that which is found in the first and second chapters of Matthew's Gospel. No coincidence occurs, excepting Christ's being born at Bethlehem of a virgin. Hence it is inferred by those who oppose the authenticity of these chapters, that the absolute silence of Luke respecting many remarkable events yields a strong negative argument against it. This inference, however, is more specious than solid; but before we admit its force, let us examine the premises on which it is founded. The agreement of the four Evangelists is readily accounted for, by their narrating the life and transactions of one and the same person. Having either been chosen witnesses of our Saviour's discourses and actions (as Matthew and John were), or having derived their information from others who had been eye-witnesses of them (as Mark and Luke had), they were enabled by inspiration to repeat the former, with little or no variation of words, and to relate the latter without any material variation. They did so in their preaching; and, forming the same judgment of the importance of what they had seen and heard, they repeated nearly the same things, and the same words. The reason why Mark begins at what we call the third chapter of Matthew is to be found in the object he had in view in writing his Gospel; which, being in all probability written at Rome, was adapted to the state of the church there. Further, it is *not* probable that Luke's Gospel was first written: we have already given reasons for our belief

---

[1] See the various passages of Irenæus, Tertullian, Epiphanius, Jerome and other Fathers, in Lardner, 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 19—24.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 483—485. Bishop Horsley's Tracts in reply to Dr. Priestley, pp. 378—386. (edition of 1789.) Moshiem's Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians, vol. ii. pp. 194—204. Dr. J. P. Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 731—741.

[2] The reader who may be desirous of investigating at length the evidence of the authenticity of Matt. i. and ii. will find it very copiously discussed in Dr. Nares's masterly Remarks on the Unitarian Version of the New Testament, pp. 4—27. (2d edit), Archbp. Laurence's Critical Reflections on the Unitarian Version of the New Testament, pp. 14—50. 8vo. Oxford, 1811; Archbp. Magee's Discourses on the Atonement, vol. ii. part i. pp. 419—454.; the Quarterly Review, vol. i. pp. 320—326.; the Sixth Sermon in Mr. Falconer's Bampton Lectures for 1810, pp. 176—207.; Dr. Bell's Arguments in proof of the authenticity of the two first chapters of the Gospels of Matthew and Luke prefixed to his inquiry into the Divine Missions of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ, 8vo. London, 1810; and especially to Mr. Bevan's very complete, and indeed *unanswerable* "Vindication of the authenticity of the Narratives contained in the first two chapters of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, 1822." 8vo.

that Matthew's Gospel was the first composed, and Luke may not have written his Gospel until about the year 63 or 64. His account of the birth, &c. of Jesus Christ is totally different from that of Matthew; whose Gospel being designed for the Hebrew Christians, traces the pedigree of our Saviour in the line of Joseph, his *reputed* or legal father, to show the accomplishment of the prophecies contained in the Old Testament respecting the Messiah; and then proceeds to notice the fact that Christ was born in Bethlehem agreeably to the prediction of Micah, without detailing the intermediate circumstances, which, in fact, were not necessary, as he wrote at a time when those events were fresh in the recollections of his countrymen and contemporaries. Luke, on the contrary, writing for *Gentiles* who were ignorant of Jewish affairs, and after Matthew composed his Gospel, begins his history much farther back than the other Evangelists; is particularly careful in specifying times and places; and gives the genealogy of Christ according to his natural descent from the Virgin Mary, and carries it up to Adam, to show that he was that very seed of *the woman*, the subject of the first promise to fallen man. The silence of Luke, therefore, respecting many remarkable events related by Matthew, admits of an easy and satisfactory solution; and concludes nothing against the authenticity of his two first chapters.

(2.) The appearance of a star in the east, directing the Magi to the new-born Messiah in Judæa (Matt. ii. 1—12.), it has been said, has more the air of an Eastern invention than of real history. But such an assertion *proves* nothing; and it seems to be outweighed by the kind of admission of that acute adversary of the Christian faith, Celsus, who flourished towards the close of the second century.[1]

(3.) It is said to be a circumstance scarcely credible, that "when Herod had heard these things" (the arrival of the Magi, &c.), "he was troubled, and *all Jerusalem* with him." Now this circumstance is so far from being incredible, that it is precisely what we should expect from the well known sanguinary and jealous character of Herod, who had caused the death of his wife, his children, and the greater part of his family, not to mention numbers of his subjects who fell victims to his savage jealousy: so that the Jews, especially the Pharisees, dreaded and hated him.

(4.) Much stress has been laid on the supposed difficulty of reconciling the genealogies of Christ, as recorded by Matthew and Luke; but the different designs with which those Evangelists composed their respective Gospels account for this apparent difficulty; which has been considered and explained by many writers.

(5.) The slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem is further objected against the authenticity of the second chapter of Matthew, because that event is not mentioned by any writer but by the "supposed Matthew, and by those who quote from him." The credibility of this event, and consequently the authenticity of the Evangelist, has likewise been established in the same volume.

(6.) It is alleged that there are in these two chapters several prophecies cited as being fulfilled, but which cannot easily be made to correspond with the events by which they are declared to be accomplished. A little attention, however, to the Hebrew modes of quoting the prophecies will show the fallacy of this objection. For Isa. vii. 14. cited in Matt. i. 23., and Micah v. 2. cited in Matt. ii. 6., are prophecies quoted as being literally accomplished; and Jer. xxxi. 15. cited in Matt. ii. 17., and Hos. xi. 1. cited in Matt. ii. 15., are passages from those prophets applied to similar facts, introduced with the usual formulas of Jewish writers, *That it might be fulfilled*, and *Then was fulfilled*.

Lastly, It is said that the flight of Joseph with Mary and Jesus into Egypt is inexplicable; that it could not be from Bethlehem, for Luke expressly says that they continued there forty days (ii. 22.), at the expiration of which he was carried to Jerusalem to be presented to the Lord, and afterwards was taken to Nazareth (39); and that the flight from this latter place was altogether unnecessary, because the slaughter did not extend so far. A little attention, however, to the different orders pursued by the Evangelists in their Gospels, will remove this seeming objection; and the different narratives concerning our Lord's infancy, given us by

[1] See the passages at length, in Lardner, 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 11. 59. 63.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 116. 143. 145. The circumstances of the coming of the wise men and their worshipping of the infant Jesus are discussed in Mr. Franks's Hulsean Prize Dissertation on the Magi, 8vo. 1814; and the objections of Professor Schleiermacher are satisfactorily refuted in the British Critic and Theological Review, vol. ii. pp. 385, 386.

Matthew and Luke, will appear very consistent, if we only suppose that, immediately after the transactions in the temple, Joseph and Mary went to Nazareth, as Luke says, but only to settle their affairs there, and soon after returned to Bethlehem, where the report of the shepherds, and the favourable impressions it had made on the inhabitants (see Luke ii. 17, 18.), would suggest many cogent motives to fix their abode. There they might have dwelt many months before the arrival of the wise men related by Matthew: for the order issued by Herod for the slaughter of the children, in consequence of the diligent inquiry he had made of the Magi concerning the time when the star appeared, affords us ground to conclude that a considerable time had intervened between the birth of the child, or the appearance of the star (supposing them to coincide), and the coming of the wise men. It is also worthy of observation, that on Joseph's return from Egypt, his first intention seems to have been to go into Judæa (see Matt. ii. 22.); but, through fear of Archelaus, and by divine direction, he fixed at Nazareth, the place of his first abode. There he and his family were at the time of the only event of our Lord's childhood which Luke has recorded, and therefore it was not to his purpose to take notice of any removal or other place of abode.[1]

To sum up the evidence upon this question, the importance of which must apologise for the length of the preceding discussion:—The commencement of the third chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel shows that something had preceded, analogous to what we read in chap. ii. All the ancient manuscripts now extant, as well as all the ancient versions (some of which are of extreme antiquity) contain the two first chapters. Justin Martyr, Hegesippus, and Clement of Alexandria, who all flourished in the second century, have referred to them; as also have Irenæus and all the Fathers who immediately succeeded him, and whose testimony is undisputed. Celsus, Porphyry, and Julian, the most acute and inveterate enemies of the Gospel, in the second, third, and fourth centuries, likewise admitted them. "Thus, we have one continued and unbroken series of testimony," of Christians as well as of persons inimical to the Christian faith, "from the days of the apostles to the present time; and in opposition to this we find only a vague report of the state of a Hebrew copy of Matthew's Gospel, *said* to be received amongst an obscure and unrecognised description of Hebrew Christians, who are admitted, even by the very writers who claim the support of their authenticity, to have mutilated the copy which they possessed, by removing the genealogy."[2]

VII. The voice of antiquity accords with Irenæus, Origen, and Eusebius[3] in testifying that Matthew wrote his Gospel in Judæa for the Jewish nation, while the Church consisted wholly of the circumcision, that is, of Jewish and Samaritan believers, but principally Jewish; and that he wrote it primarily for their use, with a view to confirm those who believed, and to convert those who believed not, we have, besides historical facts, very strong presumptions from the book itself. Every circumstance is carefully pointed out which might

[1] Dr. Priestley's Notes on the Bible, vol. iii. p. 31. See also Lightfoot's, Doddridge's, and Macknight's Harmonies on Matt. ii., and Cellérier's Introduction au Nouv. Test. pp. 334—337.

[2] Archbp. Magee on the Atonement, vol. ii. p. 447. [See Dr. Davidson's Introduction to the N. Test. i. pp. 111—126. for a defence of this portion of St. Matthew against some of the more *recent* forms of objection, such as those of the late Prof. Norton.]

[3] Irenæus adv. Hær. lib. iii. c. 1. Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. lib. v. c. 8. Origenis Exposit. in Matt. apud Euseb. lib. vi. c. 25.

conciliate the faith of that nation; and every unnecessary expression is avoided that might in any way tend to obstruct it. To illustrate this remark by a few particulars: — There was no sentiment relating to the Messiah, with which the Jews were more strongly possessed, than that he must be of the race of Abraham, and of the family of David. Matthew, therefore, with great propriety, begins his narrative with the genealogy of Jesus; which, agreeably to the Jewish custom, he gives according to his legal descent by Joseph his supposed father, deducing it from Abraham through David, to show his title to the kingdom of Israel.

That he should be born at Bethlehem in Judæa was another circumstance in which the learned among the Jews, as taught by the prophets, were universally agreed; accordingly, this historian has also taken the first opportunity to mention his birth in that town, together with some very memorable circumstances that attended it. Those passages in the prophets, or other sacred books, which either foretell anything that should happen to the Messiah, or admit of an allusive application to him, or were in that age generally understood to be applicable to events which respect the Messiah, are never passed over in silence by this Evangelist. To the Jews who were convinced of the inspiration of their sacred writings, the fulfilment of prophecy was always strong evidence: accordingly, neither of the Evangelists has been more careful than Matthew that no evidence of this kind should be overlooked.[1]

Further, this Evangelist very frequently refers to Jewish customs, and relates most of our Saviour's discourses against the errors and superstitions of the Jews, whose most considerable objections he answers. How admirably his Gospel was adapted to that people will appear from the following considerations: "The Jews were much disposed to consider the letter of the law as the complete rule and measure of moral duty; to place religion in the observance of rites and ceremonies, or in a strict adherence to some favourite precepts, written or traditionary; to ascribe to themselves sufficient power of doing the divine will without the divine assistance; and, vain of a civil or legal righteousness, to contemn all others, and esteem themselves so just that they needed no repentance, nor any expiation but what the law provided. They rested in the covenant of circumcision and their descent from Abraham as a sure title to salvation, whatever lives they led; and though they looked for a Messiah, yet with so little idea of an atonement for sin to be made by his death, that the cross proved the great stumbling-block to them. They expected him to appear with outward splendour, as the dispenser of temporal felicity; the chief blessings of which were to redound to their own nation in an earthly Canaan, and in conquest and dominion over the rest of mankind. A tincture of these delusive notions, which they had imbibed by education and the doctrine of their elders, would be apt to remain with too many, even after their admission into the church of Christ. How necessary then was it,

[1] Dr. Campbell's Translation of the Gospels, vol. ii. p. 18. Dr. Townson's Works, vol. i. pp. 121—137.

that just principles concerning the way of life and happiness, and the nature and extent of the Gospel, should be infused into the breasts of these sons of Sion, that they might be able to work out their own salvation, and promote that of others; since they were to be the *salt of the earth*, and *the light of the world*; the first preachers of righteousness to the nations, and the instruments of calling mankind to the knowledge of the truth.

"Matthew, therefore, has chosen, out of the materials before him, such parts of our blessed Saviour's history and discourses as were best suited to the purpose of awakening them to a sense of their sins, of abating their self-conceit and overweening hopes, of rectifying their errors, correcting their prejudices, and exalting and purifying their minds. After a short account, more particularly requisite in the first writer of a Gospel, of the genealogy and miraculous birth of Christ, and a few circumstances relating to his infancy, he proceeds to describe his forerunner John the Baptist, who preached the necessity of repentance to the race of Abraham and children of the circumcision; and by his testimony prepares us to expect one mightier than he: mightier as a prophet in deed and word, and above the sphere of a prophet, mighty to sanctify by his spirit, to pardon, reward, and punish by his sovereignty. Then the spiritual nature of his kingdom, the pure and perfect laws by which it is administered, and the necessity of vital and universal obedience to them, are set before us in various discourses, beginning with the sermon on the mount, to which St. Matthew hastens, as with a rapid pace, to lead his readers. And that the holy light shining on the mind by the word and life of Christ, and quickening the heart by his spirit, might be seconded in his operations by the powers of hope and fear,—the twenty-fifth chapter of this Gospel, which finishes the legislation of Christ, exhibits him enforcing his precepts, and adding a sanction to his laws, by that noble and awful description of his future appearance in glory, and the gathering of all nations before him to judgment. St. Matthew, then, passing to the history of the Passion, shows them that the *new covenant*, foretold by the prophets, was a covenant of spiritual not temporal blessings, established in the sufferings and death of Christ, *whose blood was shed for many*, FOR THE REMISSION OF SINS (Matt. xxvi. 28.); which it was not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away. To purge the conscience from the pollution of dead and sinful works required the blood of Him, *who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God.* With the instructions of Christ are intermixed many hints, that the kingdom of God would not be confined to the Jews, but, while numbers of them were excluded through unbelief, would be increased by subjects of other nations. And thus the devout Israelite was taught, in submission to the will and ordinance of Heaven, to embrace the believing Samaritan as a brother, and to welcome the admission of the Gentiles into the church, which was soon after to commence with the calling of Cornelius. And as they suffered persecution from their own nation, and were to expect it elsewhere in following Christ, all that can fortify the mind with neglect of earthly good, and contempt of worldly

danger, when they come in competition with our duty, is strongly inculcated."[1]

VIII. The Gospel of Matthew, which comprises twenty-eight chapters and 1071 verses, consists of four parts, viz.

PART I. *treats on the Infancy of Jesus Christ.*

SECT. 1. The genealogy of Christ. (i. 1—17.)
SECT. 2. The birth of Christ. (i. 18—25.)
SECT. 3. The adoration of the Magi, and slaughter of the infants at Bethlehem and in its vicinity. (ii.)

PART II. *records the Discourses and Actions of John the Baptist, preparatory to our Saviour's commencing his Public Ministry.* (iii. iv. 1—11.)

SECT. 1. The preaching of John the Baptist, and the baptism of Jesus Christ by him. (iii.)
SECT. 2. The temptation of Christ in the wilderness. (iv. 1—11.)

PART III. *relates the Discourses and Actions of Christ in Galilee, by which he demonstrated that he was the Messiah.* (iv. 12—xx. 16.)

SECT. 1. Christ goes into Galilee, calls Peter, Andrew, James, and John, and performs various miraculous cures. (iv. 12—25.)
SECT. 2. The sermon on the mount. (v. vi. vii.) showing,

§ i. Who only are truly happy (v. 1—12.), and the duty of Christians to be exemplary. (13—16.)
§ ii. The design of Christ's coming, viz. to ratify the divine law (17—20.), which had been much impaired by the traditions of the Pharisees.—I. IN RESPECT OF ITS EXTENT. This is exemplified in what concerns, 1. *Murder* (21—26.); 2. *Adultery* (27—30.); 3. *Divorce* (31, 32.); 4. *Oaths* (33—37.); 5. *Retaliation* (38—42.); 6. *The love of our neighbour* (43—48.)—II. IN RESPECT OF MOTIVE;—where the end is applause, the virtue is destroyed. This is exemplified, 1. *In almsgiving* (vi. 1—4.); 2. *In prayer* (5—15.); 3. *In fasting.* (16—18.)
§ iii. Heavenly-mindedness enforced by various considerations. (vi. 19—34.)
§ iv. Cautions against censoriousness in judging of others (vii. 1—5.); admonitions to discretion in dispensing religious benefits (6.); to assiduity in pursuing spiritual good (7—11.); to humanity and equity in our behaviour to all (12.); and to withstand all sinful affections (13, 14.); warnings against false teachers, who are commonly known by their actions (15—20); the wisdom of adding practice to knowledge, and the insignificancy of the latter without the former. (21—29.)

SECT. 3. A narrative of several miracles performed by Christ, and of the call of Matthew. (viii. ix.)
SECT. 4. Christ's charge to his twelve apostles, whom he sent forth to preach to the Jews. (x. xi. 1.)
SECT. 5. relates the manner in which the discourses and actions of Jesus Christ were received by various descriptions of men, and the effect produced by his discourses and miracles. (xi. 2—xvi. 1—12.)
SECT. 6. contains the discourses and actions of Christ, immediately concerning his disciples. (xvi. 13—xx. 1—16.)

[1] Dr. Townson's Works, vol. i. pp. 5—7.

PART IV. *contains the Transactions relative to the Passion and Resurrection of Christ.* (xx. 17—xxviii.)

SECT. 1. The discourses and miracle of Christ in his way to Jerusalem. (xx. 17—34.)

SECT. 2. The transactions at Jerusalem until his passion.

§ i. *On Palm Sunday* (as we now call it), or the *first* day of Passion-week, Christ makes his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, where he expels the money-changers, and other traders out of the temple. (xxi. 1—17.)

§ ii. *On Monday*, or the *second* day of Passion-week.—The barren fig-tree withered. (xxi. 18—22.)

§ iii. *On Tuesday*, or the *third* day of Passion-week.

(*a*) *In the Temple.*—The chief priests and elders confuted, 1. By a question concerning John's baptism (xxi. 23—27.);—2. By the parables of the two sons (28—32.), and of the labourers of the vineyard (33—44.); for which they seek to lay hands on him. (45, 46.) The parable of the marriage-feast. (xxii. 1—14.) Christ confutes the Pharisees and Sadducees by showing, 1. The lawfulness of paying tribute (xxii. 15—22.);—2. Proving the resurrection. (23—33.)—3. The great commandment (34—40.), and silences the Pharisees (41—46.), against whom he denounces eight woes for their hypocrisy (xxiii. 1—36.); his lamentation over Jerusalem. (37—39.)

(*b*) *Out of the Temple.*—Christ's prophetic discourse concerning the destruction of Jerusalem and the end of the world *αἰών* (xxiv.); the parables of the ten virgins, and of the talents, and the judgment. (xxv.)

§ iv. *On Wednesday*, or the *fourth* day of Passion-week, Christ forewarns his disciples of his approaching crucifixion: the chief priests consult to apprehend him. (3—5.) A woman anoints Christ at Bethany. (xxvi. 6—13.)

§ v. *On Thursday*, or the *fifth* day of Passion-week.—Judas covenants to betray him (14—16.); the passover prepared. (17—19.)

§ vi. *On the Passover day*, that is, *from Thursday evening to Friday evening of Passion-week.*

(*a*) *In the evening* Christ eats the Passover (xxvi. 20—25.), and institutes the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. (26—29.)

(*b*) *Towards night* Jesus, 1. Foretells the cowardice of the apostles. (xxvi. 33—35.)—2. Is in an agony. (36—46.)—3. Is apprehended, reproves Peter and the multitude, and is forsaken by all. (47—56.)

(*c*) *During the night*, 1. Christ is led to Caiaphas, falsely accused, condemned, and derided. (57—68.)—2. Peter's denial of Christ and repentance. (69—75.)

(*d*) *On Friday morning.*—1. Jesus being delivered to Pilate, Judas commits suicide. (xxvii. 1—10.)—2. Transactions before Pilate. (11—26.)—3. Christ is mocked and led forth. (27—32.)

(*e*) Transactions of the *third hour.*—The vinegar and gall; the crucifixion; Christ's garments divided; the inscription on the cross; the two robbers; blasphemies of the Jews. (xxvii. 33—44.)

(*f*) *From the sixth to the ninth hour.*—The darkness over the land; Christ's last agony and death; its concomitant events. (xxvii. 45—56.)

(*g*) *Between the ninth hour and sunset*, Christ is interred by Joseph of Arimathea. (xxvii. 57—61.)

SECT. 3. The transactions on the *Sabbath of the Passover-week* (that is, *from sunset on Friday to sunset on Saturday in Passion-week*).—The sepulchre of Christ secured. (xxvii. 62—66.)

SECT. 4. Transactions after Christ's resurrection, chiefly *on Easter-day.*

§ i. Christ's resurrection testified, first, to the women by an angel (xxviii. 1—8.), and afterwards by Christ himself. (9, 10.)

§ ii. The resurrection denied by his adversaries (xxvii. 11—15.), but proved to the apostles. (16—20.)

IX. Except John, the Evangelist Matthew enjoyed the best opportunity for writing a regular and connected narrative of the life of Christ, according to the order of time and the exact series of his transactions. His style is everywhere plain and perspicuous, and he is eminently distinguished for the clearness and particularity with which he has related many of our Saviour's discourses and moral instructions. "Of these, his sermon on the mount, his charge to the apostles, his illustrations of the nature of his kingdom, and his prophecy on Mount Olivet, are examples. He has also worderfully united simplicity and energy in relating the replies of his master to the cavils of his adversaries."[1] He is the only Evangelist who has given us an account of our Lord's description of the process of the judgment narrated in chap. xxv. and parts of chap. xiii.; and his relation of that momentous event is awfully impressive.

[In general, it may be said that in St. Matthew the *teaching* of our Lord is presented with especial prominence; so much so, that the narration of his actions is commonly subservient to his instructions which are introduced; but everywhere there is kept in view the evolution of the twofold title of the first verse, "Son of David," "Son of Abraham."]

CHAP. IV.

ON THE GOSPEL BY ST. MARK.

I. THE title of the Gospel by St. Mark is, in the Vatican manuscript, *κατὰ Μάρκον, according to Mark.* In the Alexandrian MS., the Codex Bezæ, L. the Codex Regius, 62 (formerly 2862, Stephani *η'*), and most other ancient copies, it is *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον, the Gospel according to Mark;* and in some manuscripts and editions, *Τὸ κατὰ Μάρκον ἅγιον Εὐαγγέλιον, the Holy Gospel according to Mark,* or (as in the authorised English version), *the Gospel according to St. Mark.*[2]

II. This Evangelist was not an Apostle, or companion of Jesus Christ during his ministry, though Epiphanius and several other Fathers affirm, on the ground of mere fancy, that he was one of the seventy disciples. All that we learn from the New Testament concerning him is, that he was "sister's son to Barnabas" (Col. iv. 10.), and the son of Mary, a pious woman of Jerusalem, at whose house the Apostles and first Christians often assembled. (Acts xii. 12.) His Hebrew name was John[3]; and Michaelis thinks, that he adopted the

[1] Dr. Campbell on the Gospels, vol. ii. p. 20. Dr. Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. i. p. 176. Bishop Cleaver has an excellent Discourse on the Style of St. Matthew's Gospel in his Sermons on Select Subjects, pp. 189—205.

[2] Griesbach, Nov. Test. tom. i. on Mark i. 1.

[3] [It should be noticed that some have doubted the identification of "John whose surname was Mark" with Mark the author of our second Gospel. Others, again, have said that it is by "tradition" that we know Mark to have been the author of this book. It is not usual, however, to apply "tradition" in this sense to the name of an author which has been received as always prefixed to a book; it is rather of the character of a certificate of origin. And farther, that Mark was the name of the writer of our second Gospel we know

surname of Mark when he left Judæa to preach the Gospel in foreign countries,—a practice not unusual among the Jews of that age, who frequently assumed a name more familiar to the nations which they visited than that by which they had been distinguished in their own country. From Peter's styling him *his son* (1 Pet. v. 13.), this Evangelist is supposed to have been converted by St. Peter; and on his deliverance (A. D. 44, recorded in Acts xii. 12.), Mark went from Jerusalem with Paul and Barnabas, and soon after accompanied them to other countries as their minister (Acts xiii. 5.); but declining to attend them through their whole progress, he returned to Jerusalem. Afterwards, however, when Paul and Barnabas settled at Antioch on the termination of their journey, we find Mark with them, and disposed to accompany them in their future journeys. At this time he went with Barnabas to Cyprus (Acts xv. 37—39.); and subsequently was at Rome during St. Paul's confinement in that city, whence Mark sent his salutations to Philemon (24.), and to the church at Colosse. (Col. iv. 10.) From Rome he probably went into Asia, where it has been thought that he found St. Peter, and that he returned to that city with him. St. Paul, however, himself (2 Tim. iv. 11.) directs Timothy to bring Mark with him to Rome, and this would sufficiently explain his presence in that metropolis, in which he is supposed to have written and published his Gospel. Such are the outlines of this Evangelist's history, as furnished to us by the New Testament. From Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Jerome [1], we learn that Mark, after he had written his Gospel, went to Egypt; and, having planted a church at Alexandria, Jerome states that he died and was buried there in the eighth year of the reign of Nero. But these statements are no better than groundless conjectures. Baronius, Cave, Wetstein, and other writers, affirm that St. Mark suffered martyrdom; but this fact is not mentioned by Eusebius or any other ancient writer, and is contradicted by Jerome, whose expressions seem to imply that he died a natural death.

III. That Mark was the author of the Gospel which bears his name, is proved by the unanimous testimony of ancient Christians,

of historical attestation from the statement of John the Presbyter, his contemporary. It is very mischievous to confound history with *mere* tradition, for in this way we lose all objective certainty as to facts. It may be said that there is more than a *traditional* ground for identifying John Mark with Mark the Evangelist. A Latin Preface to St. Mark's Gospel contained in very ancient MSS. states rather oddly, "denique *amputasse* sibi post fidem *pollicem* dicitur, ut sacerdotio reprobus haberetur; sed tantum consentiens fidei prædestinata potuit electio ut nec sic in opere verbi perderet quod prius meruerat in genere" Even if this Preface be not the work of Jerome, it is at least nearly coeval with him. This statement seems to have originated in some misunderstanding of Acts xiii. 13., and xv. 37, 38., in which is described how John Mark departed from the work of Christian service, thus becoming figuratively *pollice truncus*. The latter part of the sentence seems to relate to the later service of John Mark as spoken of in 2 Tim. iv. 11. Thus *whenever* this story arose John Mark and the Evangelist were absolutely identified. (See a paper "Why was the epithet 'stump-fingered' applied to St. Mark?" in the "Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology," June 1855, p. 224., by the present editor.) That this story, or this epithet, as applied to St. Mark is *very early* may be seen from his being termed "stump-fingered," κολοβοδάκτυλος by Hippolytus (Philosophumena, vii. 30.).]

[1] See the passages of these writers in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 82—84.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 176, 177.

particularly Papias[1], who distinctly cites John the Presbyter; by several ancient writers of the first century consulted by Eusebius[2]; by Justin Martyr[3], Tatian[4], Irenæus[5], Clement of Alexandria[6], Tertullian[7], Ammonius[8], Origen[9], and by all the Fathers of the third and following centuries.[10] Though not cited by name, this Gospel appears to have been alluded to by Clement of Rome in the first century[11]; but the testimony of antiquity is not equally uniform concerning the order in which it should be placed. Clement of Alexandria affirms that the Gospels containing the genealogies were first written: according to this account, Mark wrote after Luke; but Papias, on the information of John the Presbyter, a disciple of Jesus, and a companion of the apostles, places this the second in order; and with him agree Irenæus and other writers.

Satisfactory as is the testimony to the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospel of Mark, generally, some critics have thought that the last twelve verses of the sixteenth chapter were not written by the Evangelist.[12] The following is a concise statement of the question. Gregory, bishop of Nyssa, in Cappadocia, has said in his second discourse on the resurrection, that this Gospel terminates *in the more correct copies* with the words ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, *for they were afraid:* and Jerome has observed[13], that few of the Greek MSS. which he had seen contained these verses. But the very concise affirmation of Jerome is greatly restricted by what he had himself said of a various reading in the *fourteenth* verse, viz. that it is found *in quibusdam exemplaribus, et maxime Græcis codicibus.* It is evident, therefore, that, in the former passage, he has exaggerated, — which is no unusual occurrence with this writer. With regard to the assertion of Gregory, at this distance of time it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine what he meant by the *most exact manuscripts.* Perhaps he intended MSS. more correctly written, but this merit alone would add nothing to their authority; nor can we now ascertain the recension to which they belonged. We must, therefore, examine the evidences which actually exist. The verses in question are certainly wanting in the Vatican manuscript; and in Nos. 137. and 138. of Griesbach's notation they are marked with an asterisk; they are also wanting in the canons of Eusebius: but, on the other hand, their authenticity is attested by authorities of the greatest im-

[1] A. D. 116. Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 109. 112.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 338, 339.
[2] Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 33.
[3] A. D. 140. Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 120.; 4to. vol. i. p. 344.
[4] A. D. 172. Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 138.; 4to. vol. i. p. 354.
[5] A. D. 178. Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 158, 159.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 365, 366.
[6] A. D. 194. Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 211, 212.; 4to. vol. i. p. 395.
[7] A. D. 200. Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 257, 258.; 4to. vol. i. p. 420.
[8] A. D. 220. Ibid 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 414, *et seq.*; 4to. vol. i. pp. 503, et seq.
[9] A. D. 230. Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 466, 467.; 4to. vol. i. p. 332.
[10] See the later testimonies in Lardner, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 87—90.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 179, 180.
[11] [Compare Clem. xv. with Mark vii. 6.]
[12] Michaelis (Introd. chap. iii. sect. iii. vol. i. pp. 87—97.) has brought forward some strong objections to the canonical authority of the Gospel of Mark. As his objections apply equally to the Gospel of Luke, the reader is referred to pp. 445, *et seq. infrà*; where those objections are considered, and (it is hoped) satisfactorily refuted.
[13] Quæst. ad Hedib. Quæst. 3.

portance. These verses are extant in the Codex Alexandrinus; the most considerable portion of the disputed passage (that is, the seven first verses) is in the Codex Bezæ, *à primâ manu*, but the remainder has been added by a later hand; and they are extant in the Greek commentaries of Theophylact. The whole twelve verses are likewise found in the Peshito (or Old Syriac) and Arabic versions, and in those MSS. of the Vulgate Latin Version which are not mutilated at the end of the second Gospel; and they are cited by Augustine, Ambrose, and Leo bishop of Rome (surnamed the Great), who followed this version. But what is of most importance is, that the manner in which so ancient a writer as Irenæus, in the *second* century, refers to this Gospel, renders it highly probable that the whole passage was read in all the copies known to him. His words are these: — *In fine autem Evangelii, ait Marcus: Et quidem Dominus Jesus, postquam locutus est eis, receptus est in cœlo, et sedet ad dexteram Dei.*[1]

The verse here quoted is the nineteenth, and the chapter contains only twenty verses. Hippolytus, who wrote in the early part of the third century, also bears testimony in favour of the disputed fragment in the beginning of this book Περὶ Χαρισμάτων. It is further worthy of notice, that there is not a single manuscript containing this verse, which has not also the whole passage from the eighth to the end; nor is there a single manuscript, in which this verse is wanting, that does not also want the whole. No authority of equal antiquity has yet been produced on the other side. It has been conjectured that the difficulty of reconciling Mark's account of our Lord's appearances, after his resurrection, with those of the other Evangelists, has emboldened some transcribers to omit them. The plausibility of this conjecture renders it highly probable: to which we may subjoin, that the abruptness of the conclusion of this history, without the words in question, and the want of any thing like a reason for adding them if they had not been there originally, afford a strong collateral proof of their authenticity. Transcribers, Dr. Campbell well remarks, presume to add and alter in order to *remove* contradictions, but not in order to *make* them. The conclusion, therefore is, that the disputed fragment is an integral part of the Gospel of Mark, and consequently is genuine.[2]

[A full statement of this question may be seen in Tregelles's "Account of the printed Text," pp. 246—261. Eusebius, Gregory of Nyssa, Victor of Antioch, Severus of Antioch, Jerome, as well as other writers, especially Greeks, testify that these verses were *not* written by St. Mark, or not found in the best copies. Also they are *omitted* in B. (Codex Vaticanus), in the Latin Codex Bobbiensis (*k*), in the old MSS. of the Armenian, and in an Arabic version in the Vatican. In L. *another* termination is given, and then it is stated that *this* is also extant. On the other hand, it is *perfectly*

[1] Adv. Hær. lib. iii. c. 10. (al. 11.)

[2] Griesbach, Comm. Crit. in Text. Nov. Test. Particula II. p. 199. Dr. Campbell on the Gospels, note on Mark xvi. (vol. ii. p. 405. 3d edit.) Cellérier, Introd. au N. T. pp. 344—352. Hug's Introduction, Fosdick's Translation, p. 478. &c. (*omitted* in the last German edition).

certain that from the second century and onward, these verses have been known as part of *this Gospel* (whoever was their *author*). The *conclusions* drawn from the arguments given at length in the place cited above, are,—

"I. That the *book of Mark himself* extends no farther than ἐφοβοῦντο γάρ, xvi. 8.

"II. That the remaining twelve verses, by whomsoever written, have a full claim to be received as an authentic part of the second Gospel, and that the full reception of early testimony on this question does not in the least involve their rejection as not being a part of canonical Scripture."]

IV. Although the genuineness and authenticity of Mark's Gospel are thus satisfactorily ascertained, considerable uncertainty prevails as to the time when it was composed. It is allowed by all the ancient authors that Mark wrote it at Rome; and many of them assert that he was no more than an amanuensis or interpreter to Peter, who dictated this Gospel to him, though others affirm that he wrote it after Peter's death. Hence a variety of dates has been assigned between the years 56 and 65; so that it becomes difficult to determine the precise year when it was written. But as it is evident from the Evangelist's own narrative (Mark xvi. 20.), that he did not write until after the apostles had dispersed themselves among the Gentiles, and had preached the Gospel every where, *the Lord working with them and confirming the words with signs following;* and as it does not appear that *all* the apostles quitted Judæa earlier than the year 50[1] (though several of them laboured among the Gentiles with great success), it has been argued that we shall approximate nearest to the real date, if we assign it to the year 63 or 64, at which time Peter was at Rome. This conclusion rests on two assumptions; 1. That the last verses were written by St. Mark himself; and 2. that the apostles did not disperse before A.D. 50. On other grounds we may safely conclude that Mark could not have written as *interpres Petri* before A.D. 64.

V. St. Peter having publicly preached the Christian religion at Rome, many who were present intreated Mark, as he had for a long time been that apostle's companion, and had a clear understanding of what Peter had delivered, that he would commit the particulars to writing. Accordingly, when Mark had finished his Gospel, he delivered it to the persons who made this request. Such is the unanimous testimony of ancient writers[2], which is further confirmed by internal evidence, derived from the Gospel itself. Thus, the great humility of Peter is conspicuous in every part of it, where any thing is related or might be related of him; his weakness and fall being fully exposed to view, while the things which redound to his honour are either slightly touched or wholly concealed. And with regard to Christ, scarcely an action that was done, or word spoken by him, is mentioned, at which this apostle was not present, and with such minuteness of

[1] See Dr. Lardner's Supplement to his Credibility, chap. 7., where this subject is amply discussed. Works, 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 65—77.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 167—173.

[2] Clemens Alexandr. apud Eusebii Hist. Eccl. lib. vi. c. 14. Jerome, de Viris Illustribus, cap. viii. Tertulliani Opera, p. 505. edit. Rigaltii.

circumstance as shows that the person who dictated the Gospel had been an eye-witness of the transactions recorded in it.[1]

From the Hebraisms discoverable in the style of this Gospel, we should readily conclude that its author was by birth and education a Jew; but the numerous Latinisms[2] it contains, not only show that it was composed by a person who had lived among the Latins, but also that it was written beyond the confines of Judæa. That this Gospel was designed principally for Gentile believers (though we know that there were some Jewish converts in the church of Rome), is further evident from the explanations introduced by the Evangelist, which would have been unnecessary, if he had written for Hebrew Christians exclusively. Thus, the first time the Jordan is mentioned, the appellation "*river*" is added to the name. (Mark i. 5.) Again, as the Romans could not understand the Jewish phrase of "*defiled* or *common hands*," the Evangelist adds the parenthetical explanation of "*that is, unwashen.*" (vii. 2.) When he uses the word *corban*, he subjoins the interpretation, "*that is, a gift*" (vii. 11.); and instead of the word *mammon*, he uses the common term χρήματα, "riches." Again, the word Gehenna, which in our version is translated *hell* (ix. 43.), originally signified the valley of Hinnom, where infants had been sacrificed to Moloch, and where a continual fire was afterwards maintained to consume the filth of Jerusalem. As this word could not have been understood by a foreigner, the Evangelist adds the words, "unquenchable fire" by way of explanation. These particularities corroborate the historical evidence above cited, that Mark designed his Gospel for the use of Gentile Christians.[3]

Lastly, the manner in which St. Mark relates the life of our Saviour is an additional evidence that he wrote for Gentile Christians. His narrative is clear, exact, and concise, and his exordium is singularly striking, for St. Mark announces Jesus Christ at once as the *Son of God* (i. 1.), an august title, the more likely to engage the attention of the Romans: omitting the genealogy of Christ, his miraculous conception, the massacre of the infants at Bethlehem, and other particulars, he proceeds at once to the ministry of his forerunner.

VI. That this Evangelist wrote his Gospel in Greek is attested by the uninterrupted voice of antiquity; nor was this point ever disputed until the cardinals Baronius and Bellarmine, and, after them, the Jesuit Inchofer, anxious to exalt the language in which the Latin Vulgate version was executed, affirmed that Mark wrote in Latin.[4] This assertion, however, not only contradicts historical evidence, but (as Michaelis has well observed) is in itself almost incredible: for, as the Latin Church, from the very earliest ages of Christianity, was in a very flourishing state, and as the Latin language was diffused over the whole Roman empire, the Latin original of Mark's Gospel, if it had ever existed, could not have been neglected in such a manner as that

[1] See several instances of this adduced in Dr. Townson's Works, vol. i. pp. 151—163.
[2] Several of these Latinisms are specified above, p. 14.
[3] Dr. Campbell's Pref. to Mark, vol. ii. pp. 82, 83.
[4] Pritii, Introd. ad Lect. Nov. Test. p. 311.

no copy of it should descend to posterity. The only *semblance* of testimony that has been produced in support of this opinion, is the subscription annexed to some MSS. of the old Syriac that Mark wrote in the Romish, that is, in the Latin language, and that in the Philoxenian version, which explains Romish by *Frankish.* But subscriptions of this kind are of no authority whatever; for the authors of them are unknown, and some of them contain the most glaring errors. Besides, as the Syriac version was made in the East, and taken immediately from the Greek, no appeal can be made to a Syriac subscription in regard to the language in which Mark wrote at Rome.[1] The advocates for the Latin original of this Gospel have appealed to a Latin manuscript pretended to be the autograph of the Evangelist himself, and said to be preserved in the library of St. Mark at Venice. But this is now proved to be a mere fable; for the Venetian manuscript formerly made part of the Latin manuscript preserved at Friuli (Codex Foro-Juliensis), most of which was printed by Blanchini in his Evangeliarium Quadruplex. The Venice manuscript contained the first forty pages, or five quaternions of Mark's Gospel; the two last quaternions, or sixteen pages, are preserved at Prague, where they were printed by M. Dobrowsky, under the title of *Fragmentum Pragense Evangelii S. Marci vulgo autographi.* 1778. 4to.[2]

VII. The Gospel of Mark consists (in our modern division) of sixteen chapters, which may be divided into three parts; viz.

PART I. *The transactions from the Baptism of Christ to his entering on the more public part of his Ministry.* (ch. i. 1—13.)

PART II. *The Discourses and Actions of Jesus Christ to his going up to Jerusalem to the fourth and last Passover.* (i. 14—x.)

SECT. 1. The transactions between the first and second passovers. (i. 14—45., ii. 1—22.)

SECT. 2. The transactions between the second and third passovers. (ii. 23—28., iii.—vi.)

SECT. 3. The transactions of the third passover to Christ's going up to Jerusalem to the fourth passover. (vii.—x.)

PART. III. *The Passion, Death, and Resurrection of Christ.* (xi.—xvi.)

SECT. 1. The *first day* of Passion-week, or Palm Sunday — Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem. (xi. 1—11.)

[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 225. See also Jones on the Canon of the New Test. vol. iii. pp. 67—69.

[2] The history of the pretended autograph manuscript of St. Mark is briefly as follows. There was, at Aquileia, a very ancient Latin MS. of the four Gospels; two quaternions or sixteen pages of which the emperor Charles IV. obtained in 1354 from Nicholas, patriarch of Aquileia, and sent them to Prague. The remaining five quaternions the canons of the church at Aquileia, during the troubles which befel that city, carried to Friuli, together with other valuable articles belonging to their church, A. D. 1420; and from the inhabitants of Friuli the Venetian Doge, Tomaso Mocenico, obtained these five quaternions, which were subsequently passed for the original autograph of St. Mark. (Alber, Hermeneut. Nov. Test. tom. i. p. 238.) There is a particular account of the Prague Fragment of St. Mark's Gospel, by Schœpflin, in the third volume of the Historia et Commentationes Academiæ Electoralis Theodoro-Palatinæ, 8vo. Manheim, 1773; in which a fac-simile is given. The account is abridged, and the fac-simile copied in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1778, vol. xlvi. pp. 321, 322.

SECT. 2. The transactions of the *second day*, or Monday. (xi. 12—19.)

SECT. 3. The transactions of the *third day*, or Tuesday —

§ i. In the morning. (xi. 20—33. xii.)
§ ii. In the evening. (xiii.)

SECT. 4. The transactions of the *fourth day*, or Wednesday. (xiv. 1—9.)

SECT. 5. The transactions of the *fifth day*, or Thursday. (xiv. 10—16.)

SECT. 6. The transactions of the *Passover-day*, that is, from Thursday evening to Friday evening of the Passion-week; including the institution of the Lord's Supper, Christ's agony in the garden, his being betrayed by Judas, his trial, crucifixion, and burial. (xiv. 17—72., xv.)

SECT. 7. The transactions after the resurrection of Christ. (xvi.)

VIII. From the striking coincidence between the Gospel of Mark and that of Matthew, several learned men have imagined that Mark compiled his Gospel from him. Augustine asserted that Mark was a servile copyist (*pedissequus*) and epitomiser of Matthew, and his opinion has been adopted by Simon, Calmet, Adler[1], Owen, Harwood, and others.

In the year 1782, Koppe published a dissertation[2], in which he has proved that this hypothesis is no longer tenable, and Michaelis has acquiesced in the result of his inquiries. The following observations are chiefly abridged from both these writers.

The assertion, that Mark abridged the Gospel of Matthew, contradicts the unanimous voice of antiquity, which states that Mark wrote his Gospel under the inspection and dictation of Peter; and, although there is a coincidence between these two Evangelists, yet it does not thence necessarily follow that he abridged the Gospel of Matthew. For, in the first place, he frequently deviates from Matthew in the order of time, or in the arrangement of his facts[3], and likewise adds many things of which Matthew has taken no notice whatever.[4] Now, as Matthew was an apostle, and eye-witness of the facts which he related, Mark could not have desired better authority; if, therefore, he had Matthew's Gospel before him when he wrote his own, he would scarcely have adopted a different arrangement, or have inserted facts which he could not have found in his original author.

Again, although there are several parts of Matthew's Gospel which

[1] Prof. Adler's hypothesis is, that Mark first epitomised the Gospel of Matthew into Greek, omitting those topics which the heathens (for whom he wrote) would not understand; such as the Genealogy, the Discourse delivered on the Mount, the 23d chapter, which was addressed to the Pharisees, some references to the Old Testament, and a few parables. After which he imagines (for the hypothesis is utterly destitute of proof) that the whole was translated into Greek, for the use of the Greek or Hellenistic Jews.

[2] The title of this tract is *Marcus non Epitomator Matthæi*. It was reprinted by Pott and Ruperti in the first volume of their Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum. Helmstadt, 1800. 8vo.

[3] Koppe has given *thirteen* instances. See Pott's Sylloge, vol. i. pp. 55—57.

[4] Koppe has given *twenty-three* instances of these additions Ibid. pp. 59—64.

an Evangelist, who wrote chiefly for the use of the Romans, might not improperly omit — such as the genealogy — the healing of the centurion's servant at Capernaum — Christ's argument to John's disciples, to prove that he was the Messiah — the sermon on the mount — some prophecies from the Old Testament — and the narrative of the death of Judas Iscariot; — yet, on the other hand, there are several relations in Matthew's Gospel, for the omission of which it is very difficult to assign a reason, and which therefore lead to the conclusion that his Gospel was not used by Mark. — See particularly the discourses and parables related in Matt. viii. 18—22.; x. 15—22.; xi. 20—30.; xii. 33—45.; xiii. 1—39.; xviii. 10—35.; xix. 10—12.; xx. 16.; and xxii. 1—14.[1]

Lastly, Mark's imperfect description of Christ's transactions with the apostles, after his resurrection, affords the strongest proof that he was totally unacquainted with the contents of Matthew's Gospel. The latter Evangelist has given us a very circumstantial description of Christ's conversation with his apostles on a mountain in Galilee, yet the former, though he had before related Christ's promise that he would go before them into Galilee, has, in the last chapter of his Gospel, no account whatever of Christ's appearance in Galilee. Now, if he had read Matthew's Gospel, this important event could not have been unknown to him, and consequently he would not have neglected to record it.

Michaelis further observes, that if Mark had had Matthew's Gospel before him, he would have avoided every appearance of contradiction to the accounts given by an apostle and an eye-witness. His account of the call of Levi, under the very same circumstance as Matthew mentions his own call, is at least a variation from Matthew's description; and this very variation would have been avoided, if Mark had had access to Matthew's Gospel. The same may be observed of Mark x. 46., where only one blind man is mentioned, whereas Matthew, in the parallel passage, mentions two. In Mark's account of Peter's denial of Christ, the very same woman, who addressed Peter the first time, addressed him likewise the second time, whereas, according to Matthew, he was addressed by a different person; for Mark (xiv. 69.) uses the expression ἡ παιδισκή, *the maid*, which, without a violation of grammar, can be construed only of the same maid who had been mentioned immediately before, [unless indeed it means *the* maid who kept the door,] whereas Matthew (xxvi. 71.) has ἀλλὴ, *another maid*.[2] Now, in whatever manner

[1] Koppe has specified several other omissions in the Gospel of St. Mark, which we have not room to enumerate. See Pott's Sylloge, vol. i. pp. 49—53.

[2] The whole difficulty, in reconciling this apparent discrepancy between the two Evangelists, "has arisen from the vain expectation that they must always agree with each other in the most minute and trivial particulars: as if the credibility of our religion rested on such agreement, or any reasonable scheme of inspiration required this exact correspondency. The solution, which Michaelis afterwards offered in his *Anmerkungen*, affords all the satisfaction which a candid mind can desire. After stating that Matthew had said 'another maid,' Mark 'the maid,' and Luke 'another *man* (ἑτέρος), he observes, the whole contradiction vanishes at once, if we only attend to John, the quiet spectator of all which passed. For he writes (xviii. 25.) '*They* said unto him, Wast thou not also one of his disciples?' Whence it appears that there were several who spake on this occasion, and that all which is said by Matthew, Mark, and Luke, may very easily be true. There might pro-

harmonists may reconcile these examples, there will always remain a difference between the two accounts, which would have been avoided, if Mark had copied from Matthew. But what shall we say of instances, in which there may seem no mode of reconciliation? If we compare Mark iv. 35. and i. 35. with Matt. viii. 28—34., we shall find not only a difference in the arrangement of the facts, but such a determination of time, that it looks to some as if a reconciliation were impracticable. For, according to Matthew, on the day after the sermon on the mount, Christ entered into a ship, and crossed the lake of Gennesareth, where he encountered a violent tempest: but, according to Mark, this event took place on the day after the sermon in parables; and, on the day which followed that on which the sermon on the mount was delivered, Christ went, not to the sea-side, but to a desert place, whence he passed through the towns and villages of Galilee. Another instance, in which we shall find it equally difficult to reconcile the two Evangelists, is Mark xi. 28. compared with Matt. xxi. 23. In both places the Jewish priests propose this question to Christ, *ἐν ποίᾳ ἐξουσίᾳ ταῦτα ποιεῖς*; alluding to his expulsion of the buyers and sellers from the temple. But, according to what St. Mark had previously related in the same chapter, it seems as if this question had been proposed on the third day of Christ's entry into Jerusalem; according to Matthew, it was proposed on the second. If Mark had copied from Matthew, this difference in their accounts would hardly have taken place.[1]

This is not the place to remark on the solution of the difficulties; but the fact of their lying, as it were, on the surface *proves* the independence of the two histories. This is also most clearly shown by the many particulars introduced by Mark, which never could have been derived from Matthew.

It must be borne in mind that one object on the part of Michaelis was to disprove the canonical authority of this Gospel and that of Luke (see the next chapter); hence he *magnified* supposed discrepancies.

Since, then, it is evident that St. Mark did not copy from the Gospel of St. Matthew, the question recurs, how are we to reconcile the striking coincidences between them, which confessedly exist both in style, words, and things? Koppe, and after him Michaelis, endeavoured to account for the examples of verbal harmony in the three first Gospels, by the supposition that in those examples the Evangelists retained the words which had been used in more ancient

bably be more than the three who are named; but the maid, who had in a former instance recognised Peter, appears to have made the deepest impression on his mind; and hence, in dictating this Gospel to Mark, he might have said *the* maid." Bishop Middleton's Doctrine of the Greek Article, p. 285. first edition.

[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 220. Koppe (*ut suprà*, pp. 57—59.) has given several additional examples of seeming contradictions between the two Evangelists, proving that Mark could not have copied from Matthew. On the subject above discussed, the reader will find much important information in Jones's Vindication of the former part of St. Matthew's Gospel from Mr. Whiston's Charge of Dislocations, pp. 47—86., printed at the end of his third volume on the Canon: and also in the Latin thesis of Bartus van Willes, entitled Specimen Hermeneuticum de iis, quæ ab uno Marco sunt narrata, aut copiosius et explicatius, ab eo, quam a cæteris Evangelistis exposita. 8vo. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1811.

Gospels, such as those mentioned by Luke in his preface.[1] But there does not appear to be any necessity for resorting to such an hypothesis; for, in the first place, it contradicts the accounts given from the early Christian writers above cited; and, secondly, it may be accounted for from other causes. Peter was, equally with Matthew, an eye-witness of our Lord's miracles, and had also heard his discourses, and on some occasions was admitted to be a spectator of transactions to which all the other disciples were not admitted. Both were Hebrews, though they wrote in Hellenistic Greek. Peter would therefore naturally recite in his preaching the same events and discourses which Matthew recorded in his Gospel; and the same circumstance might be mentioned in the same manner by men, who sought not after "excellency of speech," but whose minds retained the remembrance of facts or conversations which strongly impressed them, even without taking into consideration the idea of supernatural guidance.[2]

IX. Simplicity and conciseness, with almost picturesque vividness of narration, are the characteristics of Mark's Gospel, which, considering the copiousness and majesty of its subject,—the variety of great actions it relates, and the surprising circumstances that attended them, together with the numerous and important doctrines and precepts which it contains,—is the shortest and clearest, the most marvellous, and at the same time the most satisfactory history in the whole world.[3]

CHAP. V.

ON THE GOSPEL BY ST. LUKE.

I. THE TITLE of this Gospel in manuscripts and early editions is nearly the same as that of the Gospel by St. Mark.

II. Concerning this Evangelist, we have but little certain information: from what is recorded in the Scriptures, as well as from the circumstances related by the early Christian writers, the following particulars have been obtained.

According to Eusebius, Luke was a native of Antioch, by profession a physician, and for the most part a companion of the apostle Paul. The report, first announced by Nicephorus Callisti, a writer of the fourteenth century, that he was a painter, is now justly exploded, as being destitute of foundation, and countenanced by no ancient writers. From his attending Paul in his travels, and also from the testimony of some of the early Fathers, Basnage, Fabricius, Dr. Lardner, and Bishop Gleig have been led to conclude that this Evangelist was a Jew, and Origen, Epiphanius, and others have sup-

[1] Pott's Sylloge Comment. vol. i. pp. 65—69. Michaelis, vol. iii. pp. 214, 215.

[2] Pritii, Introd. ad Lectionem Nov. Test. p. 179. Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christ Theol. vol. i. p. 319.

[3] Blackwall's Sacred Classics, vol. i. p. 293.

posed that he was one of the seventy disciples; but this appears to be contradicted by Luke's own declaration that he was not an eye-witness of our Saviour's actions.[1] Michaelis is of opinion that he was a Gentile, on the authority of Paul's expressions in Col. iv. 10, 11. 14. The most probable conjecture is that of Bolten, adopted by Kuinöel, viz. that Luke was descended from Gentile parents, and that in his youth he had embraced Judaism, from which he was converted to Christianity. The Hebraic-Greek style of writing observable in his writings, and especially the accurate knowledge of the Jewish religion, rites, ceremonies, and usages, every where discernible both in his Gospel and in the Acts of the Apostles, might seem to identify the author with the Jews, while his intimate knowledge of the Greek language, displayed in the preface to his Gospel, which is composed in elegant Greek, and his Greek name Λουκᾶς, might show that he was a Gentile. This conjecture is further supported by a passage in the Acts, and by another in the Epistle to the Colossians. In the former (Acts xxi. 27.) it is related that the Asiatic Jews stirred up the people, because Paul had introduced Gentiles into the temple, and in the following verse it is added that they had before seen with him in the city Trophimus an Ephesian, whom they supposed that Paul had brought into the temple. No mention is here made of Luke, though he was with the apostle. Compare Acts xxi. 15. 17., where Luke speaks of himself among the companions of Paul. Hence it has been inferred that he was reckoned among the Jews, one of whom he might be accounted, if he had become a proselyte from Gentilism to the Jewish religion. In the Epistle to the Colossians (iv. 11. 14.), after Paul had written the salutations of Aristarchus, Marcus, and of Jesus, surnamed Justus, he adds, "*who are of the circumcision. These only,*" he continues, "*are my fellow-workers* (meaning those of the circumcision) *unto the kingdom of God.*" Then in the fourteenth verse, he adds, "*Luke, the*

[1] Bishop Gleig, however, has argued at great length, that the construction of Luke i. 2. leads to the conclusion that he was himself an eye-witness and personal attendant upon Jesus Christ; and that, as he is the only Evangelist who gives an account of the appointment of the seventy, it is most probable that he was one of that number. He adds, that the account of Christ's commencement of his ministry at Nazareth (iv. 16—32.), which is only slightly referred to by Matthew, and is related by none other of the Evangelists, is given with such particularity of circumstances, and in such a manner, as evinces that they actually passed in the presence of the writer; and, further, that, as he mentions Cleopas by name in his very particular and interesting account of all that passed between Christ and the two disciples on the road to Emmaus, we can hardly suppose him to be ignorant of the name of the other disciple, which Dr. Gleig understands to be Luke himself, and thinks that he concealed his name for the same reason that John conceals his own name in the Gospel. (Dissertation on the Origin of the three first Gospels, in Bp. G.'s edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, vol. iii. pp. 89—93., and also in his Directions for the Study of Theology, pp. 366—377.) But this hypothesis, which is proposed and supported with great ability, is opposed by the facts that the name of the Evangelist is NOT Jewish; and that since Jesus Christ employed only native Jews as his apostles and missionaries (for in this light we may consider the seventy disciples), it is not likely that he would have selected one who was not a Hebrew of the Hebrews, in other words, a Jew by descent from both his parents, and duly initiated into the Jewish church. Besides, the words ἐν ἡμῖν, *among us* (i. 1.) authorise the conjecture that he had resided for a considerable time in Judæa: and, as he professes that he derived his information from eye-witnesses and ministers of Jesus Christ, this circumstance will account for the graphic minuteness with which he has recorded particular events.

beloved physician, and Demas, salute you." As the apostle in this passage opposes them to the Christians who had been converted from Judaism, it is evident that Luke was descended from Gentile parents, if the passage does not mark him to be simply a Gentile.

The first time that this Evangelist is mentioned in the New Testament, is in his own history of the Acts of the Apostles. We there find him (Acts xvi. 10, 11.) with Paul at Troas; thence he attended him to Philippi, where again the apostle joined him; and thence he went with him to Jerusalem; continued with him in his troubles in Judæa; and sailed in the same ship with him, when he was sent a prisoner from Cæsarea to Rome, where he stayed with him during his two years' confinement. As none of the ancient Fathers have mentioned his suffering martyrdom, it is probable that he died a natural death.[1]

[A modern theory, that *Silas* in the Acts and Epistles was the same person as Luke, was brought forward and maintained (after Hennel) by the late Mr. Josiah Conder in his "Literary History of the New Testament," and in other places: it is more closely connected with the book of Acts than with the Gospel itself; but the mention of it belongs here, as both works proceeded from the same author. It is needless to go minutely into the supposed probabilities which have been thought to favour this notion; it is a theory which could never be proved from Scripture, which gives us not a hint to identify Silas with Luke, and it contradicts all that could be gathered from the Acts as to the time when Luke joined the Apostle Paul, and the portion of the journeyings there recorded during which they were together. This theory is sufficiently noticed and refuted by Dr. Davidson. (Introduction, ii. p. 20.)]

III. The genuineness and authenticity of Luke's Gospel, and of his history of the Acts of the Apostles, are confirmed by the unanimous testimonies of the ancient writers. In the second century it is repeatedly cited by Justin Martyr[2], and it had then been in *habitual* use in the Christian assemblies, by the martyrs of Lyons[3], and by Irenæus.[4] Tertullian[5], at the commencement of the third century, asserted against Marcion the genuineness and integrity of the copies of Luke's Gospel, which were admitted to be canonical by himself and Christians in general, and for this he appealed to various apostolical churches. Origen[6], a few years after, mentions the Gospels in the order in which they are now generally received; the third of which he says, "is that according to Luke, the Gospel commended by Paul, published for the sake of the Gentile converts." These testimonies are confirmed by Eusebius, the pseudo-Athanasius, Gregory Nazianzen, Gregory Nyssen, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, and a host of later writers; whose evidence, being collected by the

[1] Lardner's Supplement to his Credibility, chap. viii. Works, 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 105—107.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 187, 188.
[2] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 120.; 4to. vol. i. p. 344.
[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 150.; 4to. vol. i. p. 361.
[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 159, 160.; 4to. vol. i. p. 366.
[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 258.; 4to. vol. i. p. 420.
[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 466.; 4to. vol. i. p. 532.

accurate and laborious Dr. Lardner[1], it is not necessary to repeat in this place.

Notwithstanding this unbroken chain of testimony to the genuineness and authenticity of Luke's Gospel, its canonical authority (together with that of the Gospel by Mark) has been called in question by Michaelis; while various attempts have been made to impugn the authenticity of particular passages of St. Luke. The celebrity of Michaelis, and the plausibility and boldness of the objections of other assailants, justify a full and distinct consideration being given to their objections.

1. The objections of Michaelis to the canonical authority of the Gospels of Mark and Luke are as follows: —

Objection 1. The two books in question were written by assistants of the apostles. This circumstance, he affirms, affords no proof of their inspiration, even if it could be shown that St. Mark and St. Luke were endowed with the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit (as appears to have been the case with Timothy and the deacons mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles)[2], of which, however, there is no historical proof: because a disciple might possess these gifts, and yet his writings not be inspired. And if we ground the argument for their inspiration on the character of an apostle's assistant, then we must receive as canonical the genuine Epistle of Clement of Rome, and the writings of other apostolical fathers.[3]

Answer "It will be admitted, that Mark and Luke were humble, pious men; also, that they were intelligent, well-informed men, and must have known that the committing to writing the facts and doctrines comprehended in the Gospel was not left to the discretion or caprice of every disciple, but became the duty of those only who were inspired by the Holy Ghost to undertake the work. Now, if these two disciples had been uninspired, or not under the immediate direction of apostles who possessed plenary inspiration, it would have argued great presumption in them, without any direction, to write Gospels for the instruction of the church. The very fact of their writing is, therefore, a strong evidence that they believed themselves to be inspired. There is then little force in the remark of the learned professor, that neither St. Mark nor St. Luke have declared, in any part of their writings, that they were inspired: for such a declaration was unnecessary; their conduct in undertaking to write such books is the best evidence that they believed themselves called to this work."[4]

Objection 2. It has been said that the apostles themselves have in their Epistles recommended these Gospels as canonical. That the passages depended upon for proof do refer to these or any other written Gospels, Michaelis denies: but even if they did so recommend these Gospels, the evidence (he affirms) is unsatisfactory; because they *might* have commended a book as containing genuine historical accounts without vouching for its inspiration. And the testimony of the fathers, who state that these Gospels were respectively approved by Peter and Paul, Michaelis dismisses with very little ceremony. And, finally, he demurs in regard to the evidence of

[1] Lardner, 8vo. vol. viii. pp. 107—112.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 181—191.

[2] 2 Tim. i. 6.; Acts vi. 3—8.

[3] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 87, 88.

[4] "The Canon of the Old and New Testaments ascertained by Archibald Alexander, Professor of Theology at Princeton, New Jersey," pp. 202, 203. (Princeton and New York, 1826. 12mo.)

the canonical authority of these books, derived from the testimony of the whole primitive church, by which they were undoubtedly received into the canon; and suggests that the apostles *might* have recommended them, and the primitive church *might* have accepted them, as works indispensable to a Christian, on account of the importance of their contents, and that by insensible degrees they acquired the character of being inspired.[1]

ANSWER 1. The objection drawn from the writings of other apostolical men is not valid; "for none of them ever undertook to write GOSPELS for the use of the church. All attempts at writing other Gospels, than THE FOUR, were considered by the primitive church as impious; because, the writers were uninspired men. But

"2. The universal reception of these books by the whole primitive church, as canonical, is, we think, conclusive evidence that they were not mere human productions, but composed by divine inspiration. That they were thus universally received, is manifest, from the testimonies which have already been adduced. There is not, in all the writings of antiquity, a hint that any Christian belonging to the church ever suspected that these Gospels were inferior in authority to the others. No books in the canon appear to have been received with more universal consent, and to have been less disputed. They are contained in every catalogue which has come down to us. They are cited as Scripture by all that mention them; and are expressly declared by the fathers to be canonical and inspired books. Now, let it be remembered that this is the best evidence which we can have that any of the books of the New Testament were written by inspiration. Michaelis, indeed, places the whole proof of inspiration on the promise made by Christ to his apostles; but while it is admitted that this is a weighty consideration, it does not appear to us to be equal in force to the testimony of the universal church, including the apostles themselves, that these writings were penned under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; for it is not perfectly clear that the promise referred to was confined to the twelve. Certainly, Paul, who was not of that number, was inspired in a plenary manner, and much the larger part of the twelve never wrote any thing for the canon. There is nothing in the New Testament which forbids our supposing that other disciples might have been selected to write for the use of the church. We do not wish that this should be believed, in regard to any persons, without evidence, but we think that the proof exists, and arises from the undeniable fact, that the writings of these two men were, from the beginning, received as inspired. And this belief must have prevailed before the death of the apostles; for all the testimonies concur in stating that the Gospel of Mark was seen by Peter[2], and that of Luke by Paul, and approved by them respectively. Now, is it credible that these apostles, and John who survived them many years, would have recommended to the Christian church the productions of uninspired men? No doubt, all the churches, at that time, looked up to the apostles for guidance, in all matters that related to the rule of their faith, and a general opinion that these Gospels were canonical could not have obtained without their concurrence. The hypothesis of Michaelis, that they were recommended as useful human productions, and by degrees came to be considered as inspired writings, is in itself improbable, and repugnant to all the testimony which has come down to us on the subject. If this had been the fact, they would never have been placed among the books universally acknowledged, but would have been doubted of or disputed by some. The difference made between inspired books and others, in those primitive times, was as great as at any subsequent period; and the line of distinction was not only broad, but great pains were taken to have it drawn accurately; and when the common opinion of the church respecting the Gospels was formed, there was no difficulty in coming to the certain knowledge of the truth. For thirty years and more, before the death of the Apostle John, these two Gospels were in circulation. If any doubt had existed respecting their canonical authority, would not the churches and their elders have had recourse to this infallible authority? The general agreement of all Christians,

[1] Michaelis's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 88—94. Alexander on the Canon, p. 201.

[2] But modify this statement by what is said by some, that St. Mark wrote after Peter's death what he had delivered.

over the whole world, respecting most of the books of the New Testament, doubtless, should be attributed to the authority of the apostles. If, then, these Gospels, had been mere human productions, they might have been read privately, but never could have found a place in the sacred canon. The objection to these books comes entirely too late to be entitled to any weight. The opinion of a modern critic, however learned, is of small consideration, when opposed to the testimony of the whole primitive church; and to the suffrage of the universal church, in every age, since the days of the apostles. The rule of the learned Huet is sound, viz. 'that all those books should be deemed canonical and inspired, which were received as such by those who lived nearest to the time when they were published.'

"3. But if we should, for the sake of argument, concede, that no books should be considered as inspired but such as were the productions of apostles, still these Gospels would not be excluded from the canon. It is a fact, in which there is a wonderful agreement among the fathers, that Mark wrote his Gospel from the mouth of Peter; that is, he wrote down what he had heard this apostle every day declaring in his public ministry. And Luke did the same, in regard to Paul's preaching. These Gospels, therefore, may, according to this testimony, be considered as more probably belonging to these two apostles than to the Evangelists who penned them. They were little more, it would seem, if we give full credit to the testimony which has been exhibited, than amanuenses to the apostles, on whom they attended. Paul, we know, dictated several of his Epistles to some of his companions; and if Mark and Luke heard the Gospel from Peter and Paul, so often repeated, that they were perfect masters of their respective narratives, and then committed the same to writing, are they not, virtually, the productions of these apostles which have been handed down to us? And this was so much the opinion of some of the fathers, that they speak of Mark's Gospel as Peter's, and of Luke's as Paul's. But this is not all. These Gospels were shown to these apostles, and received their approbation. Thus speak the ancients, as with one voice, and if they had been silent, we might be certain, from the circumstances of the case, that these Evangelists would never have ventured to take such an important step, as to write and publish the preaching of these inspired men, without their express approbation. Now, let it be considered, that a narrative prepared by a man well acquainted with the facts related, may be entirely correct without inspiration; but of this we cannot be sure, and, therefore, it is of great importance to have a history of facts from men who were rendered infallible by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. It should be remembered, however, that the only advantage of inspiration in giving such a narrative, consists in the proper selection of facts and circumstances, and in the infallible certainty of the writing. Suppose, then, that an uninspired man should prepare an account of such transactions as he had seen, or heard from eye-witnesses of undoubted veracity, and that his narrative should be submitted to the inspection of an apostle, and receive his full approbation; might not such a book be considered as inspired? If, in the original composition, there should have crept in some errors, (for to err is human,) the inspired reviewer would, of course, point them out and have them corrected: now such a book would be, for all important purposes, an inspired volume; and would deserve a place in the canon of Holy Scripture. If any credit, then, is due to the testimony of the Christian fathers, the Gospels of Mark and Luke are canonical books; for, as was before stated, there is a general concurrence among them, that these Evangelists submitted their works to the inspection, and received the approbation, of the apostles Peter and Paul.

"4. Finally, the internal evidence is as strong in favour of the Gospels under consideration, as of any other books of the New Testament. There is no reason to think that Mark or Luke were capable of writing with such perfect simplicity and propriety, without the aid of inspiration, or the assistance of inspired men. If we reject these books from the canon, we must give up the argument derived from internal evidence for the inspiration of the sacred Scriptures altogether. It is true, the learned professor, whose opinions we are opposing, has said, 'the oftener I compare their writings (Mark's and Luke's) with those of St. Matthew and St. John, the greater are my doubts.' And speaking in another place of Mark, he says, 'in some immaterial instances he seems to have erred,' and he gives it as his opinion, 'that they who undertake to reconcile St. Mark with St. Matthew, or to show that he is no where corrected by St. John, experience great difficulty, and have not seldom to resort to unnatural explanations.' But the learned professor

has not mentioned any particular cases of irreconcileable discrepancies between this Evangelist and St. Matthew; nor does he indicate in what statements he is corrected by St. John. Until something of this kind is exhibited, general remarks of this sort are deserving of no consideration. To harmonise the Evangelists has always been found a difficult task, but this does not prove that they contradict each other, or that their accounts are irreconcileable. Many things, which, at first sight, appear contradictory, are found, upon closer examination, to be perfectly harmonious; and if there be some things which commentators have been unable satisfactorily to reconcile, it is no more than what might be expected in narratives so concise, and in which a strict regard to chronological order did not enter into the plan of the writers. And if this objection be permitted to influence our judgment in this case, it will operate against the inspiration of the other Evangelists as well as Mark; but in our apprehension, when the discrepancies are impartially considered, and all the circumstances of the facts candidly and accurately weighed, there will be found no solid ground of objection to the inspiration of any of the Gospels; — certainly nothing, which can counterbalance the strong evidence arising from the style and spirit of the writers. In what respects these two Evangelists fall short of the others has never been shown; upon the most thorough examination and fair comparison of these inimitable productions, they appear to be all indited by the same spirit, and to possess the same superiority to all human compositions.

"Compare these Gospels with those which are acknowledged to have been written by uninspired men, and you will need no nice power of discrimination to see the difference: the first appear in every respect worthy of God; the last betray, in every page, the weakness of man."[1]

[The proof that this Gospel was quoted as Scripture by St. Paul is very plain: that apostle writes (1 Tim. v. 18.), "The Scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn, and, *The labourer is worthy of his reward.*" The latter words (only found in Luke x. 7.) being thus coupled with a sentence from the law of Moses.]

[1] Alexander on the Canon, pp. 203—210. The importance of the subject and the conclusive vindication of the Gospels of Luke and Mark, contained in the preceding observations, will, we trust, compensate for the length of the quotation above given; especially as the learned translator of Michaelis, whose annotations have so frequently corrected the statements and assertions of the German Professor, has offered no refutation of his ill-founded objections to the canonical authority of these Gospels. "There is," indeed,— Professor Alexander remarks with equal truth and piety,— "something reprehensible, not to say impious, in that bold spirit of modern criticism, which has led many eminent Biblical scholars, especially in Germany, first to attack the authority of particular books of Scripture, and next to call in question the inspiration of the whole volume. To what extent this licentiousness of criticism has been carried we need not say; for it is a matter of notoriety, that of late, the most dangerous enemies of the Bible have been found occupying the places of its advocates; and the critical art, which was intended for the correction of the text, and the interpretation of the sacred books, has, in a most unnatural way, been turned against the Bible; and finally, the inspiration of all the sacred books has not only been questioned, but scornfully rejected, *by Professors of Theology!* And these men, while living on endowments which pious benevolence had consecrated for the support of religion, and openly connected with churches whose creeds contain orthodox opinions, have so far forgotten their high responsibilities, and neglected the claims which the church had on them, as to exert all their ingenuity and learning to sap the foundation of that system which they were sworn to defend. They have had the shameless hardihood to send forth into the world books under their own names, which contain fully as much of the poison of infidelity as [was] ever distilled from the pens of the most malignant deists whose writings have fallen as a curse upon the world. The only effectual security which we have against this new and most dangerous form of infidelity, is found in the spirit of the age, which is so superficial and cursory in its reading, that however many elaborate critical works may be published in foreign languages, very few of them will be read, even by theological students, in this country. May God overrule the efforts of these enemies of Christ and the Bible, so that good may come out of evil!" (Alexander on the Canon, pp. 212, 213.) In this prayer, we are persuaded, every candid and devout critical student of the Scriptures will most cordially concur. [How much this prayer is called for *now* (1856) in this country is painfully manifest, when such evil books as those to which Prof. Alexander refers have been *popularised*, and when notoriety is sought by setting aside the plenary authority of God's word, that is, the authority of the Holy Ghost, whose record it is.]

2. Besides the preceding objections of Michaelis to the canonical authority of this Gospel in general, the genuineness of some particular passages has been questioned, the evidence for which is now to be stated.

(1.) The authenticity of the first two chapters has of late years been impugned by those who deny the miraculous conception of the Lord Jesus Christ; but with how little real foundation, will readily appear from the following facts:—

[i.] These two chapters are found in ALL the ancient manuscripts and versions at present known.

[ii.] The *first* chapter of Luke's Gospel is connected with the second, precisely in the same manner as we have seen (p. 421. *supra*) that the two first chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel are connected: Ἐγένετο ΔΕ ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις—*Now it came to pass in those days, &c.* (Luke ii. 1.) And the *second* chapter of St. Luke's Gospel is in a similar manner connected with the *third*:—Ἐν ἔτει ΔΕ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ—*Now, in the fifteenth year, &c.* (Luke iii. 1.) This Gospel, therefore, *could not* possibly have begun with the third chapter, but must have been preceded by some introduction.

[iii.] But because the first chapters of it were not found in the copies used by Marcion, the founder of the sect of Macionites in the second century, it is affirmed that they are spurious interpolations.

A little consideration will show the falsehood of this assertion. The notions entertained by Marcion were among the wildest that can be conceived;—that our Saviour was man only in outward form, and that he was not born like other men, but appeared on earth full grown. He rejected the Old Testament altogether, as proceeding from the Creator, who, in *his* opinion, was void of goodness; and of the New Testament he received only one Gospel (which is supposed, but without foundation, to be the Gospel of St. Luke[1]) and ten of Paul's Epistles, all of which

[1] The Gospel used by Marcion certainly did not contain the first two chapters of Luke; but neither did it contain the third chapter, nor more than one half of the fourth; and in the subsequent parts, (as we are informed by Dr. Lardner, who had examined this subject with his usual minuteness and accuracy,) it was "mutilated and altered in a great variety of places. He would not allow it to be called the Gospel of Saint Luke, erasing the name of that Evangelist from the beginning of his copy." (Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ix. pp. 393—401.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 611—615.) His alterations were not made on any critical principles, but in the most arbitrary manner, in order to suit his extravagant theology. Indeed some have thought that the opinion that he used Luke's Gospel at all, rests upon no sufficient foundation. So different were the two works, that some distinguished biblical scholars of modern times, particularly Semler, Eichhorn, Griesbach, Loeffler, and Marsh, have rejected that opinion altogether. Griesbach maintained that Marcion compiled a work of his own, for the service of his system and the use of his followers, from the writings of the Evangelists, and particularly of Luke. (Hist. Text. Gr. Epist. Paul. p. 92.) "That Marcion used St. Luke's Gospel at all," says Bp. Marsh, "is a position which has been taken for granted without the least proof. Marcion himself never pretended that it was the Gospel of Luke; as Tertullian acknowledges, saying *Marcion evangelio suo nullum adscribit autorem.* (Adv. Marcion. lib. iv. c. 2) It is probable therefore that he used some apocryphal Gospel, which had much matter in common with that of St. Luke, but yet was not the same." (Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. p. 159.) Dr. Loeffler has very fully examined the question in his Dissertation, entitled *Marcionem Paulli Epistolas et Lucæ Evangelium adulterasse dubitatur.* Frankfort on the Oder, 1788. The conclusions of his minute investigation are "(1) That the Gospel used by Marcion was anonymous: (2) Marcion rejected all our four Gospels, and maintained the authenticity of his own in opposition to them: (3.) His followers afterwards maintained, that Christ himself and Paul were the authors of it: (4.) Irenæus, Tertullian, and Epiphanius, had no reason for regarding Marcion's Gospel as an altered edition of Luke's, and their assertion is a mere conjecture resting upon none but frivolous and absurd allegations: (5.) The difference of Marcion's Gospel from Luke's is inconsistent with the supposition: (6.) There are no just grounds for believing that Marcion had any pressing motives to induce him to

he mutilated and disguised by his alterations, interpolations, and omissions.[1] This conduct of Marcion's completely invalidates any argument that may be drawn from the omission of the two first chapters of Luke's Gospel in *his* copy; and when it is added that his arbitrary interpolations, &c. of it were exposed by several contemporary writers, and particularly by Tertullian[2], we conceive that the genuineness and authenticity of the two chapters in question are established beyond the possibility of doubt.[3]

(2.) From the occurrence of the word Λεγεὼν (*Legio*, that is, a *Legion*), in Greek characters, in Luke viii. 30., a suspicion has been raised that the whole paragraph, containing the narrative of Christ's healing the Gadarene Demoniac (viii. 27—39.) is an interpolation. This doubt is grounded on the *assertion* that this mode of expression was not customary, either with Luke, or with any classic writer in the apostolic age. But this charge of interpolation is utterly groundless; for the passage in question is found in all the manuscripts and versions that are extant, and the mode of expression alluded to *is* familiar both with the Evangelist, and also with classic writers who were contemporary with him. Thus,

[i.] In Luke x. 35. we meet with Δηνάρια, which is manifestly the Latin word *Denaria* in Greek characters. In xix. 20. we also have Σουδάριον, which word, though acknowledged in the Greek language, is nothing more than the Latin word *Sudarium*, a napkin or handkerchief; and in Acts xvi. 12. we have also ΚΟΛΩΝΙΑ (*Colonia*) a COLONY.

[ii.] That the mode of expression, above objected to, *was* customary with classic authors in the apostolic age, is evident from the following passage of Plutarch, who was born not more than ten years after Jesus Christ. He tells us that, when the city of Rome was built, Romulus divided the younger part of the inhabitants into battalions. Each corps consisted of three thousand foot, and three hundred horse; and (the historian adds) Ἐκλήθη δὲ ΛΕΓΕΩΝ, τῷ λογαδὰς εἶναι τοὺς μαχίμους πάντων,

---

adopt a garbled copy of Luke; and the motives assigned by the fathers are inconsistent and self-destructive."—Dr. J. P. Smith's Scripture Testimony to the Messiah, vol. ii. pp. 13, 14.

[Though this is not the place to enter into a discussion of all that may be said respecting the *Evangelium* of Marcion, it is well to point out that the investigations of Hahn (Das Evangelium Marcions in seiner ursprünglichen Gestalt, Königsberg, 1823), Olshausen, and others, fully establish the fact testified by Tertullian and other early writers, that Marcion did form his Gospel by extruding from St. Luke all that did not suit *his* scheme. A *modern* theory is that St. Luke's Gospel was formed in the latter part of the second century out of the *earlier* and more authentic work upheld by Marcion! Of course, when *evidence* is cast aside, we have nothing to lead us. Harting's "Quæstionem de Marcione," &c. (Utrecht, 1849) is a useful book on this subject.]

[1] Epiphanius has given a long account of Marcion's alterations, &c. of the New Testament. See Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ix. pp. 369—393.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 610—624.

[2] See the passage at length in Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 256—288.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 419, 420.

[3] Much stress has been laid upon the apparent discrepancy between the genealogies of Jesus Christ in Luke iii. and Matt. i., and also on the *supposed* chronological difficulty in our Saviour's age; but these seeming contradictions may be so satisfactorily explained that it is not necessary to repeat those solutions in this place. See also Dr. Nares's Remarks on the Unitarian Version of the New Testament, p. 27. *et seq.*; Archbp. Laurence's Critical Reflections on the misrepresentations contained in the modern Socinian Version, pp. 51—73.; and Dr. Hales on Faith in the Trinity, vol. i. pp. 88—110.

[As to the difficulty connected with Luke ii. 2., from the mention of Cyrenius as governor of Judæa at the time of our Lord's birth, it is *now* known (see Dr. Davidson's Appendix) that this *was* really the case. Other solutions had been proposed which were sufficient to show that the difficulty was not insuperable, even if these solutions had not been the *real* explanations. This is a good instance of what may be gained at last by holding fast the Scripture in spite of imagined or supposed discrepancies.]

that is, *It was called a* LEGION, *because the most warlike persons were "selected."* A few sentences afterwards, we meet with the following Latin words in Greek characters, viz. ΠΑΤΡΙΚΙΟΥΣ (*Patricios*), PATRICIANS; ΣΕΝΑΤΟΣ (*Senatus*), the SENATE; ΠΑΤΡΩΝΑΣ (*Patronos*), PATRONS; ΚΛΙΕΝΤΑΣ (*Clientes*), CLIENTS[1]; and in a subsequent page of the same historian, we meet with the word ΚΕΛΕΡΕΣ (*Celeres*), CELERES.[2] Again, in Dion Cassius[3], we meet with the following sentence: Τῶν γὰρ ΚΕΛΕΡΙΩΝ ἄρχων εἰμι,—*for I am chief*, or commander, *of the Celeres*. Whether these are Latin words in Greek characters or not, the common sense of the reader must determine. The word ΛΕΓΕΩΝ is not so barbarous, but that it has been acknowledged by the two lexicographers, Hesychius and Suidas.[4]

We have, therefore, every reasonable evidence that can be desired for the genuineness of this passage of Luke's Gospel.

(3.) The forty-third and forty-fourth verses of Luke xxii. are wanting in the Alexandrian and Vatican manuscripts, in the Nitrian Fragments, (*here*) in the Codex Leicestrensis, in the Codex Vindobonensis Lambecii 31., and in the Thebaic version, and some other authorities; and in the Codices Basiliensis B. VI. (E.) and Vaticanus 354. (S.), of the ninth or tenth century, and some other more recent manuscripts, these verses are marked with an asterisk, and in some of the MSS. collated by Matthæi with an obelisk. Their genuineness, therefore, has been disputed.

Epiphanius, Hilary, and Jerome bear testimony that, in their time, these verses were wanting in some Greek and Latin MSS. But, on the other hand, they are found in by far the greater number of MSS. (as Rosenmüller remarks), *without an obelisk*, and in all the ancient versions except the Thebaic, a revised copy of the old Latin, and a Memphitic MS. They are also recognised by Justin Martyr, Hippolytus, Irenæus, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Jerome, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Titus of Bostra, and Cæsarius. The reason for the omission of these verses in some MSS. and for their being marked as suspected in others, is by some supposed to have been that they were rejected by some of the more timid, lest they should appear to favour the Arians: it may be that they were omitted in Luke from their being early read in a lesson containing part of Matt. xxvi.[5]

The verses in question are certainly genuine, and they are accordingly retained by Griesbach in the text, without any mark to indicate that they are either spurious or suspected.[6]

IV. With regard to the time when this Gospel was written, there is some difference of opinion; Dr. Owen and others referring it to the year 53, while Jones, Michaelis, Lardner, and the majority of biblical critics, assign it to the year 63 or 64, which date appears to be the true one, and corresponds with the internal characters of time exhibited in the Gospel itself. [The date assigned to this Gospel must in part depend on that of 1 Timothy, where it is quoted; and as to that, great difference of opinion exists.] But it is not easy to

[1] Plutarchi Vitæ, in Romulo, tom. i. pp. 51, 52. edit Bryani.

[2] Plutarchi Vitæ, vol. i. p. 71. In the same page also occurs the word ΚΑΠΙΤΩΛΙΟΝ (*Capitolium*), the CAPITOL.

[3] Dion Cassius, lib. iv. cited by Mr. Rennell (to whom we are principally indebted for the observations above stated), in his Animadversions on the Unitarian Version of the New Testament, p. 52.

[4] See their Lexicons, in voce; their elucidations of this word are cited by Schleusner, in his Lexicon in Nov. Test. voce Λεγεών.

[5] [And to that place some copies (such as Cod. Leicest. noticed above, as omitting them in Luke) transpose them. See the evidence for the genuineness as deduced from the Ammonian Sections and Eusebian Canons in "Account of Printed Text," p. 205.]

[6] Griesbachii et Schulzii Nov. Test. tom. i. p. 470. Rosenmüller, Kuinöel, and Bloomfield on Luke xxii. 43, 44. Pritii, Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 19, 20. Lipsiæ, 1764.

ascertain the place where it was written. Jerome says, that Luke, the third Evangelist, published his Gospel in the countries of Achaia and Bœotia; Gregory Nazianzen also says that Luke wrote for the Greeks, or in Achaia. Grotius states that, about the time when Paul left Rome, Luke departed to Achaia, where he wrote the books we now have. Dr. Cave was of opinion that they were written at Rome before the termination of Paul's captivity; but Drs. Mill and Grabe, and Wetstein, affirm that this Gospel was published at Alexandria in Egypt, in opposition to the pseudo-Gospel circulated among the Egyptians. Dr. Lardner has examined these various opinions at considerable length, and concludes that, upon the whole, there is no good reason for supposing that Luke wrote his Gospel at Alexandria, or that he preached at all in Egypt: on the contrary, it is more probable that when he left Paul, he went into Greece, and there composed or finished and published his Gospel, and the Acts of the Apostles.[1] [Mr. Alford (Proleg. ch. iv. § 7.) gives good reasons for supposing that this Gospel was written some years before the Acts, and that the Acts was a work written at the end of the two years of St. Paul's Roman imprisonment, before Luke had left him.]

V. That Luke wrote his Gospel for the benefit of Gentile converts, is affirmed by the unanimous voice of Christian antiquity, and it may also be inferred from his dedicating it to one of his Gentile converts. This, indeed, appears to have been its peculiar design; for, writing to those who were far remote from the scene of action, and ignorant of Jewish affairs, it was requisite that he should descend to many particulars, and touch on various points, which would have been unnecessary had he written exclusively for Jews. On this account he begins his history with the birth of John the Baptist (i. 5—80.), as introductory to that of Christ; and in the course of it he notices several particulars mentioned by Matthew. (ii. 1—9. &c.) Hence, also, he is particularly careful in specifying various circumstances of facts that were highly conducive to the information of strangers; but which it could not have been necessary to recite to the Jews, who could easily supply them from their own knowledge. On this account, likewise, he gives the genealogy of Christ, not as Matthew had done, by showing that Jesus was the son of David, from whom the Scriptures taught the Jews that the Messiah was to spring; but he traces Christ's lineage up to Adam, agreeably to the mode of tracing genealogies in use among the Gentiles, by ascending from the person whose lineage was given to the founder of his race (iii. 23—38.); and thus shows that Jesus is the seed of the woman, who was promised for the redemption of the whole world. Further, as the Gentiles had but little knowledge of Jewish transactions, Luke has marked the æras, when Christ was born and when John began to announce the Gospel, by the reigns of the Roman emperors (iii. 1, 2.), to which point Matthew and the other Evangelists have not attended. Luke has likewise introduced many things not noticed by the other Evangelists, which encouraged the Gentiles to hearken to the Gospel, and, when their

[1] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 130—136.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 199—202.

consciences were awakened by it, to turn to God on the ground of that redemption which sets forth pardon and acceptance. Of this description are the parables of the publican praying in the temple (xviii. 10.), and of the lost piece of silver (xv. 8—10.), and particularly the prophetic parable of the prodigal son; which, besides its spiritual and universal application, beautifully intimates that the Gentile, represented by the younger or prodigal son, returning at length to his heavenly Father, would meet with the most merciful, gracious, and affectionate reception. (xv. 11. *et seq.*) Christ's visit to Zaccheus the publican (xix. v.) and the pardon of the penitent thief on the cross (xxiii. 40—43.), are also lively illustrations of the mercy and goodness of God to penitent sinners.

Lest, however, doubts should arise whether any but the lost sheep of the house of Israel were interested in these good tidings, other parables and facts are introduced which cannot be taken in this limited sense. Thus Luke recites the parable of the merciful Samaritan (x. 33.); he relates that another Samaritan was healed and commended for his faith and gratitude (xvii. 19.); and, when a village of this people proved rude and inhospitable, that the zeal of the two apostles who wished to consume them by fire from heaven was reproved (ix. 52—56.); and they were told that "*the Son of man came, not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.*"

Lastly, this Evangelist inserts examples of kindness and mercy shown to the Gentiles. Thus, our Saviour, in the very first public discourse recorded in Luke's Gospel, takes notice that such favours were vouchsafed to the widow of Sarepta and Naaman the Syrian, both Gentiles, as were not conferred, in like circumstances, on any of the Israelites. (iv. 25—27.) And the prayer upon the cross (xxiii. 34.), "*Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do,*" is placed between the act of crucifying our Lord and that of parting his raiment, both of which were performed by the Roman soldiers; to whom, therefore, this prayer must have respect, as much as to any of his persecutors.[1]

VI. Great and remarkable characters always have many biographers. Such appears to have been the case with our Saviour, whose life was so beautiful, his character so sublime and divine, his doctrine so excellent, and the miracles by which he confirmed it were so illustrious and so numerous, that it was impossible but many should undertake to write evangelical narrations, or short historical memoirs concerning his life, doctrines, and transactions, which are now lost. This we infer from St. Luke's introduction to his Gospel:—*Forasmuch,* says he, *as many have taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us, even as they, who from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word, delivered them unto us; it seemed good to me also, having had perfect understanding of all things from the very first, to write unto thee in order, most excellent Theophilus, that thou mightest learn the certainty of those things, wherein thou hast been instructed.* (i. 1—4.) From

[1] Dr. Townson's Works, vol. i. pp. 181—196.

these introductory sentences we learn, in the first place, that the writers alluded to were not our Evangelists Matthew and Mark, who were the only Evangelists that can be supposed to have written before Luke; for Matthew was an eye-witness, and wrote from personal knowledge, not from the testimony of others; and *two* cannot with propriety be called *many*. In the next place, it is to be observed that these narrations consisted of *those things which are most surely believed among us*—that is, of the things performed by Jesus Christ, and confirmed by the fullest evidence, among the first professors of the Christian faith, of which number Luke reckons himself. Lastly, it appears that these narrations were received either from the apostles themselves, or from their assistants in the work of the Gospel, who were eye-witnesses of the life and miracles of Jesus Christ, and that they were composed with an upright intention, though they were inaccurate and defective. What these imperfect and incorrect histories of our Saviour were it is impossible now to determine, as they are not mentioned by any contemporary writer, and probably did not survive the age in which they were composed.[1]

The *scope* of Luke's Gospel therefore was, to supersede the defective and unauthentic narratives which were then in circulation, and to deliver to Theophilus[2] a true and genuine account of the life, doctrines, miracles, death, and resurrection of our Saviour. Irenæus and some of the Fathers imagined that Luke derived his information chiefly from the apostle Paul, and that he wrote his Gospel at his command[3]; but this conjecture is contradicted by the Evangelist's own words; whence we are authorised to conclude that he obtained his intelligence principally from those who had both heard and witnessed the discourses and miracles of Jesus Christ. Now it is manifest that St. Paul was not of this number, for he was not converted to the Christian faith until the end of the year 36, or perhaps the beginning of the year 37. It was from conversing with some of the apostles or immediate disciples of our Lord, that Luke was enabled to trace every thing from the beginning, in order that Theophilus might know the certainty of those truths of which he had hitherto received only the first elements.

[1] Mill's Proleg. § 35—37. Doddridge's Fam. Expos. vol. i. p. 1. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 142—145.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 205—206.

[2] As the literal import of this name is *friend of God*, some have imagined that, under this appellation, St. Luke comprised all the followers of Christ, to whom, as *friends of God*, he dedicated this faithful history of our Saviour. But this interpretation appears to have little solidity in it; for, if all the followers of Christ are addressed, why is the *singular* number used? And what good end could there be accomplished by using a feigned name? Augustine, Chrysostom, and many others, have understood Theophilus to be a real person; and Theophylact has well remarked that he was a man of senatorial rank, and possibly a prefect or governor, because he gives him the same title of κράτιστε, *most excellent*, which St. Paul used in his addresses to Felix and Festus. Dr. Cave supposed him to have been a nobleman of Antioch, on the authority of the pretended Clementine Recognitions, but these are of no weight, being composed at the end of the second century, and not from the writer's personal knowledge. The most probable opinion is that of Dr. Lardner, now generally adopted, viz. that as St. Luke composed his Gospel in Greece, Theophilus was a man of rank of the same country. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 138, 139.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 203, 204. Doddridge, Campbell, Whitby, &c. on Luke i. 1—4. Du Veil's Literal Explication of the Acts, pp. 4—7. English Edition, London, 1685.

[3] See Jones on the Canon, vol. iii. p. 91.

VII. From some striking coincidences between certain passages in Luke's Gospel and the parallel passages in that of Matthew [1], Rosenmüller, and some other critics, have imagined that the former had seen the Gospel of the latter, and that he transcribed considerably from it. But this conjecture does not appear to have any solid foundation; for, in the first place, it is contradicted by the Evangelist Luke himself, who expressly says that he derived his information from persons who had been eye-witnesses; which sufficiently account for those coincidences. Further, Luke has related many interesting particulars [2], which are not at all noticed by Matthew. And lastly, the order of time, observed by these two Evangelists, is different. Matthew relates the *facts* recorded in his Gospel in connection with the accompanying or resulting *teaching*. Luke, on the contrary, appears to make a *classification* of events, referring each to its proper class.

The Gospel of Luke, which consists in our modern division of twenty-four chapters, is divided by Rosenmüller and others into five distinct classes, viz.:—

CLASS I. *contains the Narrative of the Birth of Christ, together with all the Circumstances that preceded, attended, and followed it.* (i. ii. 1—40.)

CLASS II. *comprises the Particulars relative to our Saviour's Infancy and Youth.* (ii. 41—52.)

CLASS III. *includes the Preaching of John, and the Baptism of Jesus Christ, whose Genealogy is annexed.* (iii.)

CLASS IV. *comprehends the Discourses, Miracles, and Actions of Jesus Christ, during the whole of his Ministry.* (iv.—ix. 50.)

[1] Compare Luke iii. 7—9. 16, 17. with Matt. iii. 7—12.; Luke v. 20—38. with Matt. ix. 2—17.; Luke vi. 1—5. with Matt. xii. 1—5.; Luke vii. 22—28. with Matt. xi. 4—11.; and Luke xii. 22—31. with Matt. vi. 25—33. Rosenmüller says that Bengel's mode of comparing and harmonising the Gospels of Matthew and Luke is the best.

[2] Thus Luke has recorded the circumstances relating to the birth of John the Baptist; the annunciation; and other important circumstances concerning the nativity of the Messiah; the occasion of Joseph's being then in Bethlehem; the vision granted to the shepherds; the early testimony of Simeon and Anna; the wonderful manifestation of our Lord's proficiency in knowledge, when only twelve years old; and his age at the commencement of his ministry, connected with the year of the reigning emperor. He has given us also an account of several memorable incidents and cures which had been overlooked by the rest; the conversion of Zaccheus the publican; the cure of the woman who had been bowed down for eighteen years; and of the dropsical man; the cleansing of the ten lepers; the repulse he met with when about to enter a Samaritan city; and the instructive rebuke he gave on that occasion to two of his disciples for their intemperate zeal: also the affecting interview he had, after his resurrection, with two of his disciples, in the way to Emmaus, and at that village. Luke has likewise added many edifying parables to those which had been recorded by the other Evangelists. Of this number are the parables of the creditor who had two debtors; of the rich fool who hoarded up his increase, and, when he had not one day to live, vainly exulted in the prospect of many happy years; of the rich man and Lazarus; of the reclaimed profligate; of the Pharisee and the Publican praying in the temple; of the judge who was prevailed on by a widow's importunity, though he feared not God, nor regarded men; of the barren fig-tree; of the compassionate Samaritan; and several others. It is worthy of remark, that most of these particulars were specified by Irenæus, in the second century, as peculiarly belonging to the Gospel of Luke; who has thus, undesignedly, shown to all succeeding ages, that it is, in every thing material, the very *same* book which had ever been distinguished by the name of this Evangelist till his day, and remains so distinguished to our times. Dr. Campbell on the Gospels, vol. ii. p. 126. See the passage of Irenæus in Dr. Lardner's works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 160, 161.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 366, 367.

This appears evident: for, after St. Luke had related his temptation in the wilderness (iv. 1—13.), he immediately adds, that Christ returned to Galilee (14.), and mentions Nazareth (16.), Capernaum (31.), and the lake of Genesareth (v. 1.); and then he proceeds as far as ix. 50. to relate our Saviour's transactions in Galilee.

SECT. 1. The temptation of Christ in the wilderness. (iv. 1—13.)

SECT. 2. Transactions between the first and second passovers, A.D. 30, 31.

§ i. Christ teaches at Nazareth, where his townsmen attempt to kill him. (iv. 14—30.)
§ ii. Christ performs many miracles at Capernaum, where he teaches, as also in other parts of Galilee. (iv. 31—44.)
§ iii. The call of Peter, Andrew, James, and John; and the miraculous draught of fishes. (v. 1—11.)
§ iv. Christ heals a leper and a paralytic. (v. 12—26.)
§ v. The call of Matthew. (v. 27—32.)
§ vi. Christ shows why his disciples do not fast. (v. 33—39.)

SECT. 3. Transactions from the second passover, to a little before the third passover, A.D. 31, 32.

§ i. Christ justifies his disciples for plucking corn on the Sabbath day; and heals a man who had a withered hand. (vi. 1—11)
§ ii. Christ ordains the twelve apostles. (vi. 12—16.)
§ iii. Christ descends from a mountain into the plain (vi. 17—19.), where he repeats a considerable part of his sermon on the mount (20—49.); which is related at length in the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of St. Matthew's Gospel.
§ iv. Christ heals the centurion's servant, and restores to life the widow's son at Nain. (vii. 1—17.)
§ v. Christ's reply to the inquiry of John the Baptist's disciples, and his discourse to the people concerning John. (vii. 18—35.)
§ vi. A woman, who had been a sinner, anoints the feet of Jesus, at the house of Simon the Pharisee. (vii. 36—50.)
§ vii. Christ preaches again through Galilee (viii. 1—3.), where he delivers the parable of the sower. (4—15.)
§ viii. Christ declares the duty of the apostles, and also of all Christians, as the lights of the world (viii. 16—18.), and shows who, in his esteem, are his mother and brethren. (19—21.)
§ ix. Christ stills a tempest by his command (viii. 22—45.), and expels a legion of demons at Gadara. (26—39.)
§ x. Christ cures the issue of blood, and raises the daughter of Jairus to life. (viii. 40—56.)
§ xi. The apostles sent forth to preach.—Herod the Tetrarch desires to see Christ. (ix. 1—9.)
§ xii. Christ miraculously feeds five thousand men.—Their different opinions concerning him, and the duty of taking up the cross enforced. (ix. 10—27.)
§ xiii. The transfiguration of Christ on a mountain. (ix. 28—36.)
§ xiv. On his descent into the plain, Christ casts out a demon, which his disciples could not expel. (ix. 37—42.)
§ xv. Christ forewarns his disciples of his sufferings and death, exhorts them to humility, and shows that such as propagate the Gospel are not to be hindered. (ix. 43—50.)

CLASS V. *contains an account of our Saviour's last Journey to Jerusalem, including every Circumstance relative to his Passion, Death, Resurrection, and Ascension.* (ix. 51—62., x.—xxiv.)

SECT. 1. Transactions from Christ's departure out of Galilee to

Jerusalem, to keep the feast of Tabernacles, to his departure from Jerusalem after the feast.

§ i. In his way to Jerusalem, the Samaritans refuse to receive Christ.—His answer to several persons about following him. (ix. 51—62.)
§ ii. The seventy disciples sent forth to preach. (x. 1—16.)

SECT. 2. Transactions between Christ's departure from Jerusalem, after the feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 32, and his return thither to the feast of Dedication, in the same year.

§ i. The return of the seventy disciples to Christ. (x. 17—24.)
§ ii. Jesus shows who is to be esteemed our neighbour. (x. 25—37.)
§ iii. Christ is entertained by Martha and Mary. (x. 38—42.)
§ iv. Christ teaches his disciples to pray, and inculcates the necessity of importunity in prayer, as also implicit reliance on the paternal goodness of God. (xi. 1—13.)
§ v. Christ's reply to the Jews, who ascribed his expulsion of demons to Beelzebub. (xi. 14—28.)
§ vi. His answer to the Jews, who demanded a sign from heaven. (xi. 29—36.)
§ vii. The Pharisees reproved for their hypocrisy. (xi. 37—54.)
§ viii. Christ warns his disciples, *first*, to avoid hypocrisy (xii. 1—3.); and *secondly*, not to neglect their duty to God, for fear of man. (4—12.)
§ ix. Cautions against covetousness or worldly-mindedness, and exhortations to be chiefly solicitous for spiritual welfare. (xii. 13—34.)
§ x. Admonition to be always prepared for death.—The reward of such as are careful to do their duty, according to their stations and the opportunities offered to them. (xii. 35—48.)
§ xi. Christ reproaches the people for not knowing the time of Messiah's coming (xii. 49—56.); and shows that common reason is sufficient to teach men repentance. (57—59.)
§ xii. God's judgments on some are designed to bring others to repentance.—The parable of the fig-tree. (xiii. 1—9.)
§ xiii. Christ cures an infirm woman on the Sabbath day (xiii. 10—17.); and delivers the parable of the mustard seed. (18—21.)
§ xiv. Christ's journey towards Jerusalem to keep the feast of Dedication; in the course of which he shows that repentance is not to be deferred (xiii. 22—30.); reproves Herod, and laments the judicial blindness of Jerusalem. (31—35.)

SECT. 3. Transactions subsequently to the feast of Dedication, after Christ's departure from Jerusalem, and before his return thither to keep his last passover, A.D. 32, 33.

§ i. Christ heals a dropsical man on the Sabbath day, and inculcates the duties of humility and charity. (xiv. 1—14.)
§ ii. The parable of the great supper. (xiv. 15—24.)
§ iii. Courage and perseverance shown to be requisite in a true Christian. The unprofitableness of an unsound Christian. (xiv. 25—35.)
§ iv. Christ illustrates the joy of the angels in heaven over repenting sinners, by the parables, 1. Of the lost sheep (xv. 1—7.); 2. Of the lost piece of money (8—10.); and, 3. Of the prodigal son. (11—32.)
§ v. The parable of the unjust steward. (xvi. 1—13.)
§ vi. The Pharisees reproved for their covetousness and hypocrisy. (xvi. 14—18.)
§ vii. The parable of the rich man and Lazarus. (xvi. 19—31.)
§ viii. The duty of not giving offence. (xvii. 1—10.)
§ ix. In his last journey to Jerusalem, Christ cures ten lepers (xvii. 11—19.) and discourses concerning his second coming. (20—38.)
§ x. Encouragement to perseverance in prayer, illustrated by the parable of the importunate widow. (xviii. 1—8.)
§ xi. Self-righteousness reproved, and humility encouraged, by the parable of the Pharisee and publican or tax-gatherer. (xviii. 9—14.)
§ xii. Christ encourages young children to be brought to him (xviii. 15—17.); and discourses with a rich young man. (18—30.)

§ xiii. Christ again foretells his death to his disciples (xviii. 31—34.); and cures a blind man near Jericho. (35—42.)
§ xiv. The conversion of Zaccheus. (xix. 1—10.)
§ xv. The parable of a nobleman going into a distant country to receive a kingdom. (xix. 11—28.)

SECT. 4. The transactions at Jerusalem, until the passion of Christ, A.D. 33.

§ i. On *Palm Sunday* (as we now call it), or the *first* day of Passion-week, Christ makes his lowly yet triumphal entry into Jerusalem, weeps over the city, and expels the traders out of the temple. (xix. 29—46.)
§ ii. On *Monday*, or the *second* day of Passion-week, Christ teaches during the day in the temple. (xix. 47, 48.)
§ iii. On *Tuesday*, or the *third* day of Passion-week,
(*a*) *In the day-time, and in the Temple*, Christ confutes the chief priests, scribes, and elders, 1. By a question concerning the baptism of John. (xx. 1—8.)—2. By the parable of the labourers in the vineyard. (9—19.)—3. By showing the lawfulness of paying tribute to Cæsar. (20—26.)—The Sadducees confuted, and the resurrection proved. (27—40.)—The scribes confounded, and the disciples of Christ warned not to follow their example. (41—47.)—The charity of a poor widow commended. (xxi. 1—4.)
(*b*) *In the evening, and principally on the Mount of Olives*, Christ discourses concerning the destruction of the temple, and of the last judgment (xxi. 5—28.); delivers another parable of the fig-tree (29—33.); and enforces the duty of watchfulness. (34—38.)
§ iv. On *Wednesday*, or the *fourth* day of Passion-week, the chief priests consult to kill Christ. (xxii. 1—3.)
§ v. On *Thursday*, or the *fifth* day of Passion week, Judas covenants to betray Christ (xxii. 4—6.); and Christ sends two disciples to prepare the Passover. (7—13.)
§ vi. On the *Passover day*,—that is, *from Thursday evening to Friday evening of Passion week*,
(*a*) *In the evening*, Christ eats the Passover; institutes the Lord's Supper; discourses on humility, and foretells his being betrayed by Judas, his abandonment by his disciples, and Peter's denial of him. (xxii. 14—38.)
(*b*) *Towards night*, after eating the Passover with his apostles, Jesus goes to the Mount of Olives; where, after being some time in an agony, he is apprehended. (xxii. 39—53.)
(*c*) *During the night*, Christ having been conducted to the high priest's house (whither Peter followed and denied him), is derided. (xxii. 54—65.)
(*d*) *At day-break on Friday morning*, Christ is tried before the Sanhedrin (xxii. 66—71.); from whose tribunal,
(*e*) *On Friday morning*, 1. he is delivered first to Pilate (xxiii. 1—7.), who sends him to Herod (8—12.); by whom he is again sent to Pilate, and is by him condemned to be crucified. (13—25.)—2. Christ's discourse to the women of Jerusalem as he was led forth to be crucified. (26—31.)
(*f*) The transactions of the *third hour*.—The crucifixion; Christ's garments divided; the inscription on the cross; his address to the penitent robber. (xxiii. 32—43.)
(*g*) *From the sixth to the ninth hour*.—The preternatural darkness, rending of the veil; death of Christ, and its concomitant circumstances. (xxiii. 44—49.)
(*h*) *Between the ninth hour and sunset*, Jesus Christ is interred by Joseph of Arimathea. (xxiii. 50—56.)

SECT. 5. Transactions after Christ's resurrection on *Easter Day*.

§ i. Christ's resurrection testified to the women by the angel. (xxiv. 1—11.)
§ ii. Christ appears to two disciples in their way to Emmaus, and also to Peter. (xxiv. 12—35.)
§ iii. His appearance to the apostles, and his instructions to them. (xxiv. 36—49.)

SECT. 6. The Ascension of Christ, and the Apostles' return to Jerusalem. (xxiv. 50—52.)

The plan of classifying events, adopted by Luke, has been followed by Livy, Plutarch, and other profane historical writers. Thus Suetonius, after exhibiting a brief summary of the life of Augustus, previous to his acquiring the sovereign power, announces his intention of recording the subsequent events of his life, not in order of time, but arranging them into *distinct* classes; and then proceeds to give an account of his wars, honours, legislation, discipline, and private life.[1] In like manner, Florus intimates that he would not observe the strict order of time; but in order that the things which he should relate might the better appear, he would relate them distinctly and separately.[2]

VIII. If Paul had not informed us (Col. iv. 14.) that Luke was by profession a physician, and consequently a man of letters, his writings would have sufficiently evinced that he had had a liberal education; for although his Gospel presents as many Hebraisms, perhaps, as any of the sacred writings, yet his language contains more numerous Græcisms than that of any other writer of the New Testament. The style of this Evangelist is pure, copious, and flowing, and bears a considerable resemblance to that of his great master, Paul. Many of his words and expressions are exactly parallel to those which are to be found in the best classic authors; and several eminent critics have long since pointed out the singular skill and propriety with which Luke has named and described the various diseases which he had occasion to notice. As an instance of his copiousness, Dr. Campbell has remarked, that each of the Evangelists has a number of words which are used by none of the rest: but in Luke's Gospel, the number of such words as are used in none of the other Gospels is greater than that of the peculiar words found in all the other three Gospels put together; and that the terms peculiar to Luke are for the most part long and compound words. There is also more of composition in his sentences than is found in the other three Gospels, and consequently less simplicity. Of this we have an example in the first sentence, which occupies not less than four verses. Further, Luke seems to approach nearer to the manner of other historians, in giving what may be called his own verdict in the narrative part of his work. Thus he calls the Pharisees *φιλάργυροι, lovers of money* (xvi. 14.); and in distinguishing Judas Iscariot from the other Judas, he uses the phrase *ὃς καὶ ἐγένετο προδότης, who also proved a traitor.* (vi. 16.) Matthew (x. 4.) and Mark (iii. 19.) express the same sentiment in milder language—*who delivered him up.* Again, the attempt made by the Pharisees, to extort from our Lord what might prove matter of accusation against him, is expressed by St. Luke in more animated language than is used by either of the rest (xi. 53.): "*They began vehemently to press him with questions on many points.*" And, on another occasion, speaking of the same people, he says, that *they were filled with madness.* (vi. 11.) Lastly, in the moral instructions given by our Lord, and recorded by this Evangelist, especially in the parables, no one has surpassed him in

[1] Suetonius in Augusto, c. lx. (al. xii.) p. 58. edit. Bipont. This historian has pursued the same method in his life of Cæsar.

[2] Flori Hist. Rom. lib. ii. c. 19.

uniting affecting sweetness of manner with genuine simplicity, particularly in the parables of the benevolent Samaritan and the penitent prodigal.[1]

CHAP. VI.

ON THE GOSPEL BY ST. JOHN.

I. THE TITLE of this Gospel varies greatly in the manuscripts, editions, and versions. In the Codex Vaticanus it is simply *κατὰ Ἰωάννην, according to John;* in many other MSS. and editions, *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ἰωάννην, the Gospel according to John,* or *τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην* (*ἅγιον*) *Εὐαγγέλιον, the Gospel according to* (*Saint*) *John.*

II. John, the evangelist and apostle, was the son of Zebedee, a fisherman of the town of Bethsaida, on the sea of Galilee, and the younger brother of James the elder. His mother's name was Salome. Zebedee, though a fisherman, appears to have been in good circumstances; for the evangelical history informs us that he was the owner of a vessel, and had hired servants. (Mark i. 20.) And therefore we have no reason to imagine that his children were altogether *illiterate,* as some critics have imagined them to have been, from a misinterpretation of Acts iv. 13., where the terms *ἀγράμματοι* and *ἰδιῶται,* in our version rendered "*unlearned* and *ignorant* men," simply denote persons in private stations of life, who were neither rabbis nor magistrates, and such as had not studied in the schools of the Pharisees, and consequently were ignorant of the rabbinical learning and traditions of the Jews. John and his brother James were, doubtless, well acquainted with the Scriptures of the Old Testament, having not only read them, but heard them publicly explained in the synagogues; and, in common with the other Jews, they entertained the expectation of the Messiah, and that his kingdom would be a temporal one. It is not impossible, though it cannot be affirmed with certainty, that John had been a disciple of John the Baptist, before he became a disciple of Christ. At least, the circumstantial account, which he has given in ch. i. 37—41. of the two disciples who followed Christ, might induce us to suppose that he was one of the two. It is, however, certain that he had both seen and heard our Saviour, and had witnessed some of his miracles, particularly that performed at Cana in Galilee. (ii. 1—11.) John has not recorded his own call to the apostleship; but we learn from the other three Evangelists that it took place when he and James were fishing upon the sea of Galilee.[2] And Mark, in enumerating the twelve apostles (iii.

[1] Dr. Campbell on the Gospels, vol. ii. pp. 126—129. Rosenmüller, Scholia in Nov. Test. vol. ii. pp. 3—6. Kuinöel, Comment. in Libros Hist. Nov. Test. vol. ii. pp. 213—220. Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part i. pp. 228—271. Pritii, Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 181—195. Viser, Herm. Sacr. Nov. Test. pars i. pp. 333—339. pars ii. pp. 205—209. 221. *et seq.* 264. Rumpæi, Comm. Crit. in Libros Nov. Test. pp. 81. 88. Bishop Cleaver's Discourse on the Style of St. Luke's Gospel, in his Sermons, pp. 209—224. 8vo. Oxford, 1808.

[2] Matt. iv. 21, 22. Mark i. 19, 20. Luke v. 1—10. Lampe has marked what he thinks are three degrees in the call of St. John to be a follower of Christ, viz. 1. His call to the discipleship (John i. 37—42.), after which he continued to follow his business for

17.), when he mentions James and John, says that our Lord "surnamed them Boanerges, which is, sons of thunder," from which appellation we are not to suppose that they were of particularly fierce and ungovernable tempers (as Dr. Cave has conjectured)[1]; but, as Dr. Lardner and others have observed, it is rather to be considered as prophetically representing the resolution and courage with which they would openly and boldly declare the great truths of the Gospel when fully acquainted with them. How appropriate this title was, the Acts of the Apostles and the writings of John abundantly show.[2] From the time when John and his brother received their immediate call from Christ, they became his constant attendants; they heard his discourses, and beheld his miracles; and, after previous instruction, both public and private, they were honoured with a selection and appointment to be of the number of the apostles.

What the age of John was at this time, his history does not precisely ascertain. Some have conjectured that he was then twenty-two years old; others that he was about twenty-five or twenty-six years of age; and others again think that he was about the age of our Saviour. Dr. Lardner is of opinion that none of the apostles were much under the age of thirty when they were appointed to that important office. Whatever his age might have been, John seems to have been the youngest of the twelve, and (if we may judge from his writings) to have possessed a temper singularly mild, amiable, and affectionate. He was eminently the object of our Lord's regard and confidence; and was, on various occasions, admitted to free and intimate intercourse with him, so that he was characterised as "the disciple whom Jesus loved." (John xiii. 23.) Hence we find him present at several scenes, to which most of the other disciples were not admitted. He was an eye-witness, in company with only Peter and James, to the resurrection of Jairus's daughter to life, to our Saviour's transfiguration on the mount, and to his agony in the garden. John responded by the most sincere attachment to his master; for though, in common with the other apostles, he had betrayed a culpable timidity in forsaking him during his last conflict, yet he afterwards recovered his firmness, and was the only apostle who followed Christ to the place of his crucifixion. He was also present at the several appearances of our Saviour after his resurrection, and has given his testimony to the truth of that miraculous fact; and these circumstances, together with his intercourse with the mother of Christ (whom our Saviour had commended to his care) (xix. 26, 27.), qualified him, better than any other writer, to give a circumstantial and authentic history of Jesus Christ.

After the ascension of Christ, and the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost, John became one of the chief apostles of the circumcision, and exercised his ministry at Jerusalem and its vicinity, in the manner and with the success related in the Acts of the

a short time; 2. His call to be one of the immediate companions of Christ (Matt. iv. 21, 22.); and, 3. His call to the apostleship, when the surname of Boanerges was given to him and his brother. Lampe, Comment. in Evangelium Johannis Prolegom. cap. ii. pp. 17—21.

[1] Cave's Life of St. James the Great, § 5. p. 142.

[2] Lampe, *ut supra*, pp. 21—30.

Apostles.[1] He was present at the council held in that city (Acts xv.) about the year 49 or 50. Until this time he probably remained in Judæa, and had not travelled into any foreign countries. From ecclesiastical history we learn, that after the death of Mary, the mother of Christ, John proceeded to Asia Minor, where he founded and presided over seven churches in as many cities, but resided chiefly at Ephesus. Thence he was banished to the Isle of Patmos towards the close of Domitian's reign, where he wrote his Revelation. (Rev. i. 9.) On his liberation from exile, by the accession of Nerva to the imperial throne, John returned to Ephesus, where he wrote his Gospel and Epistles, and died in the hundredth year of his age, about the year of Christ 100, and in the third year of the reign of the emperor Trajan.[2]

III. The precise time when this Gospel was written has not been ascertained, though it is generally agreed that John composed it at Ephesus. Basnage and Lampe suppose it to have been written before the destruction of Jerusalem; and, in conformity with their opinion, Dr. Lardner fixes its date in the year 68; Dr. Owen in 69; Michaelis in 70. But Chrysostom and Epiphanius, among the ancient Fathers, and Dr. Mill, Fabricius, Le Clerc, and Bishop Tomline, among the moderns, refer its date, with greater probability, to the year 97, Mr. Jones to the year 98, and Bertholdt to the last decad of the first century. The principal argument for its early date is derived from John v. 2., where the apostle says, "*Now there* IS *at Jerusalem, by the sheep-market, a pool, which is called in the Hebrew tongue Bethesda, having five porches.*" From these words it is urged, that Jerusalem was standing when they were written; and that, if they had been written *after* the destruction of Jerusalem, the Evangelist would have used the past tense instead of the present, and would have said, *There* WAS *at Jerusalem a pool,* &c. But this argument is more specious than forcible; for though Jerusalem was demolished, it does not necessarily follow that the pool of Bethesda was dried up. On the contrary, there are much stronger reasons for supposing that it escaped the general devastation; for, when Vespasian ordered the city to be demolished, he permitted some things to remain for the use of the garrison which was to be stationed there[3]; and he would naturally leave this bathing-place, fitted up with recesses or porticoes for shade and shelter, that he might not deprive the soldiers of a grateful refreshment.[4] Now, since the Evangelist's proposition may simply regard Bethesda, we cannot be certain that it looks further, or has any view to the state of Jerusalem. The argument, therefore, which is deduced from the above passage in favour of an early date, is inconclusive.

[1] See particularly Acts iii. iv. 1—22. and viii. 5—26.

[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 156—170.; 4to. vol iii. pp. 212—220. Michaelis, vol. iii. part i. pp. 272—274. Lampe, Proleg. in Joan. Evangel. pp. 31—102. Jones on the Canon, vol. iii. pp. 101—110.

[3] See Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. iii. c. i. § i.

[4] Dr. Townson's Works, vol. i. p. 224. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that Vespasian soon after erected magnificent public baths at Rome. Suetonius in Vespasiano, c. vii.

But besides this argument, we have strong evidence from the contents and design of the Gospel itself, that it was not written until a late period. It is evident, as Bishop Tomline has forcibly remarked, that the Evangelist considers those to whom he addresses his Gospel as but little acquainted with Jewish customs and names; for he gives various explanations which would be unnecessary, if the persons for whom he wrote were conversant with the usages of the Jews.[1] Similar explanations occur in the Gospels of Mark and Luke; but in this of John they are more marked, and occur more frequently. The reason of which may be, that, when John wrote, many more Gentiles, and of more distant countries, had been converted to Christianity; and it was now become necessary to explain to the Christian church, thus extended, many circumstances which needed no explanation while its members belonged only to the neighbourhood of Judæa, and while the Jewish polity was still in existence. It is reasonable to suppose that the feasts and other peculiarities of the Jews would be but little understood by the Gentiles of Asia Minor, thirty years after the destruction of Jerusalem.[2]

IV. The Gospel by John has been very generally and universally received as genuine, no discussions on the subject having been raised till of late years. The circumstantiality of its details indicates that the book was written by a *hearer* and *eye-witness* of the discourses and transactions it records; and, consequently, could not be written *long afterwards* by a Platonic Christian, as it has been recently asserted, contrary to all evidence. But, besides this incontestable internal evidence, we have the external and uninterrupted testimony of the ancient Fathers of the Christian church. His Gospel was also received by Justin Martyr[3], Tatian, the churches of Vienne and Lyons[4], Irenæus[5], Athenagoras[6], Theophilus of Antioch[7], Clement of Alexandria[8], Tertullian[9], Ammonius[10], Origen[11], Eusebius[12], Epiphanius, Augustine, Chrysostom, and, in short, by all subsequent writers of the ancient Christian church.[13] The Alogi or Alogians, a sect which is *said* to have existed in the second century, are reported to have rejected this Gospel, as well as the rest of John's writings; but we have no information concerning these Alogi, on which any dependance can be placed: for, in strictness, we have no account of them except the later and uncertain accounts of Philaster and Epiphanius; Irenæus, Eusebius, and other ancient writers before them,

[1] See particularly John i. 38. 41., ii. 6. 13., iv. 9., and xi. 55.
[2] Elements of Christ. Theol. vol. i. pp. 335. Jones on the Canon, vol. iii. pp. 113—116.
[3] Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 139.; 4to. vol. i. p. 355.
[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 150.; 4to. vol. i. p. 361.
[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 161.; 4to. vol. i. p. 367.
[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 183.; 4to. vol. i. p. 379.
[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 193.; 4to. vol. i. p. 384.
[8] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 212. 220.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 395, 399.
[9] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 256.; 4to. vol. i. p. 419.
[10] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 414—417.; 4to. vol. i. pp 503—505.
[11] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 469, 470.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 533, 534.
[12] Ibid. 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 225—227.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 368, 369.
[13] See their several testimonies in Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 187—190.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 227, 228.

being totally silent concerning the Alogi. The probability, therefore, is, that there never was any such heresy.[1]

With such decisive testimonies to the genuineness of John's Gospel, it is not a little surprising, that an eminent critic on the continent[2] should have asserted that his Gospel and Epistles exhibit clear evidence that it was not written by an eye-witness, but was compiled by some Gentile Christian in the beginning of the second century, after the death of the Evangelist John, for whom he passed himself. [That those who in modern times have impugned the authority of this Gospel should not have been content with *one* hypothesis is but what might have been expected; *various* theories have *now* been brought forward; all of them, however, agreeing perfectly in the non-reception of this book. It is really wonderful how perseveringly the opposers of definite truth are willing to take up *any* theory which may enable them to evade the obligations of God as set forth in His word. The importance of these modern theories does not consist in their *ingenuity*, nor in the learning (such as it is) with which they are supported, but simply in their *mischief*. To those who are satisfied with resting on absolute objective evidence, such attacks must be felt to be without real force; even though they may *seem* to others to have much in them. The modern attacks on St. John's Gospel have been fully refuted by Dr. Davidson. (Introduction, i. 244—312.) The following remarks of Mr. Alford may also be taken as giving a good and clear statement on the subject: "The modern opponents of the genuineness and canonicity of this Gospel have raised two arguments against it upon *internal* evidence. The first of these rests upon the assumed radical diversity between the views of the person and teaching of Christ presented to us by John, and by the synoptic Evangelists. . . . . Supposing the diversity to be as unaccountable as it is natural, it would of itself serve as a strong presumption that the Gospel was not the work of a forger, who would have enlarged and decorated the accounts already existing, but a genuine testimony of one who was not an imitator of, nor dependent on these others.

"The second endeavours, by bringing out various supposed inconsistencies in the narration, to show that the Apostle John cannot have been the author. . . . . But again, the passages cited to support this involve only geographical and archæological *difficulties*, such as would never have been raised by an impostor. . . . . The other objections derived from internal considerations are hardly worth recounting." (Gr. Test. Proleg. v. § vi.)] With such testimonies to the genuineness of this Gospel, it may seem strange so distinguished a critic as Grotius should have imagined that the Evangelist terminated his history of our Saviour with the twentieth chapter, and that the twenty-first chapter was added after his death by the church at Ephesus. But this opinion is not countenanced by manuscripts or

[1] Dr. Lardner's Works, vol. ix. pp. 515, 516.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 690, 691.

[2] Dr. Bretschneider, in his *Probabilia de Evangelii et Epistolarum Johannis Apostoli Indole, et Origine.* 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1820. In justice to Dr. Bretschneider it must now be stated that, in the preface to the second edition of his Handbuch der Dogmatik (Manual of Dogmatic Theology), he declared himself satisfied concerning the genuineness of this passage. (Jena Literary Gazette for January 1827, Supplt. No. 1.)

versions; for, as this Gospel was published before the Evangelist's death, if there had been an edition of it without the twenty-first chapter, it would in all probability have been wanting in some copies. To which we may add that the genuineness of the chapter in question was never doubted by any one of the ancient Christian writers. Finally, the style is precisely the same as that of the rest of his Gospel.[1]

[On this subject Mr. Alford, says, "The reader will have perceived in the foregoing comment on the chapter a manifest leaning to the belief that it was written by John himself. *Of this I am fully convinced.* In every part of it, his hand is plain and unmistakable; in every part of it his character is manifested in a way which none but the most biassed can fail to recognise. I believe it to have been added some years, probably, after the completion of the Gospel. . . . . External evidence completely tallies with this view. The chapter is contained in *all the principal MSS.*, and there is no greater variety of reading than usual. In these respects it differs remarkably from John vii. 53—viii. 11., and even from Mark xvi. 9—20. Internal evidence of style and diction is nearly balanced. It certainly contains several words and constructions not met with elsewhere in John; but, on the other hand, the whole cast of it is his,—the copulæ are his,—the train of thought, and manner of narration. And all allowance should be made for the double alteration of style of writing, which would be likely to be brought about by lapse of time, and by the very nature of an appendix—a fragment,—not forming part of a whole written continuously, but standing by itself. The two last verses, from their contents, we might expect to have more of the epistolary form; and accordingly, we find them singularly in style resembling the Epistles of John.

"On the whole, I am persuaded that in this chapter we have a fragment, both *authentic* and *genuine*, added for reasons apparent on the face of it, *by the Apostle himself*, bearing evidence of his hand, but in a 'second manner,' a later style; probably (as I think is shown, *inter alia*, in the simplicity of the οἶμαι in verse 25.) in the decline of life. I cannot, with Luthardt, regard the two last verses as an addition by the Ephesian church. If, as he thinks, the οἴδαμεν favours this view, does not the οἶμαι as much disfavour it?"

To this latter remark of Mr. Alford, it may be added that the opinion that these two verses were the attestation of the Ephesian elders, has been held even by those who took the strongest view of the authority of Scripture; such, for instance, as Dr. John Owen, who spoke of this opinion as though it were in his day common to himself and others.]

The genuineness of the portion of this Gospel comprised between ch. vii. 53. and viii. 1—11. has been much discussed. Its authenticity has been questioned or denied by Erasmus, Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Le Clerc, Wetstein, Semler, Schulze, Morus, Haenlein, Paulus,

[1] The genuineness of the twenty-first chapter of St. John's Gospel is satisfactorily vindicated against the objections of Grotius, and some modern critics, by Professor Weber in his "Authentia capitis ultimi Evangelii Johannis, &c." Halis, 1823, 8vo.

Schmidt, and various other writers who are mentioned by Wolfius[1], and by Koecher.[2] Griesbach and Schulz have remarked it as a passage which ought probably to be omitted: this had been done by Wetstein previously, as since by Lachmann, Tischendorf, and many others: and its genuineness has been advocated by Drs. Mill and Whitby, Bp. Middleton, Heumann, Michaelis, Storr, Langius, Dettmers, Stacudlin[3], Kuinöel, and Dr. Bloomfield. The limits necessarily prescribed to this section forbid us to enter into a review of all that has been said on this subject; but it may be permitted to remark that the evidence appears to be in favour of the genuineness of the passage in question. For, though it is not found in several ancient versions, and is not quoted or illustrated by Chrysostom, Theophylact, Nonnus (who wrote commentaries or explanations of this Gospel), nor by Tertullian, or Cyprian, both of whom treat copiously on chastity and adultery, and therefore had abundant opportunity of citing it, if it had been extant in their copies; yet *it is found in the greater part of the manuscripts* (Griesbach has enumerated *more than eighty*) that are extant, though with great diversity of readings. If it had not been genuine, how could it have found its way into all these manuscripts? Moreover, there is nothing in the paragraph in question that militates either against the character, sentiments, or conduct of Jesus Christ; on the contrary, the whole is perfectly consistent with his meekness, gentleness, and benevolence. To which we may add, that this passage is cited as genuine by Augustine, who assigns the reason why it was omitted by some copyists, viz. lest any offence should be taken by supposing that our Lord suffered a guilty woman to go unpunished. But, in reply to this supposition or objection, we may remark, 1. That, according to his own declaration, *he came not into the world to condemn the world* (John iii. 17., viii. 15., xii. 47., Luke xii. 14.), and to execute the office of a judge (and it is but reasonable to try him by his own principles, in which *no* inconsistency can be found); and, 2. Any exercise of judicial authority would have given a direct contradiction to that deference and subordination which he constantly showed and inculcated to the power of the civil magistrate. An additional evidence in favour of the disputed clause is found in the seventh verse of John viii., where λίθον has the article τὸν prefixed: *He that is without sin among you, let him first cast* THE [not *a* stone, as in our authorised version] STONE *at her;* TON ΛΙΘΟΝ ἐπ' αὐτῇ βαλέτω. The allusion, Bishop Middleton remarks, is to the particular manner of stoning, which required that one of the witnesses (for two at the least were necessary, see Deut. xvii. 6.) should throw *the* stone, which was to serve as a signal to the by-standers to complete the punishment. There is, therefore, strict propriety in calling this stone TON λίθον, in order to distinguish it from *other* stones. It is not probable that an interpolator would have been thus exact in his phrascology, or would have adverted to this apparently trifling circumstance; espe-

[1] Wolfii Curæ Philologicæ, in loc. [2] Koecheri Analecta, in loc.

[3] Staeudlin, Prolusio quâ Pericopæ de Adulterâ, Joh. vii. 53. viii. 1—11., Veritas et Authentia defenditur. Gottingæ, 1806. 4to.

cially since the expression of βάλλειν τὸν λίθον is not elsewhere found in the New Testament. A few manuscripts (Griesbach and Schulz specify eleven) [but these are among the oldest that contain the section] omit the article; but this, Dr. M. is of opinion, only proves that the copyists knew not what to make of it; and that, had they undertaken to interpolate the passage, they would have done it less skilfully than did the present interpolator, supposing we must consider the passage to be spurious.[1] Upon a review therefore of the whole evidence respecting this disputed clause, the author concludes that it preponderates in favour of its genuineness.

[The editor has given elsewhere ("Account of Printed Text," pp. 236—243.) his statement of the evidence for and against the passage, and his grounds for regarding it as no genuine portion of St. John's Gospel, though in all probability a perfectly true narrative. The outline of evidence is this: — It is found *in some form or other* in D. F. G. H. K., U. Γ., and more than 300 cursive copies as part of the text. In E. Λ. and sixteen cursive copies it is marked with asterisks; also in part in M. In S. it is obelized, as well as in about forty cursive copies. In ten cursive copies it is placed by itself at the end of this Gospel, and four others similarly place a part of it. The Codex Leicestrensis (69.) and three others place it at the end of Luke xxi.; and one MS. has it after John vii. 36.

It is found in *some* copies of the old Latin, in the Vulgate, the Æthiopic, and the Jerusalem Syriac Lectionary.

Jerome and other Latin writers of the latter part of the fourth century, mention that it was found in many copies, and Augustine conjectures why some might omit it.

On the other hand, it is omitted by A. B. C. T. (all MSS. of the oldest class), in L. X. Δ., in 33. and more than fifty other cursive copies, and more than thirty lectionaries. Here account should be taken of the MSS. which mark it as doubtful, or place it elsewhere. It should too be noticed, that D. is the *only* MS. of the oldest class which has the section; but in such a form that if it is genuine there, it cannot be so in any of the other copies.

It is not found in the *best* copies of the *old* Latin, nor in the Peshito, nor Harclean Syriac, nor in the Memphitic in the good MSS., nor in the Thebaic, nor the Gothic, nor the Armenian. (The enumeration of these versions is made correctly as to the result, the steps have been given elsewhere.)

Besides early Latin Fathers, it was *certainly* unknown to Origen and Chrysostom, and others amongst the Greeks. Indeed, the section has but little Greek authority till after the seventh century, and it has been *always* regarded as most doubtful.]

V. The design of St. John in writing his Gospel, was "to convey to the Christian world just and adequate notions of the real nature, character, and office of that great Teacher, who came to instruct and

[1] Kuinöel, Comment. in Libros Nov. Test. Historicos, pp. 379—396. Tittmanni Commentarius in Evang. Johannis, pp. 318—322. Bishop Middleton's Doctrine of the Greek Article, on John viii. 7. Griesbachii et Schulzii Nov. Test. tom. i. pp. 555, 556. Bloomfield's Annotations, vol. iii. 275—284., in which Dr. B. has given a copious statement of the evidence for and against this section of St. John's Gospel.

redeem mankind. For this purpose he studiously selected for his narrative those passages of our Saviour's life which most clearly displayed his divine power and authority; and those of his discourses in which he spoke most plainly of his own nature, and of the efficacy of his death, as an atonement for the sins of the world. The object which this Evangelist had in view is very clearly stated in chap. xx. verse 31. It was not to accumulate as many instances as possible of the miraculous power exerted by Jesus; but only those which most distinctly illustrated his peculiar office and nature: *Many other signs truly did Jesus, in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book: But* THESE *are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing, ye might have life through his name.* This expression seems to prove, that those persons are wrong who suppose that St. John wrote his Gospel merely to supply the defects and omissions of the other Evangelists. The real difference between them is, that *they* wrote a history of our Saviour's life; but St. John, of his person and office."[1]

But besides this more general design of the Evangelist, we are informed by Irenæus, and other ancient writers, that there were two especial motives that induced John to compose his Gospel. One was that he might refute the heresies of Cerinthus and the Nicolaitans, who had attempted to corrupt the Christian doctrine: the other motive was, that he might supply those important events in our Saviour's life which the other Evangelists had omitted. Respecting the former of these motives, Irenæus gives us the following account.[2]

"John being desirous to extirpate the errors sown in the minds of men by Cerinthus, and some time before by those called Nicolaitans, published his Gospel: in which he acquaints us that there is one God, who made all things by his word, and not, as they say, one who is the Creater of the world, and another who is the Father of the Lord: one the Son of the Creator, and another the Christ from the super-celestial abodes, who descended upon Jesus the Son of the Creator, but remained impassable, and afterwards fled back to his own plerōma or fulness."

This testimony of Irenæus has been opposed by Lampe, Lardner, Tittmann, Kuinöel, and adopted by Buddeus, Michaelis, Moldenhawer, Mosheim, Bishop Tomline, Dr. Owen, and other later divines. The principal objections against the declaration of Irenæus may be reduced to the two following: viz.

1. That Irenæus is at variance with himself; for in another passage he says, "as John the disciple of our Lord assures us, saying, *But these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name; foreseeing* these blasphemous notions that divide the Lord, so far as it is in their power."[3] Now, if Irenæus here meant to say, that John

[1] Bp. Blomfield's Lectures on the Gospel of St. John, pp. 4, 5.

[2] Irenæus adv. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 11.

[3] Quemadmodum Joannes Domini discipulus confirmat, dicens, "Hæc autem scripta sunt, ut credatis quoniam Jesus est filius Dei, et ut credentes, vitam æternam habeatis in nomine ejus;" *providens* has blasphemas regulas, quæ dividunt Dominum quantum ex ipsis attinet. Advers. Hæres. lib. iii. c. 16.

only *foresaw* the errors which were propagated by Cerinthus and the Gnostics, it must appear very extraordinary that he should say, in the passage above quoted, that John wrote against the errors which had been propagated by Cerinthus. But the contradiction is only apparent; for *providens*, the expression of Irenæus, does not signify "foreseeing," but *guarding against*. The latter passage, therefore, when properly explained, does not confute but confirm the former. Besides, as Paul, in his first Epistle to Timothy, speaks of Gnostic errors, it is evident that they must have been propagated long before John wrote his Gospel.

2. The second argument, relied upon by those learned men who dissent from the common opinion, is, that the early Fathers, in their catalogues of heretics, for the most part place Cerinthus after Carpocrates, who unquestionably lived and taught in the second century. This circumstance would certainly possess considerable weight, if it appeared that the early Fathers had paid due attention to the regular order of time in their enumeration of heretics: but, instead of this, some think the fact to be, that the names of heretics are set down by Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement, and others, at random, and without paying any regard to the times in which they lived. "But even if Irenæus had not asserted that St. John wrote his Gospel against the Gnostics, and particularly against Cerinthus, the contents of the Gospel itself would lead to this conclusion. The speeches of Christ, which John has recorded, are selected with a totally different view from that of the three first Evangelists, who have given such as are of a moral nature, whereas those which are given by John are chiefly dogmatical, and relate to Christ's divinity, the doctrine of the Holy Ghost, the supernatural assistance to be communicated to the Apostles, and other subjects of a like import. In the very choice of his expressions, such as '*light*,' '*life*,' &c., he had in view the philosophy of the Gnostics, who used or rather abused these terms. That the fourteen first verses of John's Gospel are merely historical, and contain only a short account of Christ's history before his appearance on earth, is a supposition devoid of all probability. On the contrary, it is evident that they are purely doctrinal, and that they were introduced with a polemical view, in order to confute errors which prevailed at that time respecting the person of Jesus Christ. Unless John had an adversary to combat who made particular use of the words '*light*,' and '*life*,' he would not have thought it necessary, after having described the Creator of all things, to add, that in him was life, and the life was the light of men, or to assert that John the Baptist was not that light. The very meaning of the word '*light*' would be extremely dubious, unless it were determined by its particular application in the oriental Gnosis. For without the supposition that John had to combat with an adversary who used this word in a particular sense, it might be applied to any divine instructor, who by his doctrines enlightened mankind. Further, the positions contained in the fourteen first verses are antitheses to positions maintained by the Gnostics, who used the words λόγος, ζωή, φῶς, μονογενὴς, πλήρωμα, &c. as technical terms of their philosophy. Lastly,

the speeches of Christ, which St. John has selected, are such as confirm the positions laid down in the first chapter of his Gospel; and therefore we must conclude that his principal object throughout the whole of his Gospel was to confute the errors of the Gnostics."[1]

In addition to the preceding arguments and proofs, there is one circumstance highly worthy of remark, which greatly strengthens the testimony of Irenæus as to the object of John in writing his Gospel; viz. that he delivered it within a century after that Gospel was written. Now, as Irenæus was a disciple of Polycarp, who was personally acquainted with the Evangelist, he consequently had the best means of procuring information on this subject. The evidence of a credible writer of the second century, uncontradicted by contemporary writers, or by those who lived in the following century, is surely preferable to the conjectures offered by critics of the eighteenth or nineteenth century.[2] In order to understand the design and arrangement of John's Gospel, it will be necessary to take a brief review of the tenets of Cerinthus, in opposition to which the Evangelist purposely wrote it. This will not only reflect considerable light on particular passages, but make the whole appear a complete work,—regular, clear, and conclusive.

Cerinthus was by birth a Jew, who lived at the close of the first century. Having studied literature and philosophy at Alexandria, he attempted at length to form a new and singular system of doctrine and discipline, by a monstrous combination of the doctrines of Jesus Christ with the opinions and errors of the Jews and Gnostics. From the latter he borrowed their *Plerōma* or fulness, their *Æons* or spirits, their *Demiurgus* or creator of the visible world, &c., and so modified and tempered these fictions as to give them an air of Judaism, which must have considerably favoured the progress of his heresy. He taught that the most high God was utterly unknown before the appearance of Christ, and dwelt in a remote heaven called ΠΛΗΡΩΜΑ (*Plerōma*) with the chief spirits or Æons—That this supreme God first generated an *only begotten* SON, ΜΟΝΟΓΕΝΕΣ, who again begat the word, ΛΟΓΟΣ, which was inferior to the first-born—That CHRIST was a still lower æon, though far superior to some others—That there were two higher æons, distinct from Christ; one called ΖΩΗ, or LIFE, and the other ΦΩΣ, or the LIGHT—That from the æons again proceeded inferior orders of spirits, and particularly one *Demiurgus*, who created this visible world out of eternal matter—That this Demiurgus was ignorant of the supreme God, and much lower than the Æons, which were wholly invisible—That he was, however, the peculiar God and protector of the Israelites, and sent Moses to them, whose laws were to be of perpetual obligation—That Jesus was a mere man of the most illustrious sanctity and justice, the real son of Joseph and Mary—That the Æon Christ descended upon him in the

[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. part i. p. 280.

[2] Lampe, Prolegom. in Johannis Evangelium, vol. i. p. 179. *et seq.* Buddeus de Ecclesia Apostolica, p. 412. *et seq.* Mosheim's Commentaries on the Affairs of Christians, vol. i. pp. 337, 338. *note.* Michaelis, vol. iii. part i. pp. 278, 279. Tittmanni Meletemata Sacra in Evangelium Johannis, pp. 14—24. Kuinœl, Comment. in Hist. Libros Nov. Test. vol. iii. pp. 42. *et seq.*

form of a dove when he was baptized, revealed to him the unknown father, and empowered him to work miracles—That the Æon, LIGHT, entered John the Baptist in the same manner, and therefore that John was in some respects preferable to Christ—That Jesus, after his union with Christ, opposed himself with vigour to the God of the Jews, at whose instigation he was seized and crucified by the Hebrew chiefs, and that when Jesus was taken captive, and came to suffer, Christ ascended up on high, so that the man Jesus alone was subject to the pains of an ignominious death—That Christ will one day return upon earth, and, renewing his former union with the man Jesus, will reign in Palestine a thousand years, during which his disciples will enjoy the most exquisite sensual delights.[1]

[It is very evident that whether or no this Gospel was written in part to confute Cerinthian errors, it *did* refute them. This might have been done by *anticipation*, just as Irenæus himself says that certain parts of the New Testament were written, "prævidens Spiritus Sanctus depravatores, et præmuniens contra fraudulentiam eorum." To some it has seemed as if Cerinthus had *borrowed* his very terms *from* this Gospel, by perverting all it stated. In favour of this view there are strong probabilities.]

Bearing these dogmas in mind, we shall find that St. John's Gospel is divided into three parts; viz.

PART I. *contains Doctrines laid down in Opposition to those of Cerinthus.* (John i. 1—18.)

The doctrines laid down in the first part, as contra-positions to the tenets of Cerinthus, may be reduced to the following heads, in which the Evangelist asserts,

1. That Christ is the Logos or Word of God.
2. That the Logos and Monogenes are not distinct beings, but one and the same person. (i. 14.)
3. That Christ or the Logos is not an inferior Æon, but God. (i. 1.)
4. That he perfectly knew the supreme God, being always with him in the Plerōma. (i. 18.)
5. That he is not to be distinguished from the Demiurgus; for he is the creator of the whole world. (i. 3. 10.)
6. That life and light are not particular and separate spirits, but the same with the Logos and Christ. (i. 4. 7—9. 17.) And, therefore, that Christ, the Logos, Life, Light, the Only-Begotten, are not distinct Æons, but one and the same divine person.[2]
7. That no particular Æon entered into John the Baptist by the name of Light, to communicate to him a superior knowledge of the divine will (i. 8.); but that he was a mere man, and, though inspired, much inferior to Jesus, being only the forerunner of him. (i. 6. 8. 15.)
8. That the supreme God was not entirely unknown before the time of Christ; for men had received such lights on this head, under the various

[1] Mosheim's Commentaries, vol. i. pp. 337—347. Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ix. pp. 325—327.; 4to. vol. iv. pp. 567—569. Dr. Owen's Observations on the Four Gospels, pp. 88—92. To this learned writer we are chiefly indebted for the preceding observations. The sentiments of Basilides of Alexandria, (who was nearly contemporary with Cerinthus,) concerning the Logos, were not very unlike the tenets of that hæresiarch. Mr. Townsend has given an abstract of them in his New Testament arranged in chronological order, &c. vol. i. pp. 19—21.

[2] Unus et idem ostenditur Logos et Monogenes, et Zoe et Phōs, et Soter et Christus filius Dei, et hic idem incarnatus pro nobis. Iren. lib. i. c. i. § 20.

dispensations through which they passed, that it was their own fault if they remained ignorant. (i. 9, 10.)

9. That the Jews were not the peculiar people of an inferior God, such as the Demiurgus; but of Christ himself, the only begotten Son of God. (i. 11.)

10. That in the fulness of time the Son of God took upon him human nature, and became man. (i. 14.)

11. That he abolished the Law of Moses, which was only the shadow of good things to come, and in its stead introduced the substance, or the very things signified by it. (i. 17.)

And lastly,

12. That the Jew has no more right in this divine person, and the privileges conferred through him, than the Gentile[1]; for whoever believes in him becomes thereby a child of God, and is entitled by that adoption to a glorious inheritance. (i. 12, 13.)

These propositions being settled, the Evangelist proceeds in

PART II. *To deliver the Proofs of these Doctrines in an Historical Manner* (i. 19—xx. 29.), *as being all expressed or plainly implied in the Discourses and Transactions of Jesus Christ*, which may conveniently be divided into eighteen Sections: viz.

SECT. 1. John the Baptist himself confesses to the Jewish priests that he is much inferior to Jesus, refers his own disciples to him, who acknowledge him to be the Messiah, and are confirmed in this faith by the miracle of water converted into wine, at Cana in Galilee. (i. 19—ii. 11.)

SECT. 2. Jesus conducts himself at Jerusalem as the lord of the temple (ii. 12—25.); reveals himself to Nicodemus as the only begotten Son of God; shows the design of his coming into the world, and the necessity of believing in him. (iii. 1—21.)

SECT. 3. An additional testimony of John the Baptist to the superiority of Christ, and the excellency of his ordinances. (iii. 22—36.)

SECT. 4. Jesus visits the Samaritans, declares himself to be the Christ, and foretells the abolition of the Levitical worship. (iv. 1—42.)

SECT. 5. By a second miracle (the curing of a nobleman's dying child), Christ demonstrates his divine mission in his own country, where it was most disputed. (iv. 43—54.)

SECT. 6. As a further proof of the future abrogation of the ceremonial law, Jesus works a miracle on the Sabbath, by healing an impotent man at the pool of Bethesda, and vindicates his conduct: declares himself to be the Son of God, and exhibits various evidences of his mission. (v. 1—47.)

SECT. 7. To show that he was the end of the law, Jesus substitutes himself in the room of the legal sacrifices; and commands the people, who were used to feast on some of those sacrifices, to eat his flesh and drink his blood. And to convince them that he was truly the bread of life, he miraculously feeds above five thousand of them with five barley loaves. The people being disposed by this miracle to make him a king, Jesus disclaims all temporal views. (vi. 1—71.)

[1] Origen. Philocal. c. i. p. 17. ed. Spencer.

SECT. 8. Jesus reproves the ambition of his kinsmen; and going up to Jerusalem at the feast of tabernacles, promises the assistance of the Holy Spirit to all true believers. (vii. 1—53.)

SECT. 9. He declares himself to be the light of the world; reproves the Jews for rejecting him; promises immortality to his followers; and speaks of his own existence as prior to that of Abraham. (viii. 12—59.)

(SECT. 10. A woman taken in adultery is brought to Jesus, who avoids giving judgment in her case, and turns the consciences of his enemies on themselves. (viii 1—11.))

SECT. 11. In proof of his being the light of the world, he restores a blind man to sight, and warns the Jews of that judicial darkness under which they were soon to be sealed up, for perverting so basely those means of knowledge which were graciously offered to them. (ix. 1—41.)

SECT. 12. After this he represents himself as the door of the sheepfold, and tells the Pharisees, who called themselves the shepherds of the people, that they "who entered not by the door into the sheepfold, but climbed up some other way," whatever character they might assume, were in reality no better than thieves and robbers: a reflection which the Christians of those days could hardly avoid applying to Cerinthus and other hæresiarchs. Then follows a description of a good shepherd and an hireling, which may be regarded as a kind of test, by which to judge of the different conduct of the apostles and heretics, &c. (x. 1—42.)

SECT. 13. Jesus performs a signal miracle, by restoring Lazarus to life, after he had been dead four days, in the presence of a large number of people; which was attended with this peculiar circumstance, that it was wrought after an express invocation of God, that he would apply it to the confirmation of what our Saviour had taught. (xi. 1—44.) Observe particularly ver. 41, 42.

SECT. 14. A brief account of the different effects which this miracle produced on the minds of the Jews; so different, that though it won upon many of the people, it exasperated most of the priests. (xi. 45—57., xii. 1—11.)

SECT. 15. Christ rides in triumph to Jerusalem, and is proclaimed king of Israel. The Greeks, who may be considered as the first-fruits of the Gentiles, apply to him and are admitted. He addresses them in terms suitable to the occasion, and his doctrine is confirmed by a voice from heaven. (xii. 12—36.)

SECT. 16. Jesus instructs his disciples in washing their feet, and delivers to them a new commandment, that they should love one another as brethren, without distinction, and as members of the same church. (xiii. 1—35.)

SECT. 17. Christ teaches his disciples, in a long discourse, what their union with him, their head, is; and that, after his departure, he would send down the Holy Ghost, who should guide them into all truth. (xiv.—xvi.)

SECT. 18. After this, Jesus recommends his disciples, and all who should in future ages believe in him, to the Father, in a pathetic and memorable prayer; and at the same time testifies, that not one of those given into his hand was lost, but Judas Iscariot. (xvii. 1—26.) (As this prayer was heard, and the apostles were afterwards endowed with extraordinary powers, it afforded an argument against Cerinthus, and all others, of the divine authority of the doctrines they taught.)

SECT. 19. contains a particular account of our Saviour's passion, adapted to prove that he did not die as a mere man (xviii. 1., xix. 42.); and also of his resurrection, in opposition to those who denied that he was risen. (xx. 1—29.)

§ i. The apprehension of Christ in the Garden of Gethsemane. (xviii. 1—11.)
§ ii. His mock trial before the high priests, in the house of Caiaphas, and Peter's denial of him there. (xviii. 12—27.)
§ iii. The accusation of Christ before Pilate the Roman governor, who having in vain attempted to rescue him from the envy of the Jews, scourged him, and delivered him to be crucified. (xviii. 28—40., xix. 1—16. former part of the verse.)
§ iv. Narrative of the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. (xix. 16. latter part of the verse, to v. 37.)
§ v. The burial of Christ by Joseph of Arimathea. (xix. 38—42.)
§ vi. The resurrection (xx. 1—10.), and Christ's appearances, first to Mary (11—18.), and, secondly, to the disciples on the same day. (19—23.)
§ vii. Christ's appearance eight days after to his disciples, Thomas being present. (24—29.)

PART III. *contains an Account of the Person of the Writer of this Gospel, and of his Design in writing it.* (xx. 30, 31., xxi.)

SECT. 1. comprises a declaration of the end which St. John had in view in composing his Gospel; viz. that his readers might be convinced that *Jesus is* THE CHRIST, *the Son of God* (xx. 31.); and consequently that the tenets and notions of Cerinthus and all other such teachers were altogether false and heretical. In this section is related Christ's appearance to his disciples at the sea of Tiberias, and his discourse to the apostle Peter. (xxi. 1—19.)

SECT. 2. relates to the evangelist John himself; Christ checks Peter's curiosity concerning his death. (xxi. 20—23.) The conclusion. (24, 25.)

This section seems to have been added, as a confutation of the opinion entertained by some, that St. John was not to die:—an opinion which might have weakened his authority, if he had suffered it to pass unrefuted.

Besides refuting the errors of Cerinthus and his followers, Michaelis is of opinion that John also had in view to confute the erroneous tenets of the Sabeans, a sect which claimed John the Baptist for its founder. He has adduced a variety of terms and phrases, which he has applied to the explanation of the first fourteen verses of John's Gospel in such a manner as renders his conjecture not improbable.[1] Perhaps we shall not greatly err if we conclude with

[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. pp. 285—302.

Rosenmüller, that John had both these classes of heretics in view, and that he wrote to confute their respective tenets. Yet, though he composed his Gospel principally with this design, he did not wholly confine himself to it; but took occasion to impart correct views of the nature and offices of Jesus Christ both to Jews and Gentiles. Should this opinion be acceded to, it will reconcile the various opinions of learned men concerning the real scope of John's Gospel.

[It is very important to see that this Gospel was written specially to reveal the Lord Jesus Christ in His most deep and solemn teaching, and in the mystery of His person. It is a revelation of objective truth, and as such it *must* from time to time meet and confute various forms of error in its subjective application. But still it occupies its own ground.]

VI. It is obvious to every attentive reader of this Gospel, that John studiously omits to notice those passages in our Lord's history and teaching which had been related at length by the other Evangelists, or, if he mentions them at all, it is in a very cursory manner. By pursuing this method he gives his testimony that their narratives are faithful and true, and at the same time leaves himself room to enlarge the Gospel history. This confirms the unanimous declarations of ancient writers, that the first three Gospels were written and published before John composed his evangelical history. In the account of our Saviour's passion, death, and resurrection, all the four Gospels coincide in many particulars; though here John has several things peculiar to himself. In his Gospel, many things recorded by the other Evangelists are omitted. He has given no account of our Saviour's nativity, nor of his baptism by John. He takes no notice of our Saviour's temptation in the wilderness; nor of the call or names of the twelve apostles; nor of their mission during the ministry of Christ; nor of his parables, or other discourses recorded by the first three Evangelists; nor of his journeys; nor of any of his predictions concerning the destruction of Jerusalem, which are related by them; nor has John repeated any of Christ's miracles recorded by them, except that of feeding five thousand people, which was probably repeated for the sake of the discourse to which it gave birth. But, on the other hand, John mentions several incidents, which the other Evangelists have not noticed. Thus, he gives an account of our Lord's cleansing the temple at the *first* passover, when he went to Jerusalem; but all the other Evangelists give a similar account of his cleansing the temple at his *last* passover. These two acts, however, are widely different. He relates the acts of Christ before the imprisonment of John the Baptist; the wedding at Cana; the cure of the man who had been blind from his birth; the resurrection of Lazarus; the indignation of Judas against the woman who anointed our Lord with ointment; the visit of the Greeks to Jesus; his washing the feet of his disciples; and his consolatory discourse to them previously to his passion. John's Gospel also contains more plain and frequent assurances than those occurring in the other Gospels, that Jesus is not only a prophet and messenger of God, but

also that he is the Messiah, the Son of God; and asserts his pre-existence and Deity in the clearest and most distinct terms.[1]

VII. Salmasius, Grotius, Bolten, and other critics have imagined that John did not write his Gospel originally in Greek, but in the Syriac language. This hypothesis, however, is contradicted by the unanimous consent of Christian antiquity, which affirms that he wrote it in Greek. In addition to the observations already offered, respecting the original language of the New Testament[2], we may remark, that the Hebraisms occurring in this Gospel clearly prove that it was originally written by a Jew. His style was pronounced by Michaelis[3] to be better and more fluent than that of the other Evangelists; and he ascribes this excellence to the facility and taste in the Greek language which the apostle seems to have acquired from his long residence at Ephesus. His narrative is characterised by singular perspicuity, and by the most unaffected simplicity and benevolence. There are few passages in Holy Writ more deeply affecting than this Evangelist's narrative of the resurrection of Lazarus.[4]

CHAP. VII.

ON THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

I THE book of the ACTS OF THE APOSTLES forms the fifth and last of the historical books of the New Testament, and connects the Gospels with the Epistles; being an useful postscript to the former, and a proper introduction to the latter. On this account it has been generally placed after the four Gospels, though (as Michaelis has remarked) in several ancient manuscripts and versions it is very frequently placed after the Epistles of St. Paul.

Various TITLES have been given to this book which are noticed in the critical editions of the New Testament. Thus, in the Codex Bezæ, or Cambridge manuscript, it is called ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, *the Acts* or *Transactions of the Apostles.* In the Codex Alexandrinus, and many other manuscripts, it is entitled ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΑΓΙΩΝ ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΩΝ, *the Acts of the Holy Apostles,* which title is also adopted by most of the Greek and Latin Fathers. The first of these various titles is that which is adopted in the printed editions, and in all modern versions; but by whom it was prefixed it is now impossible to ascertain. This book contains great part of the lives and transactions of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of the history of the Christian church; commencing at the ascension of our Saviour, and being continued

[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. pp, 303—315. On the decisive testimony of Saint John's Gospel to the Divinity of our Saviour, see Bishop Blomfield's "Five Lectures, delivered on the "Fridays during Lent, 1823." London, 1823. 12mo.

[2] See pp. 13, 14. *supra.*

[3] Introd. vol. iii. part i. p. 316.

[4] Campbell on the Gospels, vol. ii. pp. 192—195. Kuinöel, Comm. in Hist. Lib. Nov. Test. vol. iii. p. 33. *et seq.* Pritii, Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 203—226. Viser, Herm. Sacr. Nov. Test. pars. i. p. 340. pars ii. pp. 265—268.

down to St. Paul's arrival at Rome, after his appeal to Cæsar, comprising a period of about thirty years.

II. That St. Luke was the author of the Acts of the Apostles, as well as of the Gospel which bears his name, is evident both from the introduction, and from the unanimous testimonies of the early Christians. Both are inscribed to Theophilus; and in the very first verse of the Acts there is a reference made to his Gospel, which he calls *the former Treatise.* From the frequent use of the first person plural, it is clear that he was present at most of the transactions he relates. He appears to have accompanied St. Paul from Troas to Philippi; he also attended him to Jerusalem, and afterwards to Rome, where he remained two years, during that apostle's first confinement. Accordingly we find St. Luke particularly mentioned in two of the Epistles written by St. Paul, from Rome, during that confinement.[1] As the book of Acts is continued to the end of the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment, it could not have been written before the year 63; and, as the death of that apostle is not mentioned, it is probable that the book was composed before that event, which is supposed to have happened A. D. 65. For these reasons, Michaelis, Dr. Lardner, Dr. Benson, Rosenmüller, Bishop Tomline, and the generality of critics, assign the date of this book to the year 63.

III. To the genuineness and authenticity of this book, the early Christian Fathers bear unanimous testimony. Not to mention the attestations of the Apostolic Fathers, in the first century, which have been collected by Mr. Jones, Drs. Benson and Lardner[2], we may remark that Irenæus[3] and Tertullian[4], in the second century, both ascribed the Acts of the Apostles to St. Luke. And their evidence is corroborated by that of Origen, Jerome, Augustine, Eusebius, and all subsequent ecclesiastical writers.[5] Further, Chrysostom and other Fathers inform us that this book was annually read in the churches every day between the festivals of Easter and Pentecost or Whitsuntide.[6] The Valentinians, indeed, as well as the Marcionites, Severians, and some Manicheans, rejected the Acts of the Apostles, not from historical reasons, but because they militated against their opinions: for the Gnostics (of which sect the Valentinians and Marcionites were a branch) affirmed that the God of the Old Testament was different from the God of the New Testament; and that another Christ, different from our Saviour, was promised. The Severians and Encratites strenuously insisted upon abstinence from certain articles of food; whereas, in the book of Acts, the promiscuous use of food is allowed. Lastly, Manes wished himself to be taken for "the Comforter," who had been promised by Christ to his apostles; but in the Acts it is related that

[1] Col. iv. 14. Philem. 24.

[2] Jones on the Canon, vol. iii. pp. 129—136. Dr. Benson's Hist. of the First Planting of Christianity, vol. ii. pp. 325—330. 2d. edit. Dr. Lardner's Works, Index, voce *Acts of the Apostles.*

[3] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 162,163.; 4to. vol. i. p. 368. Benson, vol. ii. p. 330.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 261, 262.; 4to. vol. i. p. 452. Benson, vol. ii. p. 331.

[5] Benson, vol. ii. pp. 321—324. Lardner, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 145—147.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 206, 207.

[6] Benson, vol. ii. p. 332. Lardner, 8vo. vol. v. pp. 133, 134.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 605.

the Comforter that had been so promised was the Holy Spirit, who had been sent. The reasons, therefore, why the book was rejected by the above-mentioned sects, were not historical, but doctrinal; because the narrative of the sacred historian contradicted their dogmas; and as their errors were detected and refuted by contemporary writers[1], the unqualified and unsupported assertions of these heretics are so far from impugning the veracity and genuineness of the Acts of the Apostles, that, on the contrary, they afford a decisive and collateral testimony in favour of the book.

IV. St. Luke does not appear to have intended to write a complete ecclesiastical history of the Christian Church during the first thirty years after our Saviour's ascension, nor even of St. Paul's life during that period; for he has almost wholly omitted what passed among the Jews after the conversion of that apostle, and is totally silent concerning the spread of Christianity in the East and in Egypt, as well as the foundation of the Church of Christ at Rome, St. Paul's journey into Arabia, and many other topics, though the labours and sufferings of the other apostles could not but have afforded the most interesting materials, had it fallen within his design to have composed an entire history of the Church.

If we carefully examine the Acts of the Apostles, we shall perceive that St. Luke had two objects in view:—1. To relate in what manner the gifts of the Holy Spirit were communicated on the day of Pentecost, and the subsequent miracles performed by the apostles, by which the truth of Christianity was confirmed. An authentic account of this matter was absolutely necessary, because Christ had often assured his disciples that they should receive the Holy Spirit.—2. To deliver such accounts as proved the claim of the Gentiles to admission into the Church of Christ,—a claim disputed by the Jews, especially at the time when St. Luke wrote the Acts of the Apostles. And it was this very circumstance which excited the hatred of the Jews against St. Paul, and occasioned his imprisonment in Rome, with which St. Luke closes his history. Hence we see the reason why he relates (ch. viii.) the conversion of the Samaritans, and (ch. x. xi.) the story of Cornelius, whom St. Peter (to whose authority the adversaries of St. Paul had appealed in favour of circumcision[2]) baptized, though he was not of the circumcision. Hence also St. Luke relates the determination of the first council in Jerusalem relative to the Levitical law: and for the same reason he is more diffuse in his account of St. Paul's conversion, and St. Paul's preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles, than on any other subject. It is true that the whole relation, which St. Luke has given (ch. xii.), has no connection with the conversion of the Gentiles; but during the period, to which that chapter relates, St. Paul himself was present at Jerusalem (see Acts xi. 30. xii. 25.), and it is probable, for that reason, that St. Luke has introduced it. But there is, 3. A third opinion, which Michaelis thinks not devoid of probability, viz. that St. Luke

[1] Irenæus adversus Hæreses, lib. iii. c. 12. Theodoret, Hist. Eccl. lib. i. c. 21. Augustine epist. 251. et contra Faustum, lib. xix. c. 31.

[2] See Galat. ii. 6—21.

might design to record only those facts which he had either seen himself or had heard from eye-witnesses.[1]

V. The Acts of the Apostles, Michaelis observes, were evidently written with a tolerably strict attention to chronological order; though St. Luke has not affixed a date to any one of the facts recorded by him. There are, however, several parts of this book, in which ecclesiastical history is combined with political facts, the dates of which are known: and these Michaelis has endeavoured to determine, because the chronology will not only contribute to illustrate the Acts of the Apostles, but also will assist us in fixing the year when many of St. Paul's Epistles were written. Taking for granted, therefore, that this book commences with the year 33 of the Christian æra (in which calculation he follows Archbishop Usher), he has given us the following series of dates:—

1. "The *First epoch*, after the commencement of the book, is at ch. xi. 29, 30.; for what happened between the first Pentecost after Christ's ascension and this period is without any marks of chronology. But at ch. xi. 29, 30. we have a date; for the famine which took place in the time of Claudius Cæsar, and which induced the disciples at Antioch to send relief to their brethren in Judæa, happened in the fourth year of Claudius's reign, that is, in the year 44 of the Christian æra.

2. *Second epoch.* Herod Agrippa dies soon after he had put to death the apostle St. James; and about that time St. Paul and St. Barnabas return from Jerusalem to Antioch. (ch. xii. 21—25.) This is still in the year 44.

3. *Third epoch.* (ch. xviii. 2.) Shortly after the banishment of the Jews from Italy by Claudius Cæsar, St. Paul arrives at Corinth. Commentators affix the date of 54 to this event; but it is uncertain, for Suetonius, the only historian who has noticed this banishment of the Jews, mentions it without date.

4. *Fourth epoch.* St. Paul comes to Jerusalem, where he is imprisoned by the Jews, not long after the disturbances which were excited by the Egyptian. (ch. xxi. 37—39.) This imprisonment of St. Paul happened in the year 60, for it was two years before Felix quitted his government of Judæa. (ch. xxiii. 26., xxiv. 27.)

5. *Fifth epoch.* Two years after the commencement of St. Paul's imprisonment, Festus is appointed governor of Judæa, A.D. 62. (ch. xxiv. 27., xxv. 1.)

From this period the chronology of the Acts of the Apostles is clear. St. Paul is sent prisoner to Rome in the autumn of the same year in which Festus arrived in Judæa: he suffers shipwreck, passes the winter in Malta, and arrives in Rome in the following year, that is, in 63. (ch. xxvi. xxvii. xxviii.)

The Acts of the Apostles close with the end of the second year of St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome; consequently, in the year 65. (ch. xxviii. 30.)"

[It must be noticed that if the date of the crucifixion were earlier than A.D. 33., the book of Acts must commence so much the earlier.]

It is difficult to determine the date of the events that happened between the epochs 33 and 34, and between 44 and 60, especially the time of St. Paul's conversion and of the council at Jerusalem: Archbishop Usher places the first of these transactions A. D. 35,

[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. part i. pp. 327—331. Dr. Benson, however, is of opinion that St. Luke designed his book to be only a concise specimen of the doctrines preached by the Apostles, and that he was chiefly desirous of describing the manner in which the Jews, proselytes of the gate, or devout Gentiles, and the idolatrous Gentiles, were respectively converted. Hence this learned author divides the book into three parts or books, viz. 1. The *first* part contains an account of the propagation of the Gospel among the Jews only, from A. D. 33 to A. D. 41, including chapter ii. to x. 2. The *second* comprises an account of the spreading of Christianity among the devout Gentiles, together with its farther progress among the Jews, A. D. 41 to A. D. 44. (Acts x.—xiii.) 3. And the *third* part comprehends the diffusion of Christianity among the idolatrous Gentiles, together with its further progress among the two preceding classes of persons, A. D. 44 to A. D. 63. (Acts xiii.—xxviii.) Benson's Hist. of the first Planting of Christianity, vol. i. pp. 22—24.

others in 38. But, though we cannot attain to absolute certainty, a probable conjecture may be formed. Thus, Michaelis remarks, St. Stephen hardly suffered martyrdom before Pilate was recalled from the government of Judæa; because, under that procurator, the Jews had not the power of inflicting capital punishments. Now, according to Usher, the year in which Pilate was recalled, was the thirty-sixth of the Christian æra: St. Stephen's martyrdom, therefore, probably happened after 36. If this be true, St. Paul's conversion must have happened likewise after 36, and therefore 35 is too early a date. But how long after 36, whether in 38, cannot be determined.

In what manner the chapters iii. iv. v. vi. are to be arranged between 33 and 36, Michaelis cannot determine: for what chronologers have said is mere conjecture, and not calculation. The same uncertainty prevails in respect to ch. viii. and x.: for we can affirm nothing more, than that the one must be placed before the other after 36. We are likewise in the dark with respect to ch. xiii. xiv. and several other chapters. Of ch. xvi. we may assert, that it belongs to a period at least six years prior to the fourth epoch, or the year 60: for a year and a half at Corinth, three years at Ephesus, and the time spent on several journeys, can hardly be pressed into a smaller compass than that of six years. To ch. xvi., therefore, the latest date which can be assigned is 54: and it is not improbable that it should be dated still earlier.[1]

VI. The Acts of the Apostles may be divided into three principal parts; viz.

PART I. *contains the Rise and Progress of the Mother Church at Jerusalem from the Time of our Saviour's Ascension to the First Jewish Persecution.* (ch. i.—viii.)

SECT. 1. The transactions before and after Jesus Christ's ascension into heaven. (i.)

SECT. 2. The descent of the Holy Spirit on the apostles at the feast of Pentecost, and Peter's discourse to the people in consequence of it. (ii.)

SECT. 3. A lame man healed by Peter and John—Peter's discourse to the people—Events that befel the apostles in consequence of that miracle. (iii. iv.)

SECT. 4. The death of Ananias and Sapphira—Miracles of the apostles,—who are scourged and dismissed. (v.)

SECT. 5. The institution of deacons,—the discourse and martyrdom of Stephen,—and the first Jewish persecution. (vi. vii. viii. 1—4.)

PART II. *comprises the Dispersion of the Disciples—the Propagation of Christianity among the Samaritans—the Conversion of St. Paul, and the foundation of a Christian Church at Antioch.* (viii. 5—xii.)

SECT. 1. The planting of the church at Samaria. (viii. 5—25.)

[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. part i. pp. 336—238. The chronology of the Acts of the Apostles is discussed at considerable length in Hug's Introduction to New Test. vol. ii. § 81—83., and (so far as concerns the travels and writings of St. Paul,) by the reviewer of that work in the British Critic for April 1828, pp. 261—317.

St Pauls First Journey 1
Second do 2
Third do 3
Voyage
Modern Names
EUXINE SEA
Sinope
Amastris
Byzantium
Bithynia
Pontus
Galatia
Pamphylia
Cilicia
Cyprus
Antioch
Tarsus
Derbe
Iconium
Ephesus
Smyrna
Sardis
Thyatira
Philadelphia
Laodicea
Colosse
Miletus
Patara
Myra
Cnidus
Paphos
Salamis
Perga
Side
Alexandria
Pelusium
Memphis
EGYPT
ARABIA
Jerusalem
Jericho
Dead Sea
Caesarea
Joppa
Ptolemais
Tyre
Sidon
Damascus
Mesopotamia
Cappadocia
Lycaonia
Phrygia
Mysia
Troas
Lystra
Derbe
Tarsus
Adana
Issus
Seleucia
Antioch
Cyprus
Paphos
Salamis
Perga
Side
Myra
Cnidus
Patara
Miletus
Colosse
Laodicea
Philadelphia
Smyrna
Sardis
Thyatira
Pergamus
Troas
Alexandria
Pelusium
Memphis

SECT. 2. The conversion of the Ethiopian eunuch (viii. 26—40.)
SECT. 3. The conversion, baptism, and first preaching of St. Paul. (ix.)
SECT. 4. Account of two miracles performed by Peter, and the conversion of Cornelius and his family. (x. xi. 1—18.)
SECT. 5. The first Gentile church founded at Antioch. (xi. 19—30.)
SECT. 6. The apostle James put to death by Herod Agrippa,—relation of his miserable death. (xii.)

PART III. *describes the Conversion of the more remote Gentiles, by Barnabas and Paul, and, after their Separation, by Paul and his Associates, among whom was Luke himself during the latter part of Paul's Labours.* (xii.—xxviii.)

SECT. 1. The planting of several churches in the isle of Cyprus, at Perga in Pamphylia, Antioch in Pisidia, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe—The return of St. Paul to Antioch. (xiii. xiv.)
SECT. 2. Discussion of the question by the apostles at Jerusalem concerning the necessity of circumcision, and of observing the law—Their letter to the churches on this subject. (xv. 1—35.)
SECT. 3. Paul's second departure from Antioch—He preaches the Gospel in various countries, particularly at Philippi in Macedonia—The conversion of the Philippian gaoler. (xv. 36—41., xvi.)
SECT. 4. The journeys and apostolical labours of Paul and his associates at Thessalonica, Berœa, and Athens—His masterly apology before the court of the Areopagites. (xvii.)
SECT. 5. Paul's journey to Corinth, and thence to Antioch. (xviii. 1—22.)
SECT. 6. Paul's third departure from Antioch—Consequences of his preaching at Ephesus. (xviii. 23—28., xix.)
SECT. 7. The labours of Paul in Greece and Asia Minor, and his journey towards Jerusalem. (xx.)
SECT. 8. The persecution of Paul at Jerusalem—He is sent a prisoner to Cæsarea. (xxi.—xxiii. 1—30.)
SECT. 9. Paul's arrival at Cæsarea—The charges of the Jews against him—His defence before Felix—Appeal to Cæsar—His defence before Agrippa, at whose request his cause was reheard. (xxiii. 31—35., xxiv.—xxvi.)
SECT. 10. Narrative of Paul's voyage from Cæsarea—His shipwreck on the isle of Malta—His voyage thence to Rome, where he preaches the Gospel to the Jews, and resides for two years. (xxvii. xxviii.)

In perusing the Acts of the Apostles, it will be desirable constantly to refer to the accompanying map illustrating the travels of St. Paul.

[Although it would be impossible to give in this place, without occupying undue space, a minute analysis of the narration of the voyage of St. Paul and his companions, as recorded in Acts xxvii.; yet it would be unwarrantable neglect to pass by in silence the valuable researches on this subject of JAMES SMITH, Esq., of Jordanhill.

whose work[1] may now be considered as *classical* with regard to the narration contained in this portion of Scripture. To Mr. Smith's work the accompanying map is indebted for some of its more interesting particulars in connection with modern researches. The points relative to this voyage on which any doubt or difficulty existed are minutely examined, and the necessary conditions and results are stated as drawn from observation, from the facts of ancient navigation, and from processes of reasoning, with scientific accuracy. The most obvious result which would strike even an ordinary reader is the demonstrated identification of that Melita where the shipwreck took place with Malta, and the consequent refutation of the claims advanced for Meleda on the coast of Dalmatia. Mr. Smith has raised this from being an opinion *highly probable* to the region of ascertained fact. His researches are truly valuable as a contribution to Biblical geography, and as an illustration of a portion of New Testament history.]

VII. The narrative of the Acts of the Apostles is perspicuous and noble. Though it is not entirely free from Hebraisms, it is in general much purer than most other books of the New Testament, particularly in the speeches delivered by St. Paul at Athens, and before the Roman governors. It is further worthy of remark, that St. Luke has well supported the character of each person whom he has introduced as speaking. Thus the speeches and discourses of St. Peter are recorded with simplicity, and are destitute of all those ornaments which usually occur in the orations of the Greeks and Romans. Nearly similar are the speeches of St. Paul, which were addressed to the Jews, while those delivered by the same apostle before an heathen audience are widely different. Thus, in his discourse delivered at Antioch in Pisidia[2], he commences with a long periphrasis, the force and point of which depended on the fact that he was speaking in a Jewish synagogue. On the contrary, the speech of the martyr Stephen (Acts vii.) is altogether of a different description. It is a learned but unpremeditated discourse, pronounced by a person making no display of the art of oratory; and though he certainly had a particular object in view, to which the several parts of his discourse were directed, yet it is difficult to some to discover this object, because his materials are not so disposed that it is obvious to those who do not enter into the scope of his remarks. Lastly, St. Paul's discourses before assemblies that were accustomed to Grecian oratory, are totally different from any of the preceding. Though not adorned with the flowers of rhetoric, the language is pointed and energetic, and the materials are judiciously selected and arranged, as is manifest in his speech delivered at Athens (Acts xvii. 22—31.), and in his two defences of himself before the Roman governors of Judæa. (xxiv. xxvi.) Dr. Benson and Michaelis, however, are both of opinion that

[1] [" The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul, with Dissertations on the Sources of the Writings of St. Luke and the Ships and Navigation of the Ancients," London, 1848. Mr. Alford in his notes on Acts xxvii. has given a concise statement of Mr. Smith's *results*.]

[2] Acts xiii. 16—41.

St. Luke has given abstracts only, and not the whole, of St. Paul's speeches; for in his speech before Felix, he must certainly have said more than is recorded by St. Luke (xxiv. 12, 13.); unless we suppose that St. Paul merely denied the charge which had been laid against him, without confuting it. Michaelis adds that, in his opinion, St. Luke has shown great judgment in these abstracts; and that, if he has not retained the very words of St. Paul, he has adopted such as were well suited to the polished audiences before which the apostle spoke.[1]

VIII. The Acts of the Apostles afford abundant evidence of the truth and divine original of the Christian religion; for we learn from this book, that the Gospel was not indebted for its success to deceit or fraud, but that it was wholly the result of the mighty power of God, and of the excellence and efficacy of the saving truths which it contains. The general and particular doctrines comprised in the Acts of the Apostles are perfectly in unison with the glorious truths revealed in the Gospels, and illustrated in the apostolic Epistles; and are admirably suited to the state of the persons, whether Jews or Gentiles, to whom they were addressed. And the evidences which the apostles gave of their doctrine, in their appeals to prophecies and miracles, and the various gifts of the Spirit, were so numerous and so strong, and at the same time so admirably adapted to every class of persons, that the truth of the religion which they attest cannot be reasonably disputed.

Further, the history itself is credible. It was written by a person who was acquainted with the various circumstances which he relates, and who was both able and disposed to give a faithful narrative of everything that occurred. St. Luke was a companion of the apostles; he was himself an eye and ear witness of the facts, and was personally concerned in many of the incidents he has recorded. In the history itself there are no inconsistencies or contradictions; the miraculous facts related in it are neither impossible, when we consider the almighty power of God to which they are ascribed; nor improbable, when we consider the grand design and occasion on account of which they were performed. The plainness and simplicity of the narrative are also strong circumstances in its favour. The writer appears to have been very honest and impartial, and to have set down fairly the objections which were made to Christianity both by Jews and heathens, and the reflections which were cast upon it, as well as upon its first preachers. He has likewise, with a just and ingenuous freedom, mentioned the weaknesses, faults, and prejudices, both of the apostles and of their converts. The occasional hints, which are dispersed through the Epistles of St. Paul, harmonise with the facts related in the history of the Acts of the Apostles; so that this history and the Epistles are mutual aids on many points. The other parts of the New Testament are in perfect unison with the history, and

[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. part i. pp. 331—335. Benson's History of the First Planting of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 258.

tend to confirm it; for the doctrines and principles are everywhere the same. The Gospels close with references to the facts recorded in the Acts, particularly the promise of the Holy Spirit, which we know from the Acts was poured out by Christ upon his disciples after his ascension; and the Epistles, generally, plainly suppose that those facts had actually occurred which the history relates. So that the history of the Acts is one of the most important parts of sacred history; for, without it, neither the Gospels nor the Epistles could have been so clearly understood; but by the aid of this book the whole scheme of the Christian revelation is set before us in a clear and easy view.[1] Lastly, the incidental circumstances, mentioned by St. Luke, correspond so exactly, and without any previous view to such a correspondence (in cases, too, where it could not possibly have been premeditated and precontrived), with the accounts that occur in the Epistles, and with those of the best ancient historians, both Jews and heathens, that no person who had *forged* such a history, in later ages, could have had the same external confirmation; but he must have betrayed himself, by alluding to some customs or opinions which have since sprung up, or by misrepresenting some circumstances, or using some phrase or expression not then in use. The plea of forgery, therefore, in later ages, cannot be allowed; and if St. Luke had published such a history at so early a period, when some of the apostles, or many other persons concerned in the transactions which he has recorded, were alive, and his account had not been true, he would only have exposed himself to an easy confutation, and to certain infamy.

Since, therefore, the Acts of the Apostles are in themselves consistent and uniform; the incidental relations agreeable to the best ancient historians that have come down to us; and the main facts supported and confirmed by the other books of the New Testament, as well as by the unanimous testimony of so many of the ancient fathers, we are justly authorised to conclude, that, if any history of former times deserves credit, the Acts of the Apostles ought to be received and credited; and if the history of the Acts of the Apostles is true, Christianity cannot be false; for a doctrine so good in itself, so admirably adapted to the fallen state of man, and attended with so many miraculous and divine testimonies, has all the possible marks of a true revelation.[2]

CHAP. VIII.

ACCOUNT OF THE APOSTLE PAUL.

I. SAUL, also called Paul, (by which name this illustrious apostle was generally known after his preaching among the Gentiles, especially among the Greeks and Romans,) was a Hebrew of the He-

[1] Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ amplifies the argument above suggested from these coincidences, and is indispensably necessary to a critical study of the Epistles.

[2] Dr. Benson's Hist. of Christianity, vol. ii. pp. 333—341.

brews, a descendant of the patriarch Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin[1], and a native of Tarsus, then the chief city of Cicilia. By birth he was a citizen of Rome[2], a distinguished honour and privilege, which had been conferred on some of his ancestors for services rendered to the commonwealth during the wars.[3] His father was a Pharisee, and he himself was educated in the most rigid principles of that sect.[4] Some of his relations were Christians, and had embraced the Gospel before his conversion; his sister's son may have been one of these.[5] That he was early educated in Greek literature at Tarsus, may be inferred from that place being celebrated for polite learning[6] and eloquence, and also from his quotations of several Greek poets.[7] From Tarsus, Saul removed to Jerusalem, where he made considerable proficiency in the study of the law, and the Jewish traditions, under Gamaliel, a celebrated teacher of that day.[8] He appears to have been a person of great natural abilities, of quick apprehension, strong passions, and firm resolution; and was thus qualified for signal service, as a teacher of whatever principles he might embrace. He was also externally blameless in his life, and strictly faithful to the dictates of his conscience, according to the knowledge, or want of knowledge, which he possessed: this is evident from his appeals to the Jews, and from the undissembled satisfaction he expresses on a serious comparison and recollection of his former and later conduct. (Acts xxiii. 1., xxvi. 4, 5.; Phil. iii. 6.; 1 Tim. i. 13.; 2 Tim. i. 3.) His parents completed his education by having him taught the art of tent-making[9], in conformity with the practice of the Jews, with whom it was customary to teach youth of the highest birth some mechanical employment, by which, in cases of necessity, they might maintain themselves without being burthensome to others: and his occupation appears subsequently to have had some influence upon his style.[10] For some time after the appearance of Christianity in

[1] Phil. iii. 5.; 2 Cor. xi. 22.; Acts xvi. 37, 38.

[2] Acts xxii. 25. 29., xxiii. 27.

[3] Dr. Lardner has shown that this is the most probable opinion. Works, 8vo. vol. i. pp. 227—229.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 124, 125. Such also is the opinion of John Arntzenius, who has written an elegant dissertation on St. Paul's citizenship. (See his Dissertationes Binæ, p. 195. Utrecht, 1725.)

[4] Acts xxiii. 6., xxvi. 5.; Phil. iii. 5.

[5] Acts xxiii. 16—22.; Rom. xvi. 7. 11. 21.

[6] Strabo the geographer, who lived in the same age as St. Paul, characterises the inhabitants of Tarsus as cherishing such a passion for philosophy and all the branches of polite literature, that they greatly excelled even Athens and Alexandria, and every other place where there were schools and academies for philosophy and literature. He adds, that the natives of Tarsus were in the practice of going abroad to other cities to perfect themselves. (Lib. xiv. vol. ii. pp. 960, 961. edit. Oxon.) This circumstance accounts for St. Paul's going to Jerusalem, to finish his studies under Gamaliel.

[7] Thus, in Acts xvii. 28. he cites a verse from Aratus; in 1 Cor. xv. 33. he quotes another from Menander; and in Tit. i. 12. a verse from Epimenides.

[8] Acts xxii. 3., xxvi. 5.; Gal. i. 14.

[9] Michaelis makes St. Paul to have been a maker of mechanical instruments (vol. iv. pp. 183—186.); but all commentators are of opinion that he was a manufacturer of tents, for which, in the East, there was always a considerable demand.

[10] To a man employed in making tents, the ideas of camps, arms, armour, warfare, military pay, would be familiar: and St. Paul introduces these and their concomitants so frequently, that his language seems to have been such as might rather have been expected from a soldier, than from one who lived in quiet times, and was a preacher of the gospel of peace. Powell's Discourses, p. 254.

the world, he was a bitter enemy and a furious opposer of all who professed that faith; and when the proto-martyr Stephen was stoned, Saul was not only consenting to his death, but actually took care of the clothes of the witnesses who had stoned him.

A.D. 34. After this event, Saul took an active part in the persecution of the Christians, not only at Jerusalem, but also throughout Judæa (Acts viii. 3., xxii. 4., xxvi. 10, 11.); and procured letters of commission from the high priest and elders, or sanhedrin, to the synagogue of the Jews at Damascus, empowering him to bring to Jerusalem any Christians, whether men or women, whom he might find there. He also obtained letters to the governor of Damascus, we may presume, to permit them to be removed from his jurisdiction. (Acts ix. 2., xxii. 5., xxvi. 12.) While Saul was on his journey thither for this purpose, his miraculous conversion took place, A.D. 35, in the manner recorded in the ninth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, and to which St. Paul himself has numerous references in his Epistles.[1] The conversion of such a man, at such a time and by such means, furnishes one of the most complete proofs that have ever been given of the divine origin of Christianity. That Saul, who possessed such distinguished talents and acquirements, from being a zealous persecutor of the disciples of Christ, became all at once a disciple himself, is a fact which cannot be controverted without overturning the credit of all history. He must, therefore, have been converted in the miraculous manner in which he himself declares that he was converted, and of course the Christian revelation must be from God; or he must have been either an impostor, an enthusiast, or a dupe to the fraud of others. There is no other alternative possible.

1. If he was an impostor, he must have declared what he knew to be false, and he must have been influenced to such a conduct by some motive or other. But the only conceivable motives for religious imposture are the hopes of advancing one's temporal interest, credit, or power; or the prospect of gratifying some passion or appetite under the authority of the new religion. Now, that none of these motives could influence St. Paul to profess the faith of Christ crucified, is manifest from the state of Judaism and Christianity at the period when he renounced the former and embraced the latter faith. Those whom he left were the disposers of wealth, of dignity, and of power, in Judæa; those to whom he went were indigent men, oppressed, and kept from all means of improving their fortunes. The certain consequence, therefore, of his taking the part of Christianity was the loss not only of all that he possessed, but of all hopes of acquiring more; whereas, by continuing to persecute the Christians, he had hopes, rising almost to a certainty, of making his fortune by the favour of those who were at the head of the Jewish state, to

[1] See particularly 1 Cor. xv. 9.; Gal. i. 13.; 1 Tim. i. 12, 13. Various opinions have been entertained by learned men respecting the date of St. Paul's conversion. The date assigned in the text is that adopted by Bp. Pearson. Dr. Lardner fixes that event to the end of 36, or early in 37. (Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 236—239.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 252, 253.); others much earlier.

whom nothing could so much recommend him as the zeal which he had shown in that persecution. As to credit, or reputation, could the scholar of Gamaliel hope to gain either by becoming a teacher in a college of fishermen! Could he flatter himself that the doctrines which he taught would, either in or out of Judæa, do him honour, when he knew that "they were to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness!" Was it then the love of power that induced him to make this great change? Power! over whom? Over a flock of sheep whom he himself had assisted to destroy, and whose very Shepherd had lately been murdered! Perhaps it was with the view of gratifying some licentious passion, under the authority of the new religion, that he commenced a teacher of that religion! This cannot be alleged; for his writings breathe nothing but the strictest morality, obedience to magistrates, order, and government, with the utmost abhorrence of all licentiousness, idleness, or loose behaviour, under the cloak of religion. We nowhere find in his works that saints are above moral ordinances; that dominion is founded in grace; that monarchy is despotism which ought to be abolished; that the fortunes of the rich ought to be divided among the poor; that there is no difference in moral actions; that any impulses of the mind are to direct us against the light of our reason, and the laws of nature; or any of those wicked tenets by which the peace of society has been often disturbed, and the rules of morality often broken, by men pretending to act under the sanction of divine revelation. He makes no distinctions, like the impostor of Arabia, in favour of himself: nor does any part of his life, either before or after his conversion to Christianity, bear any mark of a libertine disposition. As among the Jews, so among the Christians, his conversation and manners were blameless. It has been sometimes objected to the other apostles, by those who were resolved not to credit their testimony, that having been deeply engaged with Jesus during his life, they were obliged, for the support of their own credit, and from having gone too far to return, to continue the same professions after his death; but this can by no means be said of St. Paul. On the contrary, whatever force there may be in such a mode of reasoning, it all tends to convince us that St. Paul must *naturally* have continued a Jew, and an enemy to Christ Jesus. If *they* were engaged on one side, *he* was as strongly engaged on the other. If shame withheld *them* from changing sides, much more ought it to have stopped *him;* who, from his superior education, must have been vastly more sensible to that kind of shame than the mean and illiterate fishermen of Galilee. The only other difference was, that *they*, by quitting their master after his death, might have preserved themselves; whereas *he*, by quitting the Jews, and taking up the cross of Christ, certainly brought on his own destruction.

2. As St. Paul was not an impostor, so it is manifest that he was not an enthusiast. Heat of temper, melancholy, ignorance, and vanity, are the ingredients of which enthusiasm is composed; but from all these, except the first, the apostle appears to have been wholly free. That he had great fervour of zeal, both when a Jew

and when a Christian, in maintaining what he thought to be right, cannot be denied; but he was at all times so much master of his temper, as, in matters of indifference, to "become all things to all men," with the most pliant condescension, bending his notions and manners to theirs, as far as his duty to God would permit; a conduct compatible neither with the stiffness of a bigot, nor with the violent impulses of fanatical delusion. That he was not melancholy, is evident from his conduct in embracing every method which prudence could suggest to escape danger and shun persecution; when he could do it without betraying the duty of his office or the honour of his God. A melancholy enthusiast courts persecution, and, when he cannot obtain it, afflicts himself with absurd penances; but the holiness of St. Paul consisted only in the simplicity of a godly life, and in the unwearied performance of his apostolical duties. That he was ignorant, no man will allege who is not grossly ignorant himself; for he appears to have been master not only of the Jewish learning, but also of the Greek philosophy, and to have been very conversant even with the Greek poets. That he was not credulous, is clear from his having resisted the evidence of all the miracles performed on earth by Christ, as well as those that were afterwards wrought by the apostles; to the fame of which, as he lived at Jerusalem, he could not possibly have been a stranger. And that he was as free from vanity as any man that ever lived, may be gathered from all that we see in his writings, or know of his life. He represents himself as the least of the apostles, and not meet to be called an apostle. He says that he is the chief of sinners; and he prefers, in the strongest terms, universal benevolence to faith, prophecy, miracles, and all the gifts and graces with which he could be endowed. Is this the language of vanity or enthusiasm? Did ever fanatic prefer virtue to his own religious opinions, to illuminations of the spirit, and even to the merit of martyrdom? It is therefore in vain for the enemies of Christianity to attempt to resolve this miraculous conversion of St. Paul into the effects of enthusiasm. The power of imagination in enthusiastical minds is, unquestionably, very strong; but it always acts in conformity to the opinions imprinted upon it at the time of its working, and can no more act against them than a rapid river can carry a vessel against the current of its own stream. Now, nothing can be more certain than that, when Saul departed from Jerusalem for Damascus, armed with authority from the chief priests to bring the Christians, who were there, *bound to Jerusalem, whether they were men or women* (Acts ix. 2.), an authority solicited by himself and granted to him at his own express desire, — his mind was most strongly possessed with an opinion against Christ and his followers. To give those opinions a more active force, his passions at that time concurred, being inflamed in the highest degree by the irritating consciousness of his past conduct towards them, the pride of supporting a part in which he had voluntarily engaged, and the credit which he found it procured him among the chief priests and rulers, whose commission he bore. If, in such a state and temper of mind, an enthusiastical man had imagined that he saw a vision from heaven,

denouncing the anger of God against the Christians, and commanding him to persecute them without any mercy, it might be accounted for by the natural power of enthusiasm. But that, in the very instant of his being engaged in the fiercest and hottest persecution against them, — no circumstance having occurred to change his opinions or alter the bent of his disposition, — he should at once imagine himself called by a heavenly vision to be the apostle of Christ, whom, but a moment before, he deemed an impostor and a blasphemer, that had been justly put to death upon the cross; — this is in itself wholly incredible, and so far from being a probable effect of enthusiasm, that just a contrary effect must have been naturally produced by that cause. But, still further to show that this vision could not be a phantom of St. Paul's own creating, let it be observed, that he was not alone when he saw it; there were many others in company, whose minds were no better disposed than his to the Christian faith. Could it be possible, that the minds of all these men should be so strangely affected, as to make them believe that they saw *a great light shining about them, above the brightness of the sun at noon-day,* and heard the sound of a voice from heaven though not the words which it spake (Acts xxii. 6. 9.), when in reality they neither saw nor heard any such thing? Could they be so infatuated with the conceit of their own fancies, as to fall down from their horses, together with Saul (Acts xxvi. 14.), and be speechless through fear, when nothing extraordinary had happened either to him or to them; especially considering that this apparition did not appear in the night, when the senses are more easily imposed upon, but at *mid-day?* If a sudden frenzy had seized upon Paul, from any distemper of body or mind, can we suppose his whole company, — men of different constitutions and understandings, — to have been at once affected in the same manner with him, so that not the distemper alone, but also the effects of it, would exactly agree? If all had gone mad together, would not the frenzy of some have taken a different turn, and presented to them different objects? This supposition is so contrary to nature and all possibility, that unbelief must find some other solution, or give up the point.

3. Having shown that St. Paul was neither an impostor nor an enthusiast, it remains only that we inquire whether he was deceived by the fraud of others? This inquiry, indeed, may be despatched in a very few words. For who was or were to deceive him? A few illiterate fishermen of Galilee. It was *morally* impossible for such men to conceive the thought of turning the most enlightened of their opponents, and the most cruel of their persecutors, into an apostle, and to do this by fraud in the very instant of his greatest fury against them and their Lord. But could they have been so extravagant as to conceive such a thought, it was *physically* impossible for them to execute it in the manner in which we find his conversion to have been effected. Could they produce a light in the air, which at mid-day was brighter than the sun? Could they make Saul hear words from out of that light, which were not heard by the rest of the company? Could they make him blind for three days after that

vision, and then make scales fall off from his eyes, and restore him to sight by a word? Or could they make him and those who travelled with him believe that all these things had happened, if they had not happened? Most unquestionably no fraud was equal to all this.

Since, then, St. Paul was neither an impostor nor an enthusiast, nor deceived by the fraud of others, it follows that his conversion was miraculous, and that the Christian religion is a divine revelation.[1]

II. Shortly after his baptism, and the descent of the Holy Ghost upon him, Saul went into Arabia (Gal. i. 17.); and during his residence in that country he was fully instructed, as we may reasonably think, by special revelation, and by diligent study of the Old Testament, in the doctrines and duties of the Gospel. Three years after his conversion he returned to Damascus, A.D. 38. (Gal. i. 18.), and boldly preached the Gospel to the Jews, who, rejecting his testimony, as an apostate, conspired to kill him; but, the plot being communicated to Saul, he escaped from Damascus privately by night, and went up to Jerusalem for the first time since his conversion.[2] After some hesitation on the part of the Christians in that city, he was acknowledged to be a disciple: he remained at Jerusalem only fifteen days, during which his boldness in preaching the Gospel so irritated the Hellenistic Jews, that they conspired against him; *which when the brethren knew, they brought him down to Cæsarea, and sent him forth to Tarsus.* (Acts ix. 28—30.)

A.D. 39. While Saul was in Cilicia (it is supposed by those who thus regard the chronology), he had those divine visions and revelations of which he speaks in 2 Cor. xii.; on which occasion *there was given him a thorn in the flesh* (supposed to have been some paralytic affection of the countenance and voice), *lest he should have been exalted above measure, through the abundance of the revelations.*

In the year 42, Saul, accompanied by Barnabas, proceeded to Antioch, where they taught with great success for one year. (Acts xi. 26.) During their abode in this city, *there came prophets from Jerusalem,* one of whom, named Agabus, *signified by the Spirit that there should be a dearth throughout the land* of Judæa, *which came to pass in the days of Claudius Cæsar,* commencing in the fourth, but raging chiefly in the fifth and sixth years of that emperor. In order to relieve their suffering brethren in Judæa, a collection was made by the Christians at Antioch, each according to his ability; and was sent to the church at Jerusalem by the hands of Barnabas and Saul (Acts

[1] See Lord Lyttleton's Observations on the Conversion of St. Paul (from which the above remarks are abridged);—a treatise to which it has been truly said, "infidelity has never been able to fabricate a specious answer." "Lord L. had," says his biographer, "in the pride of juvenile confidence, with the help of corrupt conversation, entertained doubts of the truth of Christianity; but he now" (in his maturer years) "thought the time come, when it was no longer fit to doubt or believe by chance, and applied himself seriously to the great question. *His studies,* BEING HONEST, *ended in conviction.* He found that religion was true." (Dr. Johnson's Lives of the Poets, vol. iii. p. 383.) Dr. Graves has some excellent observations on the conduct and writings of St. Paul, in his Essay on the Character of the Apostles and Evangelists, pp. 115—124. 184—218., which show that he was in no respect influenced or directed by a spirit of enthusiasm.

[2] Acts ix. 23—25.; Gal. i. 17, 18.; 2 Cor. xi. 32, 33.

xi. 27—30.), A. D. 44. The trance or vision mentioned in Acts xxii. 17. is supposed to have taken place during this second visit to Jerusalem.

III. A. D. 44. Having discharged this trust, Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem to Antioch, taking with them Mark, the nephew of Barnabas (afterwards the Evangelist), as an assistant in their approaching mission to the Gentiles, to which Barnabas and Saul were soon after separated by the solemn and express appointment of the Holy Ghost.

A. D. 45. Being thus sent forth, they departed, with Mark as their minister, to Seleucia, a sea-port town twelve miles below Antioch, and about five from the mouth of the Orontes, whence they sailed to Cyprus, the native country of Barnabas, and preached the word of God at Salamis, the nearest port to Syria, at first in the Jewish synagogues, according to their custom. Thence they crossed to Paphos, the capital of the island, where Sergius Paulus, the Roman proconsul, resided. This magistrate, being desirous to hear the word of God, sent for the apostles; but Barjesus, a Jewish false prophet and sorcerer, opposed them, and sought to pervert the proconsul from the faith. But Saul, full of the Holy Ghost, struck the sorcerer with blindness, for a season, as a punishment for his wicked interference. This astonishing judgment, confirming the doctrine of the Lord, converted the proconsul to the faith. (Acts xiii. 1—12.) As St. Luke, who has recorded the labours of the great Apostle to the Gentiles, calls him no longer Saul, but Paul, learned men have conjectured that the change was made by Saul himself in honour of the proconsul, who was probably his first convert from among the idolatrous Gentiles, or, perhaps, the first Gentile of high rank who was converted.[1]

A. D. 46. "Paul and his company" sailed from Cyprus to the coast of Asia Minor, and preached at Perga, a city of Pamphylia, situate about twelve miles from the sea. Here Mark separated from them, and returned to Jerusalem. Thence they proceeded to Antioch of Pisidia, where, notwithstanding the opposition of the Jews, Paul and Barnabas converted great numbers, both of the proselyted and of the idolatrous Gentiles; but, being driven thence by the machinations of the unbelieving Jews, they proceeded to Iconium in Lycaonia. (xiii. 13—52.) Here they converted many to the faith; but, being in danger of being stoned, they proceeded to Lystra, where Paul, working a miracle on a cripple, was at first considered as a god, but was afterwards dragged out of the city, stoned, and left for dead. (xiv. 1—20.) He rose up, however, perfectly whole; and, quitting Lystra, on the following day, he proceeded to Derbe, and preached the Gospel in Galatia and Phrygia, regions adjoining to Lycaonia, whence Paul and his assistants returned through Lystra and Iconium to Antioch in Pisidia, confirming the new converts in the faith, and

[1] It was customary among the Romans to assume the name of a benefactor whom they highly esteemed. Thus the Jewish historian Josephus took the name of Flavius, in compliment to Vespasian, with whom he was in high favour. This circumstance sufficiently refutes the unfounded assertions of a late reviler of the Scriptures, who, wilfully disregarding all positive evidence to the contrary, has asserted that Luke has compiled his narrative from *two* tales!!!

ordaining elders in every church. Having thus traversed all Pisidia they retraced their way to Perga in Pamphylia, and, embarking at Attalia, returned to Antioch in Syria, after a circuit of about two years. (xiv. 21—27.)[1]

A. D. 47, 48. During their residence at Antioch, which is supposed to have been full two years, certain persons came from Judæa, and taught that there was no salvation without circumcision and other legal ceremonies. These false teachers Paul and Barnabas withstood; and it was at length agreed to send a deputation to Jerusalem, to obtain the decision of the apostles and elders on this question. For this purpose Paul and Barnabas were deputed; and, travelling through Phœnice and Samaria, they arrived at Jerusalem A. D. 49, where it was decreed that the proselyted Gentiles were not obliged to observe the law of Moses as a term or condition of salvation. (Acts xv. 1—29.) After the council of Jerusalem, Paul and Barnabas returned to Antioch, and made some stay there, probably during the remainder of the year 49, teaching and preaching the word of the Lord, with many assistants. (30—35.)

About the beginning of the year 50, Paul proposed to Barnabas to take another circuit throughout the churches they had planted in Asia Minor. But Barnabas being desirous of having his nephew Mark for their minister, Paul objected to him who had deserted them in their former journey to Pamphylia. (xiii. 13.) A sharp contention arose, which terminated in their separation; and Barnabas sailed with Mark to Cyprus, to visit the churches which had been planted there by Paul himself; while Paul, choosing Silas for his companion, departed from Antioch with the approbation of the church. Passing through Syria and Cilicia, they confirmed the churches in those countries; and thence proceeded to Derbe and Lystra in Lycaonia, to preach the Gospel a second time to the Gentiles, and to publish the decrees of the apostolic council of Jerusalem. At Lystra Paul took Timothy as his assistant; and, departing thence with Silas, they went through Phrygia and Galatia, publishing every where the decrees. (Acts xv. 35—41., xvi. 1—6.) Being forbidden by the Holy Ghost to preach the Gospel in Asia, strictly so called, they arrived at Mysia; and being in like manner forbidden to proceed to Bithynia, they passed by the Lesser Mysia (which separated Bithynia from the region of Troas), and came to the city and port of Troas. Here they were joined by the Evangelist Luke. (xvi. 7, 8.)

A. D. 50. While they were at Troas, Paul and his assistants were called to preach the Gospel in Macedonia by a vision that appeared to Paul during the night. In obedience to the heavenly monition, they sailed directly from Troas to Samothracia, and next day to Neapolis, and thence to Philippi, a principal city of Macedonia, and a Roman colony. Here Paul converted Lydia, and dispossessed a damsel who had a spirit of divination, for which last transaction Paul and Silas

[1] Bishop Pearson allots three years for these journeys of the apostle, viz. 45, 46, and 47, and something more. But Calmet, Tillemont, Dr. Lardner, Bishop Tomline, and Dr. Hales, allow two years for this purpose, viz. 45, and 46, as above stated; which period corresponds with our Bible chronology.

were beaten with rods and imprisoned; but, being liberated (Acts xvi. 9—40.), they passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia to Thessalonica. Here he preached in the synagogue, and some believed, while others persecuted him. Being obliged to quit that city, Paul and his assistants went to Beræa, where they preached with great success; but the unbelieving Jews, coming from Thessalonica, stirred up the people against them. Paul, therefore, leaving Silas and Timothy at Berœa, departed to Athens; where he disputed daily in the synagogue with the Jews, and in the market-place with the Epicurean and Stoic philosophers. These men conducted him before the supreme court of Areopagus, as some suppose for trial, on the capital charge of being "a setter forth of strange demons," or, in the opinion of others, as a more convenient place for publicly inquiring into his doctrines. Before this tribunal, composed of senators, philosophers, rhetoricians, and statesmen, St. Paul delivered his most eloquent and masterly apology; in which, while he retorted the charge of his accusers, he instructed the people, to whom he preached the living God, to them unknown.[1] Although many of his hearers ridiculed the sublime doctrines which he taught, particularly that of the resurrection, yet some of his audience proposed to hear him again; and one among the judges was converted, together with a woman named Damaris, besides others. (Acts xvii.)

A. D. 51—53. From Athens St. Paul proceeded to Corinth, the capital of Achaia, and distinguished for the number, quality, opulence, and learning of its inhabitants, and for the celebrated games solemnised on its isthmus, which (as well as the gymnastic exercises for which Tarsus was eminent) have furnished the apostle with very numerous and elegant allusions and phrases. At Corinth he tarried a year and six months, *i. e.* the latter part of the year 51, the whole of 52, and the early part of 53. His principal associates in the ministry, besides Timothy and Silas, who came to him from Thessalonica, were Aquila, a Jew of Pontus, and his wife Priscilla, who had lately come thither from Rome, whence the emperor Claudius had banished all the Jews on account of their turbulence, and with whom he worked at their common trade of tent-makers for his livelihood. From this city he wrote his two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and perhaps also that to the Galatians. The success of St. Paul in preaching the Gospel at Corinth and in Peloponnesus, so irritated the unbelieving Jews, that they dragged him before Gallio, the proconsul of Achaia, who, prudently refusing to interfere in religious opinions that were not detrimental to the state, drove them from his tribunal. (xviii. 1—17.) After continuing some further time at Corinth, St. Paul embarked at Cenchrea, the eastern port of Corinth, for Ephesus, where he left Aquila and Priscilla, and proceeded thence to Cæsarea and Jerusalem: from which latter city he returned to Antioch. (18—22.)

IV. A. D. 54—56. After some stay at Antioch, St. Paul visited the churches of Galatia and Phrygia, and came to Ephesus, where he found Aquila and Priscilla (Acts xviii. 24—28.), and conferred the

[1] See some observations on this Discourse of St. Paul, in § VIII. of this Chap. *infrà*.

Holy Ghost on twelve who had previously received the baptism of John. St. Paul, as usual, preached first in the synagogues, but being opposed by the Jews, he afterwards taught in the school of one Tyrannus with great success, and wrought numerous miracles. (xix. 1—20.) During this residence, probably about the beginning of the year 56, St. Paul received a letter from the Corinthians, to whom he wrote his first Epistle. But being assaulted by Demetrius, a silversmith, and others of his profession, who were employed in making silver shrines in which images of Diana were to be enclosed, and were apprehensive that their trade would suffer from his preaching, St. Paul quitted that city, where he had gathered a numerous church. (Acts xix. 21—41., xx. 1.)

A. D. 56. On his departure from Ephesus, St. Paul went first to Troas, expecting to meet Titus on his return from Corinth. (2 Cor. ii. 12, 13.) Here he preached a short time with great success, and then proceeded to Macedonia, where he received the collections of the Macedonian Christians, for their poor brethren in Judæa.

A. D. 57. In his progress from Macedonia into Greece, he is supposed to have preached the Gospel on the confines of Illyricum, as mentioned in Rom. xv. 19. St. Paul continued three months in Greece, principally, it is supposed, at Corinth (whence he wrote his Epistle to the Romans); and having received the money which the churches had collected for the poor Christians in Judæa, he sailed from Philippi[1] to Troas, and thence to Miletus, whither the elders of the Ephesian church had come to meet him by his appointment, to whom St. Paul gave a most affecting farewell charge. (Acts xx.)

A. D. 58. From Miletus, Paul and his company sailed directly to Cos, next to Rhodes, and thence to Patara: here, finding a vessel bound to Phœnicia, they embarked, and, leaving Cyprus on their left, they landed at Tyre. After waiting seven days, they sailed to Ptolemais, from which port they proceeded to Cæsarea, where they lodged with Philip the Evangelist. During their stay here for several days, the prophet Agabus foretold the imprisonment of Paul, who, persisting in his determination to go to Jerusalem, was at length permitted to depart: he accordingly arrived there, for the fifth time, just before the feast of Pentecost, A. D. 58, and was gladly received by the brethren. (xxi. 1—18.)

V. A.D. 58. The day after their arrival at Jerusalem, Paul and his assistants related to James and the elders of the church "what things God had wrought among the Gentiles by his ministry; and when they heard it they glorified the Lord." Shortly after this, some Asiatic Jews, probably from Ephesus, seeing Paul in the temple, whither he had gone to assist some of the brethren to discharge a vow of Nazariteship, excited the multitude to kill the apostle, who was with difficulty rescued from their fury by Lysias, the chief captain or tribune of the temple guard. On the following morning, Paul was conducted before the council, when he declared himself to be a Pharisee. A contest having arisen between the Pharisees and

[1] While St. Paul was in Macedonia, he wrote his second Epistle to the Corinthians.

Sadducees, members of the sanhedrin, Lysias, being apprehensive for Paul's safety, commanded the soldiers to rescue him, and directed the council to accuse him before Felix the procurator, at Cæsarea. (Acts xxii. xxiii.) Five days after, Ananias, the high priest, accompanied by the elders and by a certain orator named Tertullus, proceeded to that city, and accused him to Felix of sedition, heresy, and profanation of the temple. These charges were denied by St. Paul, who gave an account of his faith; but the governor, though convinced of his innocence, being unwilling to displease the Jews, and also hoping that Paul would have given money to be liberated, ordered the apostle to be kept in easy confinement, and allowed his friends to visit him. A few days after this transaction, Felix, at the request of his wife Drusilla, sent for Paul, who gave them an account of his faith in Christ, and reasoned so forcibly concerning righteousness, chastity, and a judgment to come, that the profligate governor's conscience was alarmed. "Felix trembled, and answered, Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season, I will call for thee." That season, however, never came; and Felix, two years afterwards, when recalled from his government, left Paul in prison in order to gratify the Jews. (Acts xxiv.)

A.D. 60. Felix was succeeded in the government of Judæa by Festus, who sat in judgment on St. Paul, and having heard the accusations of the Jews against him, and his defence, proposed a new trial at Jerusalem in order to ingratiate himself with the Jews. But this was declined by Paul, who appealed to the emperor. Shortly after this, Agrippa, king of Chalcis, and his sister Bernice, having come to Cæsarea to congratulate Festus, the latter communicated Paul's case to him, and brought the apostle forth to plead his cause before Agrippa. Accordingly the apostle vindicated himself in so masterly a manner, as to extort an acknowledgment of his innocence from Agrippa himself (Acts xxv. xxvi.); but, having appealed to the emperor, it became necessary to send him to Rome, where he at length arrived in the spring of the year 61, after a very tempestuous passage, the particulars of which are related in Acts xxvii. and xxviii. 1—16. Here he was permitted to reside in his own hired house, with a soldier to whose custody he was committed. On the third day after his arrival, he sent for the chief of the unbelieving Jews, to whom he explained the cause of his imprisonment, though with little success; and afterwards, during the two years of his confinement (from the spring of A.D. 61, to the early part of 63), he received all that came to his house, preaching the Gospel without any impediment whatever. (Acts xxviii. 17—31.) During this first visit to Rome, St. Paul wrote his Epistles to the Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon.

VI. As Luke has not continued St. Paul's history beyond his first imprisonment at Rome, we have no authentic record of his subsequent travels and labours from the spring of A.D. 63, when he was released[1], to the time of his martyrdom. But, from the intimations

[1] It is not known by what means St. Paul was delivered from prison. Calmet conjectures, with great probability, that the Jews durst not prosecute him before the emperor.

contained in the Epistles which he wrote from Rome during his first confinement, some learned men have conjectured that he sailed from Italy to Judæa, accompanied by Timothy and Titus; and, leaving Titus in Crete (Tit. i. 5.), he proceeded thence with Timothy to Judæa, and visited the churches in that country, to which he had lately sent from Italy (perhaps from Rome) the Epistle which is now inscribed *to the Hebrews.* Having visited the churches in Syria, Cilicia, and Asia Minor, Paul and Timothy continued some time at Colosse; and, leaving Timothy at Ephesus, Paul proceeded to Macedonia, visiting the churches. From this country he wrote his Epistle to Titus, and also his first Epistle to Timothy.[1] Having also visited the churches of Greece, and probably that of Corinth for the second time, St. Paul passed the winter of 64 at Nicopolis, a city of Epirus; thence he proceeded to Crete, and perhaps to Corinth for the *third* time[2]; and early in 65 arrived at Rome, where his active exertions in preaching the Gospel caused him to be imprisoned a second time. How long Paul continued in prison at this time, we know not; but from the circumstance of his being brought twice before the emperor Nero or his prefect, Dr. Macknight thinks it probable that he was confined a year or more before he was put to death. As the Neronian persecution of the Christians raged greatly during this second visit to Rome, Paul, knowing the time of his departure to be at hand, wrote his second Epistle to Timothy; from which we learn, that, though the apostle's assistants, terrified with the danger, forsook him and fled, yet he was not altogether destitute of consolation; for the brethren of Rome came to him privately, and ministered to him. (2 Tim. iv. 12. 21.) Concerning the precise manner of St. Paul's death, we have no certain information, but, according to primitive tradition, he was beheaded on the 29th of June A.D. 66, at *Aquæ Salviæ*, three miles from Rome, and interred in the *Via Ostensis*, at a spot two miles from the city, where Constantine the Great afterwards erected a church to his memory. "But his noblest monument subsists in his immortal writings; which, the more they are studied, and the better they are understood, the more they will be admired to the latest posterity for the most sublime and beautiful, the most pathetic and impressive, the most learned and profound specimens of Christian piety, oratory, and philosophy."[3]

VII. Such were the life and labours of "Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ," which have justly been considered as an irrefragable proof of the truth of the Christian revelation. How indefatigably he exerted himself to make known the glad tidings of salvation, the preceding brief sketch will sufficiently evince. "One of the most

[1] [See the notes added on these points under the respective Epistles: many believe that they were written at a far earlier period.]

[2] Such is the supposition of Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 37.

[3] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. pp. 1155—1254. Dr. Lardner, Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 234—301.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 251—284., whose dates have chiefly been followed. Dr. Benson's History of the First Planting of Christianity, vol. i. pp. 144—290. vol. ii. *passim*. Pritii, Introd. in Nov. Test. pp. 246—268. Dr. Macknight's Life of the Apostle Paul, annexed to the fourth volume (4to.), or the sixth volume (8vo.), of his translation of the Epistles.

striking traits in the character of this extraordinary man was, his readiness to understand, and his promptness to enter into, the great design of Jesus Christ to give the world an universal religion. His mind, with wonderful facility, threw off the prejudices of his Jewish education, and expanded to the vastness of this enterprise. It is remarkable, too, that, after he had cast off the yoke of Jewish ceremonies, and abandoned his first religious connections, he manifested no bitterness of spirit towards his former friends. On the contrary, his kindness was unwearied, and his disposition to accommodate his practice to their prejudices, as far as he could do so without sacrifice of principle, was remarkable. Perhaps a higher example of firmness united with liberality, was never exhibited by any mere man. His history shows also a noble instance of intellectual and moral courage. His design was, to spread the Gospel throughout the whole world. (Rom. i. 5.) He went to his work in full expectation of success, without any human means but the use of reason and persuasion. His confidence in the power of truth seems to have been unlimited and unwavering."[1] Hence "we see him in the prosecution of his purpose, travelling from country to country, enduring every species of hardship, encountering every extremity of danger, assaulted by the populace, punished by the magistrates, scourged, beaten, stoned, left for dead: expecting, wherever he came, a renewal of the same treatment and the same dangers; yet, when driven from one city, preaching in the next, spending his whole time in the employment, sacrificing to it his pleasures, his ease, his safety; persisting in this course to old age (through more than thirty years); unaltered by the experience of perverseness, ingratitude, prejudice, desertion; unsubdued by anxiety, want, labour, persecutions; unwearied by long confinement, undismayed by the prospect of death."[2]

But this great luminary of the Christian church did not confine his labours to the preaching of the Gospel. He wrote fourteen Epistles, in which the various doctrines and duties of Christianity are explained, and inculcated with peculiar sublimity and force of language; at the same time that they exhibit the character of their great author in a most amiable and endearing point of view. His faith was a practical principle, influencing all the powers and faculties of the soul; his morality was of the purest and most exalted kind. He "derives all duties from the love of God in Christ as their foundation. All the motives to right action, all the arguments for holiness of life, are drawn from this source; all the lines of duty converge to this centre. If Paul censures, he points to this only spring of hope; if he laments, he turns to this only true source of consolation; if he insists that the *grace of God hath appeared*, he points to its practical object, *teaching us to live soberly, righteously, and godly.* When he determines to know nothing but his Saviour, and even him under the degrading circumstances of crucifixion, he includes in that knowledge

[1] Murray Street Discourses, p. 335 (New York, 1830.)

[2] Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, p. 379. See also some valuable remarks on the character of Saint Paul in Dr. Ranken's Institutes of Theology, pp. 391—395.

all the religious and moral benefits of which it is susceptible."[1] Integrity, tenderness of heart, disinterestedness, heavenly-mindedness, profound knowledge of human nature, and delicacy in giving advice or reproof, are the leading characteristics of St. Paul's writings; in which, while he every where maintains the utmost respect for constituted authorities, he urges and unfolds the various social and relative duties in the most engaging and impressive manner.

VIII. "All the writings of St. Paul bespeak him to have been a man of a most exalted genius, and the strongest abilities. His composition is peculiarly nervous and animated. He possessed a fervid conception, a glowing but chastised fancy, a quick apprehension, and an immensely ample and liberal heart. Inheriting from nature distinguished powers, he carried the culture and improvement of them to the most exalted height to which human learning could push them. He was an excellent scholar, an acute reasoner, a great orator, a most instructive and spirited writer. Longinus, a person of the finest taste and justest discernment in criticism and polite literature, classes the Apostle Paul among the most celebrated[2] orators of Greece. His speeches in the Acts of the Apostles are worthy the Roman senate. They breathe a most generous fire and fervour, are animated with a divine spirit of liberty and truth, abound with instances of as fine address as any of the most celebrated orations of Demosthenes or Cicero can boast; and his answers, when at the bar, to the questions proposed to him by the court, have a politeness and a greatness, which nothing in antiquity hardly ever equalled."[3] At the same time, this great preacher adapted his discourses to the peculiarities of his respective audiences with an astonishing degree of propriety and ability, as is evident from the difference of his reasoning with the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia, with the Gentiles at Lystra, with the polished Athenians, and with Felix the Roman governor, as also from the apology which he makes for himself before king Agrippa.

1. As the Jews had the Old Testament in their hands, and (it is well known) at this time expected a deliverer, from their study of the prophetic writings, Paul takes occasion in his discourse to them (Acts xiii. 13—42.) to illustrate the divine economy in opening the Gospel gradually, and preparing the Jews by temporal mercies for others of a yet more important nature. This afforded him a very unaffected opportunity of showing his acquaintance with their Scriptures, which they esteemed the highest part of literature, and object of science. His quotations are singularly apposite, and the whole of his discourse such as might have carried conviction to their minds. The result is well known; though a few embraced the despised Gospel of Christ, the majority rejected the benevolent counsel of God towards them.

[1] Mrs. More's Essay on St. Paul, vol. i. p. 109., to which the reader is referred for an ample and beautiful account of the character and writings of that illustrious apostle. On the subject of his "preaching Christ crucified," the reader will find some instructive remarks in pp. 44—51. of Mr. Wilks's able vindication of missionary exertions, intitled "Christian Missions an Enlightened Species of Christian Charity." 8vo. London, 1819.

[2] Longinus, p. 268. Pearce, 8vo.

[3] Harwood's Introduction, vol. i. p. 199.

2. With the idolatrous Lycaonians at Lystra (who were little better than barbarians, like most of the inland nations of Asia Minor), the great apostle of the Gentiles pursued a different course. (Compare Acts xiv. 6—22.) Such persons are apt to be struck and affected more with signs and wonders than with arguments; he, therefore, at his first preaching among them, very seasonably and fitly confirmed his doctrine by a signal miracle in healing a man who had been a cripple from his birth. And when Paul and his fellow-labourer Barnabas had with difficulty restrained the people of Lystra from offering sacrifice to them as deities, who (agreeably to the fables believed among the ancient heathen), they supposed, had appeared *in the likeness of men*, their discourse is admirably adapted to the capacity of their auditors. They derive their arguments from no higher source than natural religion, and insist only upon the plain and obvious topics of creation and providence. The works of creation are a demonstration of the being of a God, *the living God who made heaven and earth and the sea, and all things that are therein. In times past he suffered all nations,* all the heathens, *to walk in their own ways,* without any particular revelation of himself like that which he made to the people of Israel. But yet his general providence afforded ample proofs of his power and goodness: *nevertheless he left not himself without witness, in that he did good, and gave us rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness.* These arguments are as forcible as they are plain and obvious to the meanest capacity: He is the creator and preserver of us and of all things; he is the author and giver of all the good that we enjoy; and he therefore is the only proper and adequate object of our worship. The people were so transported, that *with these sayings scarce restrained they them that they had not done sacrifice unto them.* But such is the fickleness and uncertainty of the multitude, that him whom they were now for worshipping as a god, soon after, at the instigation of certain Jews, they suffered to be *stoned, and drawn out of the city, supposing he had been dead.* The apostles, however, had sown some good seed among them; for we read, that within a little time they *returned again to Lystra, confirming the souls of the disciples, and exhorting them to continue in the faith.*

3. Our apostle's conduct and behaviour among the learned and polite Athenians (Acts xvii. 16—34.) we shall find to be somewhat different from what it was to the rude and illiterate Lycaonians, but both of equal fitness and propriety. He did not open his commission at Athens in the same manner as at Lystra, by working a miracle: There were, doubtless, several cripples at Athens (for it is well known that such cases abounded in that climate); but it does not appear that any of them, like the cripple at Lystra, had *faith to be healed.* Besides, the Greeks did not so much *require a sign* (1 Cor. i. 22.) as seek after wisdom. Accordingly, we find the apostle *disputing* not only *in the synagogue with the Jews and the devout persons* (Jewish proselytes), but also in the forum or *market-place, daily with them that met with him.* Here he encountered *certain philosophers of the Epicurean and Stoic* sects; some of whom treated him as a *babbler,*

while others regarded him as a *setter forth of strange gods,* and, consequently, a violator of the laws of Athens, *because he preached unto them Jesus and the Resurrection.* At length they conducted him to the Areopagus (or Mars'-hill), the seat of the highest court of judicature in that city for matters concerning religion, and also the place of greatest resort: and with that curiosity and thirst of news for which (it is well known) the Athenians were at that time notorious, they requested him to give them an account of his new doctrine. What a glorious scene was here for the manifestation of the truth before such a promiscuous and numerous assembly of citizens and strangers, of philosophers of all sects, and people of all conditions; and with what exquisite skill and contrivance is every part and member of his discourse so framed and accommodated, as to obviate some principal error and prejudice in some party or other of his hearers! Most of the false notions, both of their vulgar and philosophical religion, are here exposed and refuted. If there was nothing else remaining, yet this sufficiently testifies how great a master he was in the learning of the Greeks. Most of the fundamental truths, both of natural and revealed religion, are here opened and explained; and all within the compass of a very few verses. From an altar with an inscription *to the unknown God* (and that there were altars at Athens with an inscription of this kind we have the attestation of ancient heathen authors), he takes occasion to reprove them for their great plurality of gods, and *him whom they ignorantly worshipped to declare unto them.* It might be contrary to the laws of Athens for any one to recommend and introduce a new or strange god; but he could not well be subject to the penalty of the law only for declaring him whom they already worshipped without knowing him. The opportunity was fair, and he improves it to the greatest advantage. He branches out his discourse into several particulars: — That *God made the world and all things therein:* which proposition, though agreeable enough to the general belief and opinion, was yet directly contrary both to the Epicureans and to the Peripatetics; the former of whom attributed the formation of the world to the fortuitous concourse of atoms without any intervention of the Deity, and the latter maintained that the world was not created at all, and that all things had continued as they now are from all eternity: — *That seeing he is Lord of heaven and earth, he dwelleth not in temples made with hands, neither is worshipped with men's hands, as though he needed any thing, seeing he giveth to all life, and breath, and all things;* which was levelled not so much against the philosophers as against the popular religion of Athens; for the philosophers seldom or never sacrificed, unless in compliance with the custom of their country, and even the Epicureans themselves admitted the self-sufficiency of the Deity; but the people believed very absurdly that there were local gods, that the Deity, notwithstanding his immensity, might be confined within temples, and notwithstanding his all-sufficiency was fed with the fat and fumes of sacrifices, as if he could really stand in need of any sustenance, who *giveth to all life, and breath, and all things:* — That *he hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of*

the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation: which was not only opposed to the Epicureans, who derived the beginning of the human race from the mere effects of matter and motion, and to the Peripatetics or Aristotelians, who denied mankind to have any beginning at all, having subsisted in eternal successions; but was, moreover, opposed to the general pride and conceit of the people of Athens, who boasted themselves to be Aborigines, to be descended from none other stock or race of men, but to be themselves originals and natives of their own country:— That *they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him, and find him, though he be not far from every one of us; for in him we live, and move, and have our being:* which fundamental truth, with the greatest propriety and elegance, he confirms by a quotation from one of their own poets, Aratus, the Cilician[1], his own countryman, who lived above three hundred years before, and in whose astronomical poem this hemistich is still extant: *As certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring;* an evident proof that he knew how to illustrate divinity with the graces of classical learning, and was no stranger to a taste and politeness worthy of an Attic audience:— That *forasmuch then as we are the offspring of God, we ought not to think that the Godhead is like unto gold, or silver, or stone, graven by art and man's device:* which was plainly pointed at the gross idolatry of the lower people, who thought the very idols themselves to be gods, and terminated their worship in them:— That *the times of this ignorance God winked at* or overlooked; as he said before to the people of Lysta, *In former times God suffered all nations to walk in their own ways; but now commandeth all men every where to repent:* which doctrine of the necessity of repentance must have been very mortifying to the pride and vanity of the philosophers, and especially of the Stoics, whose wise man was equal if not superior to God himself.— *Because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the world in righteousness by that man whom he hath ordained, whereof he hath given assurance unto all men, in that he hath raised him from the dead.* Till now they had heard him with silence and attention, because though every period of his discourse glanced at some of his hearers, yet it coincided with the notions of others, and he had not before touched and offended them altogether; but *when they heard of the resurrection of the dead, some mocked* (the Epicureans, and the men of wit and pleasure), *and others said* (the Platonists, and the graver sort of his audience), *We will hear thee again of this matter,* putting it off to a more convenient season. *So Paul departed from among them,* leaving them as they deserved to themselves. *Howbeit certain men clave unto him, and believed* (a diminutive expression to signify that he made but very few converts); *among whom* the principal *were Dionysius the Areopagite, and a woman named Damaris.*

4. In St. Paul's discourse to Felix (Acts xxiv.), he had for his

[1] Bp. Barrington conjectures that this quotation was taken from the celebrated Hymn of Cleanthes, in which the words spoken by St. Paul are also to be found. See Dr. Townsend's New. Test. arranged in Chronological Order, &c. vol. ii. p. 249.

hearer a Roman governor, who was remarkable for his lust, and injustice;—a man who was very unlikely to bear, much less to reform by, a pointed reproof from his own prisoner. This, then, was a case which required great skill as well as great courage; and accordingly we find our apostle mingled *the wisdom of the serpent* with *the innocence of the dove.* He had honesty enough to rebuke the sins; and yet prudence enough not to offend the sinner. He had the courage to put even his judge in mind of his crimes; yet with so much address as not to offend his person,—an example the most worthy of our imitation; as it would greatly contribute to make the bitter portion of reproof, if not palatable, at least salutary and successful.

How artfully, then, does St. Paul insinuate himself into the soul of this great sinner, and shake his conscience at the remembrance of his vices!—not by denouncing vengeance against him, for his lust and injustice, but by placing in the strongest point of light the opposite virtues,—showing their reasonableness in themselves, and their rewards at the day of judgment. For *he reasoned,*—not of unrighteousness,—not of incontinence,—but of *righteousness* and *chastity;*—and by holding forth a beautiful picture of these necessary virtues, he left it to Felix to form the contrast, and to infer the blackness of his own vices. A masterly stroke! and it effectually succeeded; for, as *the prisoner spake,—the judge trembled.*

5. The last instance which we shall notice of this apostle's fine address and politeness, is to be found in his celebrated reply to king Agrippa, who publicly declared to him that he had almost persuaded him to be a Christian. *Would to God that not only* THOU *but also* ALL *that hear me this day, were both* ALMOST, *and* ALTOGETHER, *such as I am,*—EXCEPT THESE BONDS. (Acts xxvi. 29.) What a prodigious effect must this striking conclusion, and the sight of the irons held up to enforce it, make upon the minds of the audience! To his singular attainments in learning the Roman governor publicly bore an honourable testimony, imagining that the intenseness of his application to his studies, and his profound erudition, had disordered his understanding, and occasioned his supposed insanity.

The writings of Paul show him to have been eminently acquainted with Greek learning and Hebrew literature. "He greatly excelled in the profound and accurate knowledge of the Old Testament, which he perpetually cites and explains with great skill and judgment, and pertinently accommodates to the subject which he is discussing. Born at Tarsus, one of the most illustrious seats of the muses in those days, initiated in that city into the learning and philosophy of the Greeks, conversing, in early life, with their most elegant and celebrated writers, whom we find him quoting[1], and afterwards finishing his course of

[1] It is universally acknowledged that Paul had read the Greek poets, and has quoted Aratus, Epimenides, and Menander; though it is scarcely suspected by any one, that he quotes or refers to Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. There is, however, (Dr. A. Clarke observes,) such a similarity between the following quotations and the apostle's words, that we are almost persuaded that they were present to his comprehensive mind; and if they were, he extends the thought infinitely higher, by language incomparably more exalted.

1 Tim. vi. 15. Ὁ μακάριος καὶ μόνος Δυνάστης, ὁ Βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων, καὶ Κύριος

education at the feet of Gamaliel, the learned Jewish rabbi, he came forth into public and active life with a mind stored with the most ample and various treasures of science and knowledge. He himself tells us, that the distinguished progress which he had made was known to all the Jews, and that in this literary career he left all his co-equals and contemporaries far behind him. *I profited in the Jewish religion above my fellows.* A person possessed of natural abilities so signal, of literary acquisitions so extensive, of an activity and spirit so enterprising, and of an integrity and probity so inviolate, the wisdom of God judged a fit instrument to employ in displaying the banners and spreading the triumphs of Christianity among mankind. A negligent greatness, if we may so express it, appears in his writings. Full of the dignity of his subject, a torrent of sacred eloquence bursts forth, and bears down every thing before it with irresistible rapidity. He stays not to arrange and harmonise his words and periods, but rushes on, as his vast ideas transport him, borne away by the sublimity of his theme. Hence his frequent and prolix digressions, though at the same time his all-comprehensive mind never loses sight of his subject; but he returns from these excursions, resumes and pursues it with an ardour and strength of reasoning

τῶν κυριευόντων. The blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords.

The Supreme Being is also styled the King of kings, and the Blessed, by Æschylus in his tragedy of the *Supplicants*:

Ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων
Μακάρτατε, καὶ τελέων
Τελειότατον κράτος. Ver. 520. Ed. Porson.

"O King of kings, most Blessed of the blessed, most Perfect of the perfect."

1 Tim. vi. 16. Ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν, φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον. — Who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can come unto.

In the Antigone of Sophocles, there is a sublime address to Jove, of which the following is an extract:

Ἀγήρως χρόνῳ Δυνάσταs
Κατέχεις Ὀλύμπου
Μαρμαροέσσαν αἴγλαν. Ver. 608. Edit. Brunck.

"But thou, an ever-during potentate, dost inhabit the refulgent splendour of Olympus!"

"This passage," says Dr. Clarke, "is grand and noble; but how insignificant does it appear, when contrasted with the superior sublimity of the inspired writer! The deity of Sophocles dwells in the dazzling splendour of heaven; but the God of Paul inhabits light, so dazzling and so resplendent, that it is perfectly unapproachable!"

Once more, in 2 Tim. iv. 7. we read, Τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν καλὸν ἠγώνισμαι, τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα. —I have fought a good fight, I have finished *my* course.

There is a passage in the *Alcestis* of *Euripides*, in which the very expressions used here by the apostle are found, and spoken on the occasion of a wife laying down her life for her husband, when both his parents had refused to do it.

Οὐκ ἠθέλησας οὐδ' ἐτόλμησας θανεῖν
Τοῦ σοῦ πρὸ παιδός· ἀλλὰ τὴν δ' εἰάσατε
Γυναῖκ' ὀθνείαν, ἣν ἐγὼ καὶ μητέρα
Πατέρα τε γ' ἐνδίκως ἂν ἡγοίμην μόνην·
Καί τοι καλόν γ' ἂν τόνδ' ἀγῶν' ἠγωνίσω,
Τοῦ σοῦ πρὸ παιδὸs κατθανών. *Alcest.* v. 644.

"Thou wouldest not, neither darest thou to die for thy son; but hast suffered this strange woman to do it, whom I justly esteem to be alone my father and mother: thou wouldest *have fought a good fight* hadst thou died for thy son."

The καλὸs ἀγῶν, *good fight*, was used among the Greeks to express a contest of the *most honourable kind*: and in this sense the apostle uses it. (Dr. A. Clarke, on 1 Tim. vi. 16, and on 2 Tim. iv. 8.)

that astonishes and convinces."[1] What a treasure of divinity and morality is contained in his Epistles! which, "as examples of a nervous, invigorating, commanding style, have seldom been equalled, never excelled. The instructions they contain are delivered with a simple gravity and concinnity that commands the attention, and is as much superior to high-wrought ornaments of professed rhetoricians as the native uncut diamond, to the furbished, glittering paste. Yet are they not deficient in those beauties which captivate the refined taste. Although professedly didactic, there are few pieces of composition that afford a richer variety of appropriate figure. There is scarcely a species of trope that has been noticed by rhetoricians that may not be found in one part or other of these books, and always in an apposite situation.

"Nor are there wanting instances of a strength of figure only to be equalled by the importance of the sentiment expressed. As such, the description of the powerful efficacy of the promises and threats of God may be produced. 'The word of God is living and energetic, and more cutting than any two-edged sword, dividing even to the separation of soul and spirit, of joints and marrow, and a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart.' Again, when the apostle expresses his desire to be useful even to the death, to his converts; how noble and appropriate to men accustomed to the sacrificial rites is his expression! 'Yea, and if I be poured out as a libation (*σπένδομαι*) upon the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all.' And how full of affection and exultation is his figurative appellation of the Philippians; 'My brethren, beloved and longed for, my joy, and my crown!' Is there any thing in any of the heathen moralists comparable to that fine description of charity in the thirteenth chapter of the first Epistle to the Corinthians? *Speaking with the tongues of men and of angels* is nothing in comparison of charity; and *the tongues of men and of angels* can never exceed this description. All the powers of logic and rhetoric are to be seen and felt in the fifteenth chapter of the same Epistle; and what affecting solemnity does it add to that most solemn service of our liturgy, *the burial of the dead!* But it is not in the use of figures only that the excellence of the apostle's style consists. For appropriate diction he is unrivalled, and occasionally he rises into a sublimity of expression that carries his readers above themselves, and, while it astonishes, convinces or persuades with a delightful violence. When he undertakes to describe the goodness of our Maker in providing for us the means of salvation, the reader is transported with gratitude, and overwhelmed with self-abasement. When he exultingly depicts the excellencies of the Gospel dispensation, he commands the enraptured mind, and we are 'lost in wonder, love, and praise!' When he concisely describes his sufferings, the constancy, the joyous triumphing in the midst of tortures, of the primitive propagators of Christianity, we acquire a new idea of the human mind; we are tempted to imagine the persons he speaks of to be superior beings, and to render

[1] Harwood's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 200. 202.

them our humble adoration, till recalled by the assurance that it is by the might of the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the aid of the Holy Spirit, that these holy men so nobly won their heavenly crown. When we read his exulting and fervent expressions of delight in the Gospel, and thankfulness for the glorious office of an apostle, how do we feel our hearts burn within us at being permitted by the good providence of God to participate in the privileges so admirably extolled by the great apostle of the Gentiles.

"Occasionally, too, the student of the Epistles is at once astonished and delighted by a fervency of language unexampled in any other writer. Words of the most intense signification are accumulated, and, by their very strength, are made to express their weakness when compared with the inexpressible greatness of their object. Our language cannot express the force of *καθ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς ὑπερβολὴν αἰώνιον βάρος δόξης* (2 Cor. iv. 17.), which is but faintly shadowed forth in the translation of an eminent critic, 'an excessively exceeding and eternal weight of glory.' Numerous, and some, if possible, still more striking examples occur, but cannot be adequately displayed in any, even the best translation. Even the ordinary grammatical compounds are not sufficient for the glowing ideas of the apostle. Thus, wishing to express his own utter worthlessness considered in himself, he makes use of a comparative, found only in the most exalted sentences of the classic authors: *ἐμοὶ τῷ ἐλαχιστοτέρῳ*, not unaptly rendered by our translators 'less than the least.'"[1]

Another excellence in St. Paul's writings is presented to our notice in the admirable art with which he interests the passions and engages the affections of his hearers. Under the present depravity of human nature, our reason being enfeebled, and our passions consequently grown powerful, it must be of great service to engage these in the cause we would serve; and, therefore, his constant endeavour was,—not only to convince the reason of his hearers, but to alarm and interest their passions. And, as hope and fear are (with the bulk of mankind) the main-springs of human action, to these he addressed himself most effectually,—not by cold speculation upon abstract fitnesses, but by the awful assurances of a resurrection of the dead to an eternity of happiness or misery. With respect to the latter, who can hear without trembling, that,—*the Lord Jesus shall be revealed from heaven, with his mighty angels, in flaming fire, taking vengeance on the ungodly; who shall be punished with everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power!* And the happiness of heaven he describes by words so strong, as to baffle the expression of all language but his own,—by *a weight of glory infinite and eternal beyond all hyperbole* or conception.

Thus the apostle secured the passions of those to whom he directed his Epistles: and he equally engaged their affections by his endearing manner of address. Has he occasion to introduce any subject, which he is afraid will prejudice and disgust his bigoted countrymen the Jews? He announces it with a humility and modesty that secures

[1] Gospel Advocate, vol. iv. p. 364. (Boston, Massachusetts, 1824.)

the attention, and with an insinuating form of address to which nothing can be denied. "This appears particularly in his Epistle to the Romans, where we see with what reluctance and heartfelt grief he mentions the ungrateful truth of the Jews' rejection of the Messiah, and their dereliction by God for their insuperable obstinacy. How studious is he to provoke them to jealousy and emulation by the example of the Gentiles, and how many persuasive and cogent arts and arguments does he employ to win them over to the religion of Jesus! In these delicate touches, in these fine arts of moral suasion, St. Paul greatly excels.[1] Upon occasion, also, we find him employing the most keen and cutting raillery in satirising the faults and foibles of those to whom he wrote. With what sarcastic pleasantry does he animadvert upon the Corinthians for their injudicious folly in suffering themselves to be duped by a false judaising teacher! A more delicate and poignant instance of irony, than the following passage, is perhaps no where to be met with:—*What is it,* says he to the Corinthians, *wherein you were inferior to other churches, except that I myself was not burthensome to you* (by taking any acknowledgment for my labours)? do *forgive me this wrong.* (2 Cor. xii. 13.)—To his eloquence, as a public speaker, we have the testimony of the Lycaonians, who (as we have already remarked) foolishly imagining the gods to have descended from heaven among them in the persons of Barnabas and Paul, called the former Jupiter, and the latter Mercury, because he was the chief speaker. And though it is said his *bodily presence was mean, and his speech contemptible,* yet it ought to be remembered, that this was the aspersion of his enemies, the effusion of malignity, to defame and sink him, and ruin his usefulness."[2]

CHAP. IX.

OBSERVATIONS ON THE APOSTOLICAL EPISTLES IN GENERAL, AND THOSE OF ST. PAUL IN PARTICULAR.

I. THE EPISTLES, or letters addressed to various Christian communities, and also to individuals, by the apostles Paul, James, Peter, John, and Jude, form the second principal division of the New Testament. These writings abundantly confirm all the material facts related in the Gospels and Acts of the Apostles. The particulars of our Saviour's life and death are often referred to in them, as grounded upon the undoubted testimony of eye-witnesses, and as being the foundation of the Christian religion. The speedy propagation of the Christian faith, recorded in the Acts, is confirmed beyond all contradiction by innumerable passages in the Epistles, written to the

[1] See an instance in his Epistle to Philemon.

[2] Dr. Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. i. p. 202. See also Michaelis's Introduction, vol. i. pp. 149—159. Bp. Newton's Dissertation on St. Paul's Eloquence. (Works, vol. v. pp. 248—271.) Dr. Kennicott's Remarks on the Old Testament and Sermons, pp. 369—379. Dr. A. Clarke on 1 Tim. vi. 15. and 2 Tim. iv. 8.

churches already planted; and the miraculous gifts, with which the apostles were endued, are often appealed to in the same writings, as an undeniable evidence of the divine mission of the apostles.[1]

Though all the essential doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion were unquestionably taught by our Saviour himself, and are contained in the Gospels, yet it is evident to any person who attentively studies the Epistles, that they are to be considered as commentaries on the doctrines of the Gospel addressed to particular Christian societies or persons, in order to explain and apply those doctrines more fully, to confute some growing errors, to compose differences and schisms, to reform abuses and corruptions, to excite Christians to holiness, and to encourage them against persecutions. And since these Epistles were written (as we have already shown) under divine inspiration, and have uniformly been received by the Christian church as the productions of inspired writers, it consequently follows (notwithstanding some writers have insinuated that they are not of equal authority with the Gospels, while others would reject them altogether) that what the apostles have delivered in these Epistles, as necessary to be believed or done by Christians, must be as necessary to be believed and practised as the doctrines and precepts delivered by Jesus Christ himself, and recorded in the Gospels: because, in writing these Epistles, the sacred penmen were the servants, apostles, ambassadors, and ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God, and their doctrines and precepts are the will, the mind, the truth, and the commandments of God himself.[2] On account of the fuller displays of evangelical truth contained in this portion of the sacred volume, the Epistles have by some divines been termed the DOCTRINAL BOOKS of the New Testament.

That the preceding view of the Epistles is correct, will appear from the following considerations.

In the FIRST *place, they announce and explain* DOCTRINES, *of which our Saviour had not fully treated in his discourses, and which consequently are not clearly delivered in the Gospels.*

Thus there were some things which our Saviour did not fully and clearly explain to his disciples (John xvi. 12.), who as yet could not bear them.

The disciples had misunderstood the meaning of our Lord's various clear and explicit discourses concerning his sufferings, death, and resurrection. (See Mark ix. 10.; Luke ix. 45., xviii. 34.) They vainly expected that their master would gain earthly conquests and triumphs, and they could not apprehend how he should become glorious through sufferings. In consequence of these mistaken ideas, the doctrine of the cross and its saving effects were not understood by the apostles (Matt. xvi. 22.), until our Saviour had opened their understandings by his discourses on this subject after his resurrection; and therefore we cannot expect so perfect an exposition of that great

[1] See particularly 1 Cor. xii. and xiv.

[2] Dr. Whitby's General Preface to the Epistles, § 1. On the subject of the preceding paragraph, see also Archb. Magee's Discourses, vol. i. pp. 471—474. and vol. ii. p. 317. *et seq.*

and fundamental article of Christianity in the Gospels as in the Epistles, in which *Christ's dying for our sins, and rising again for our justification,* is everywhere insisted upon as the foundation of all our hopes; and the doctrine of the cross is there spoken of as a truth of such importance, that St. Paul (1 Cor. ii. 2.), in comparison of it, despises every other kind of knowledge, whether divine or human. Hence it is that the apostles deduce those powerful motives to obedience, which are taken from the love, humility, and condescension of our Lord, and the right which he has to our service, having purchased us with the price of his blood. (See 1 Cor. vi. 20., 2 Cor. v. 15., Gal. ii. 20., Tit. ii. 14., 1 Pet. i. 18, 19.) Hence they derive those great obligations, which lie upon Christians to exercise the duties of mortification and self-denial; of *crucifying the flesh with the affections and lusts* (Gal. v. 24., vi. 14.; Rom. vi. 6.; 1 Pet. iv. 1, 2.); of patience under afflictions, and rejoicing in tribulations (Phil. iii. 10.; 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12.; 1 Pet. ii. 19. &c., iv. 13.); of being dead to this world, and *seeking those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God.* (Col. iii. 1. &c.) Thus, as our Saviour *spoiled principalities and powers, and triumphed* over his enemies by the cross (Col. ii. 15.), so the believer overcomes the world by being crucified to it, united by faith to a crucified Lord; and *becomes more than conqueror through Christ that loved him.*

Once more, it is in the Epistles principally, that we are clearly taught the calling of Gentiles to make one church with Jews. Our Lord, indeed, had intimated this glorious event in some general expressions, and also in some of his parables (see Matt. viii. 11., xx. 1.; Luke xv. 11. &c.); and the numerous prophecies of the Old Testament, which foretell the calling of the Gentiles, were sufficient to convince the Jews that, in the times of the Messiah, God would reveal the knowledge of himself and his will to the world more fully than ever he had done before. But the extraordinary value which they had for themselves, and the privileges which they fancied were peculiar to their own nation, made them unwilling to believe that the Gentiles should ever be *fellow-heirs* with the Jews, *of the same body* or church with them, and *partakers of the* same *promises in Christ by the Gospel.* (Eph. iii. 6.) This St. Peter himself could hardly be persuaded to believe, till he was convinced by a particular vision vouchsafed to him for that purpose. (Acts x. 28.) And St. Paul tells us that this was a mystery which was but newly *revealed to the apostles by the Spirit* (Eph. iii. 5.); and therefore not fully discovered by Christ before.

Lastly, it is in the Epistles chiefly that the inefficacy of the law to procure our justification in the sight of God, the cessation of the law, and the eternal and unchangeable nature of Christ's priesthood, are set forth. Compare Rom. iii. 20. 25.; Gal. ii. 21., iii. 16., v. 2. 5.; Heb. ix. 10., vii. 18., v. 5, 6., vii. 24, 25.

SECONDLY, *in the Epistles only we have instructions concerning many great and necessary* DUTIES.

Such are the following, viz. that all our thanksgivings are to be

offered up to God in the name of Christ.[1] The duties which we owe to our *civil governors* are only hinted in these words of Christ—"*Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's,*" but are enlarged upon in St. Paul's Epistles to the Romans (xiii.), and to Titus (iii. 1.), and also in the first Epistle of St. Peter. (ii. 10. 17.) In like manner the duties, which we owe to the ministers of the Gospel (*our spiritual governors*), are more expressly taught in St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians (vi. 6.), the Thessalonians (1 Thess. v. 12, 13.), and to the Hebrews. (xiii. 17, 18.) Lastly, all the duties belonging to the relations of husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and servants, are *particularly* treated in the Epistles to the Ephesians (v. 28—33., vi. 1—9.), and the Colossians (iii. 11—25.); but are scarcely ever mentioned in the Gospels. This is a convincing argument that the Holy Ghost, who influenced the pens of the apostles, not only regarded the particular exigencies of the Christians who lived in those times, but also directed the sacred writers to enlarge on such points of doctrine and practice as were of universal concern, and would be for the benefit of the faithful in all succeeding generations.[2] It is true that the *immediate occasion* of several of the Epistles was the correction of errors and irregularities in particular churches[3]: but the experience of all succeeding ages, to our own time, has shown the necessity of such cautions, and the no less necessity of attending to the duties which are directly opposite to those sins and irregularities, and which the apostles take occasion from thence to lay down and enforce. And even their decisions of cases concerning meats and drinks, and the observation of the ceremonial law, and similar doubts which were peculiar to the Jewish converts, in the *first occasion* of them;—even these rules also are, and will always be, our surest guides in all points relating to church liberty and the use of things indifferent; when the grounds of those decisions, and the directions consequent upon them, are duly attended to, and applied to cases of the like nature by the rules of piety and prudence, especially in one point, which is of universal concern in life, viz. the duty of abstaining from many things which are in themselves innocent, if we foresee that they will give offence to weak Christians, or be the occasion of leading others into sin.

II. The Epistles contained in the New Testament are twenty-one in number, and are generally divided into two classes, the Epistles of St. Paul and the Catholic Epistles. Of these apostolical letters, fourteen were written by the great Apostle of the Gentiles; they are not placed in our Bibles according to the order of time when they were composed, but according to the supposed precedence of the societies or persons to whom they were addressed. Thus, the Epistles

[1] Compare Eph. v. 8. 20.; 1 Thess. v. 18.; Heb. xiii. 14, 15.

[2] Whitby, vol. ii. p. 1. Lowth's Directions for the Profitable Reading of the Scriptures, pp. 199—211.

[3] Such were the corrupting of Christianity with mixtures of Judaism and philosophy, apostacy from the faith which they had received, contentions and divisions among themselves, neglect of the assemblies for public worship, and misbehaviour in them, the dishonouring of marriage, &c. &c.

to churches are disposed according to the rank of the cities or places whither they were sent. The Epistle to the Romans stands first, because Rome was the chief city of the Roman empire: this is followed by the two Epistles to the Corinthians, because Corinth was a large, polite, and renowned city. To them succeeds the Epistle to the Galatians, who were the inhabitants of Galatia, a region of Asia Minor, in which were several churches. Next follows the Epistle to the Ephesians, because Ephesus was the chief city of Asia Minor, strictly so called. Afterwards come the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and Thessalonians; for which order Dr. Lardner can assign no other probable reason than this, viz., that Philippi was a Roman colony, and, therefore, the Epistle to the Philippians was placed before those to the Colossians and Thessalonians, whose cities were not distinguished by any particular circumstance. He also thinks it not unlikely that the shortness of the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, especially of the second, caused them to be placed last among the letters addressed to churches, though in point of time they are the earliest of St. Paul's Epistles.

Among the Epistles addressed to particular persons, those to Timothy have the precedence, as he was a favourite disciple of St. Paul, and also because those Epistles are the longest and fullest. To them succeeds the Epistle to Titus, who was an evangelist; and that to Philemon is placed last, as he was supposed to have been only a private Christian. Last of all comes the Epistle to the Hebrews, because its authenticity was doubted for a short time (though without any foundation, as will be shown in a subsequent page); Dr. Lardner also thinks that it was the last written of all St. Paul's Epistles.

Some learned men, who have examined the chronology of St. Paul's Epistles, have proposed to arrange them in our Bibles, according to the order of time: but to this classification there are two serious objections, viz. 1. The order of their dates has not yet been satisfactorily or unanimously settled; and, 2. Very considerable difficulty will attend the alteration of that order which has been adopted in *most editions and versions* of the New Testament. This was the received arrangement in the time of Eusebius, who flourished in the beginning of the third century, and probably also of Irenæus, who lived in the second century.[1] Consequently it is the most ancient order; in Dr. Lardner's judgment it is the best that can be adopted[2]; and therefore we have retained the received order in the subsequent part of this work. As, however, a knowledge of the order in which St. Paul's Epistles were written cannot fail to be both instructive and useful to the biblical student, we have deemed it proper to subjoin a TABLE of their CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER (as established in the subsequent pages), which exhibits the places where, and the times when, they were in all probability respectively written. The dates, &c.

[1] [There was, however, an early variation as to the place in which the Epistle to the Hebrews should stand; some placing it between the Galatians and Ephesians, and others directly before 1 Tim., where, indeed, it is found in the best MSS.; and this order has been followed by Lachmann.]

[2] Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 646—649.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 407, 408.

assigned by Dr. Lardner and other learned men, are duly noticed in the following pages.

EPISTLES.	PLACES.	A.D.
1 Thessalonians	Corinth	52
2 Thessalonians	Corinth	52
Galatians	Corinth	At the close of or early in 52 53
1 Corinthians	Ephesus	57
Romans	Corinth	About the end of or the beginning of 57 58
2 Corinthians	Macedonia (perhaps from Philippi)	58
Ephesians	Rome	61
Philippians	Rome	Before the end of or the beginning of 62 63
Colossians	Rome	62
Philemon	Rome	About the end of or early in 62 63
Hebrews	Italy (perhaps from Rome)	About the end of or early in 62 63
[1] 1 Timothy	Macedonia	64
[1] Titus	Macedonia	64
2 Timothy	Rome	65

III. The *Catholic Epistles* are seven in number, and contain the letters of the apostles James, Peter, John, and Jude. They are termed *Catholic*[2], that is, general or universal, because they are not addressed to the believers of some particular city or country, or to individuals, as St. Paul's Epistles were, but to Christians in general, or to Christians of several countries. The subjoined table exhibits the dates of the Catholic Epistles, and also the places where they were written, agreeably to the order established in the following pages.

EPISTLES.	PLACES.	A.D.
James	Judæa	61
1 Peter	Rome	64
2 Peter	Rome	About the beginning of 65
1 John	Unknown (perhaps Ephesus)	or early in 68 69
2 and 3 John	Ephesus	or early in 68 69
Jude	Unknown	64 or 65

IV. The general plan on which the Epistles are written, is *first*, to discuss and decide the controversy, or to refute the erroneous notions, which had arisen in the church, or among the persons, to whom they are addressed, and which was the occasion of their being written; and, *secondly*, to teach the observance of those duties which would be necessary and of absolute importance to the Christian church in every age, consideration being chiefly given to those particular graces or virtues of the Christian character which the disputes that occasioned the Epistles might tempt them to neglect. In pursuing this method, regard is had to the operation of the grace of God upon the soul, through which alone the things of God can be rightly apprehended, and by which acceptance on the ground of Christ's

[1] [The dates of these Epistles will be considered in notes on the chapters which treat of them.]

[2] On the origin and reason of this appellation, see the chapter which introduces them.

redemption, laid hold of by faith, underlies all Christian service. Attention is then paid, first, to the nature and faculties of the soul of man, in which the understanding is to lead the way, and the will, affections, and active powers are to follow; and, secondly, to the nature of religion in general, which is a reasonable service, teaching us that we are not to be determined by superstitious fancies, nor by blind passions, but by a *sound judgment* and *a good understanding* of the mind and will of God; and also showing us the necessary union of faith and practice, of truth and holiness. The pious, affectionate, and faithful manner in which the apostles admonish, reprove, exhort, or offer consolation, can only be adequately appreciated by him who, by patient and diligent study, is enabled to enter fully into the spirit of the inspired authors.

V. Explicit as the Epistles unquestionably are in all fundamental points, it is not to be denied that some parts of them are more difficult to be understood than the Gospels.[1] These arise, of course, in part, from the nature of the subjects, for the natural man understandeth not the things of the Spirit of God. But, besides the preliminary *spiritual* obstacle, there are difficulties arising from the character of the writing. In an Epistle many things are omitted, or only slightly mentioned, because they are supposed to be known by the person to whom it is addressed; but, to a person unacquainted with such particulars, they cannot but present considerable difficulty. The affairs discussed by St. Paul were certainly well known to the persons to whom he wrote; who consequently would easily apprehend his meaning, and see the force and tendency of his discourse. As, however, we who live at this distance of time, can obtain no information concerning the occasion of his writing, or the character and circumstances of the persons for whom his Epistles were intended, except what can be collected from the Epistles themselves, it is not strange that several things in them should appear obscure to us. Further, it is evident from many passages, that he answers letters sent, and questions proposed to him, by his correspondents; which if they had been preserved, would have illustrated different passages much better than all the notes of commentators and critics.

To these causes of obscurity, which are common to all the writers of the Epistles, we may add some that are peculiar to St. Paul, owing to his style and temper. Possessing an ardent, acute, and fertile mind (as we have seen in the preceding chapter), he seems to have written with great rapidity, and without closely attending to method. Hence arise those frequent parentheses which occur in his Epistles. In the course of his argument he sometimes breaks off abruptly, in order to pursue a new thought that is necessary for the support of

[1] The following remark of a late excellent writer, on the Scriptures in general, is particularly applicable to St. Paul's Epistles: — "Difficulties indeed there are, but the *life-directing* precepts they contain are sufficiently easy; and he who reads the Scriptures with an unprejudiced mind, must be convinced, that the whole end they have in view is to lead mankind to their truest and best happiness, both here and hereafter. They inform our reason, they guide our consciences; in short, they have the words both of temporal and eternal life." Gilpin's Sermons, vol. iv. p. 335. See also Mrs. More's Essay on St. Paul, vol. i. pp. 59-72.

some point arising from the subject, though not immediately leading to it; and when he has exhausted such new idea, he returns from his digression without any intimation of the change of topic, so that considerable attention is requisite in order to retain the connection. His frequent changes of persons and propositions of objections, which he answers without giving any formal intimation, are also causes of ambiguity. To these we may add, 1. The modern divisions of chapters and verses, which dissolve the connection of parts, and break them into fragments; and, 2. Our uncertainty concerning the persons addressed, as well as the opinions and practices to which the great Apostle of the Gentiles alludes, sometimes only in exhortations and reproofs.[1] Other causes of obscurity might be assigned, but the preceding are the most material; and the knowledge of them, if we study with a *right* spirit, will enable us to ascertain the rest without difficulty. In studying the Epistles of the New Testament it must always be remembered that, besides literary, critical, and grammatical aids, it is essential to the Christian student that his mind be instructed by *that Spirit* who alone can enable the truths which He has caused to be written to be rightly known.

CHAP. X.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS.

I. THE Epistle to the Romans, though fifth in order of time, is placed first of all the apostolical letters, either from the pre-eminence of Rome, as being the mistress of the world, or because it is the longest and most comprehensive of all St. Paul's Epistles. Various years have been assigned for its date. Van Til refers it to the year 55; Langius, Bishop Pearson, Drs. Mill and Whitby, Fabricius, Reineccius, Professor Stuart, and others, to the year 57; Dr. Davidson to 57 or 58; Baronius, Michaelis, Lord Barrington, Drs. Benson and Lardner, and Bishop Tomline, to the year 58; Mr. Alford to the beginning of 58; Archbishop Usher and our Bible chronology, to the year 60; Dr. Hales to the end of 58, or the beginning of 59; and Rosenmüller to the end of the year 58. The most probable date is that which assigns this Epistle to the end of 57, or the beginning of 58; at which time St. Paul was at Corinth, whence he was preparing to go to Jerusalem with the collections which had been made by the Christians of Macedonia and Achaia for their poor brethren in Judæa. (Rom. xv. 25—27.)[2] The Epistle was dictated by the

[1] Locke's Essay for the understanding of St. Paul's Epistles (Works, vol. iii.), p. 275. *et seq.* See also Dr. Graves's Essay on the Character of the Apostles and Evangelists, pp. 146—163., for some useful remarks on the obscurity of St. Paul's Epistles.

[2] This opinion is satisfactorily vindicated at considerable length, by Dr. J. F. Flatt, in a dissertation, *De tempore, quo Pauli epistola ad Romanos scripta sit* (Tubingæ, 1789); reprinted in Pott's and Ruperti's Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum, vol. ii. pp. 54—74.

apostle in the Greek language[1] to Tertius his amanuensis (xvi. 22.), and was sent to the church at Rome, by Phœbe, a deaconness of the church at Cenchrea (xvi. 1.), whose journey to Rome afforded St. Paul an opportunity of writing to the Christians in that city. That he wrote from Corinth is further evident from Romans xvi. 23. where he sends salutations from Erastus the chamberlain of Corinth (which city, we learn from 2 Tim. iv. 20. was the place of his residence), and from Gaius, who lived at Corinth (1 Cor. i. 14.), whom St. Paul terms *his host*, and the host of all the Christian church there.

II. That this Epistle has always been acknowledged to be a genuine and authentic production of St. Paul, is attested by the express declarations and quotations of Irenæus[2], Theophilus of Antioch[3], Clement of Alexandria[4], Tertullian[5], Origen[6], and by all subsequent ecclesiastical writers. It was also cited or alluded to by the apostolic Fathers[7], Clement of Rome[8], Polycarp[9], and by the churches of Vienne and Lyons.[10]

The genuineness of chapters xv. and xvi. has been of late years impugned by Heumann (in part), Semler, Schott, Eichhorn, and especially Baur. Their arguments have been examined in detail, and most satisfactorily refuted by Professor Stuart, in his Introduction to the Epistle to the Romans[11] (see, too, Davidson's Introduction, ii. 188—196. and De Wette's Commentary), the result of whose researches proves *first*, that there is no internal evidence to prove that these chapters are spurious; and *secondly*, that no external evidence of any considerable weight can be adduced in favour of this supposition. All the manuscripts which are of any authority (with some variety as to the position of xvi. 25—27., and with the omission of these verses in a few cases,) are on the side of the genuineness of these chapters. Jerome mentions[12], that he knew of some manuscripts which omitted xvi. 25—27.; and Wetstein cites a Codex Latinus which also omits those verses. But in regard to all the rest of the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters, no authority from manuscripts, fathers, or versions, warrants us in suspecting them.

III. The Scriptures do not inform us at what time or by whom the Gospel was first preached at Rome. Those who assert that the church in that city was founded by St. Peter, can produce no solid foundation for their opinion: for, if he had preached the Gospel

[1] Bellarmine and Salmeron imagined that this epistle was written in Latin, but this notion is contradicted by the whole current of Christian antiquity; and John Adrian Bolton, a German critic, fancied that it was written in Aramaic, but he was amply refuted by Griesbach. Viser, Herm. Sacr. Nov. Test. pars ii. p. 354. Rosenmüller, Scholia, vol. iii. p. 359.

[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 163—165.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 368, 369.

[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 195—199.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 385—388.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 222—224.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 400—402.

[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 266—272.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 424—428.

[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 375—377.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 482—484.

[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 471, 472.; 4to. vol. i. p. 535.

[8] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 35.; 4to. vol. i. p. 296.

[9] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 94.; 4to. vol. i. p. 329.

[10] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 151.; 4to. vol. i. p. 361.

[11] Stuart's Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans, pp. 42—50.

[12] Hieronymi Comm. in Eph. iii. 5.

there, it is not likely that such an event would have been left unnoticed in the Acts of the Apostles, where the labours of Peter are particularly related with those of Paul, which form the chief subject of that book. Nor can it be made probable that the author of this Epistle should have made no reference whatever to this circumstance, if it had been true. There is still less plausibility in the opinion, that the church was planted at Rome by the joint labours of Peter and Paul, for it is evident from Romans i. 8. that Paul had never been in that city previously to his writing this Epistle. As, however, the fame of this church had reached him long before he wrote the present letter (xv. 23.), the most probable opinion is that of Dr. Benson, Michaelis, Rambach, Rosenmüller, and other critics, viz. that the Gospel was first preached there by some of those persons who heard Peter preach, and were converted at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost: for we learn from Acts ii. 10. that there were then at Jerusalem, *strangers of Rome, Jews, and proselytes.* These Roman Jews, on their return home, doubtless preached Christ to their countrymen there[1], and probably converted some of them: so that the church at Rome, like most of the churches in Gentile countries, was at first composed of Jews. But it was soon enlarged by converts from among the religious proselytes to Judaism, and in process of time was increased by the flowing in of the idolatrous Gentiles who gave themselves to Christ in such numbers, that, at the time St. Paul wrote his Epistle to the Romans, their conversion was much spoken of throughout the world. (i. 8.) Among the earliest messengers of the faith or promoters of its doctrines, Andronicus and Junia may be enumerated (Rom. xvi. 7.), and also Rufus, the same, possibly, whose father assisted Jesus Christ in bearing the cross. (xvi. 13.; Mark xv. 21.)

IV. The occasion of writing this Epistle may easily be collected from the Epistle itself. It appears that St. Paul, who had been made acquainted with all the circumstances of the Christians at Rome by Aquila and Priscilla (Rom. xvi. 3), and by other Jews who had been expelled from Rome by the decree of Claudius (Acts xviii. 2.), was very desirous of seeing them, that he might impart to them some spiritual gift (Rom. i. 8—13., xv. 14., xvi. 1.); but, being prevented from visiting them, as he had proposed, in his journey into Spain, he availed himself of the opportunity that presented itself to him by the departure of Phœbe to Rome, to send them an Epistle. (Rom. xvi. 1, 2.) Finding, however, that the Church was composed partly of heathens who had embraced the Gospel, and partly of Jews, who, with many remaining prejudices, believed in Jesus as the Messiah; and finding also that many contentions arose from the Gentile converts claiming equal privileges with the Hebrew Christians (which claims the latter absolutely refused to admit unless the Gentile converts were circumcised), he wrote this Epistle to compose these differences, by giving

[1] At this time there were great numbers of Jews at Rome. Josephus relates that their number amounted to eight thousand (Antiq. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 12.); and Dion Cassius (lib. xxxvii. c. 17.) informs us that they had obtained the privilege of living according to their own laws.

the fullest doctrinal instruction in the doctrines of the Gospel of the *grace* of God, as alike meeting the believing Jew and the believing Gentiles in their state of natural alienation from God. He thus strengthened the faith of the Roman Christians against the insinuations of false teachers; being apprehensive lest his involuntary absence from Rome should be turned by the latter to the prejudice of the Gospel.

V. In order fully to understand this Epistle, it is necessary that we should be acquainted with the tenets believed by those whose errors the apostle here exposes and confutes. It is clear that he wrote to persons who had been either Gentiles or Jews, and that his grand design was to remove the prejudices entertained by both these descriptions of persons.

The greater part of the GENTILES, who lived in gross ignorance, did not trouble themselves much concerning the pardon of their sins, or the salvation of their souls; and the rest believed that their virtues deserved the favour of their gods, either in this world or in the next, if there were anything to expect after death. They also thought that their vices or sins were expiated by their virtues, especially if they were truly sorry for the crimes they had committed; for they declared a man to be innocent who repented of his fault. In order to expiate the most atrocious crimes, they had recourse to purifications and sacrifices, and sometimes offered human victims; but the wisest among them maintained that nothing was more fit to appease the Divinity than a change of life.

The JEWS, on the other hand, divided all mankind into three classes. The *first* was composed of righteous men whose righteousness exceeded their sins; the *second* comprised those whose righteousness was equal to their sins; and the *third* contained wicked men, whose sins were more in number than their good deeds. They thought, however, that there was no person so righteous as not to stand in need of pardon: but they believed that they should obtain it by repentance, by confession of their sins, by almsgiving, by prayer, by the afflictions which God sent them, by their purifications, sacrifices, and change of life, and above all by the solemn sacrifice which was annually offered on the great day of atonement;—and if there yet remained anything to be pardoned, everything (they said) would be expiated by death. Further, the most zealous among the Jews entertained various erroneous opinions relative to their justification, to the election of their nation, and to the Roman government, which it is important to consider, as St. Paul has refuted them at considerable length in this Epistle.

1. The Jews assigned three grounds of justification, by which they were delivered from the guilt and punishment of sin; viz.

(1.) *The extraordinary piety and merit of their ancestors*, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and the twelve patriarchs, and the covenant God made with them; for the sake of which piety, as He had promised to bless their posterity, they thought that this covenant *obliged* Him to forgive their sins. This error is confuted by St. Paul in the ninth chapter, where he shows that God's promises were made only to the faithful descendants of Abraham; and in the latter part of the fifth chapter, which confirms his assertion in chapter iii. 29, 30. that God was alike the God of the

Jews and Gentiles; and that as sin and death had come in through their covenant head and common father Adam, so should life be given to believers from among both by the common Head of the new covenant, Jesus Christ.

(2.) *Their knowledge of God through the law of God, and their diligence in the study of that law:* which they estimated so highly as to make it a plea for the remission of their sins. In opposition to this notion, St. Paul proves, in the second chapter, that man is justified, not by the knowledge, but by the observance of the law.

(3.) *The works of the law*, which were to expiate sin; whence the Jews inferred that the Gentiles must receive the whole law of Moses, especially circumcision, in order to be justified and saved,—in other words, that there was no salvation out of the Jewish body. In opposition to this erroneous tenet, St. Paul teaches that the Levitical law does not expiate, but only reveals sin; and that it exemplifies on the sacrificed beasts the punishment due to the sinner. (iii. 20., v. 20.)

2. The doctrine of the Jews concerning election was, that as God had promised Abraham that He would bless his seed, that He would give it not only the true spiritual blessing, but also the land of Canaan, and that He would suffer it to dwell there in prosperity, and consider it as His church upon earth; therefore this blessing extended it to their whole nation. They asserted that God was *bound* to fulfil these promises to every Jew, because he was a descendant of Abraham, whether he were righteous or wicked, faithful or unbelieving. They even believed that a prophet ought not to pronounce against their nation the prophecies with which he was inspired, but was bound to resist the will of God, by praying, like Moses, that his name might be expunged from the book of life. These Jewish errors illustrate the arguments of St. Paul relative both to national election and to the *call* of God in all its meanings.

3. It is well known that the Pharisees, at least those who were of the party of Judas the Gaulonite or Galilæan, cherished the most rooted aversion to foreign magistrates; and from a false interpretation of Deut. xvii. 15., thought it unlawful to pay tribute to, or to acknowledge, the Roman emperor.[1] Expecting a Messiah who would establish a temporal kingdom, and liberate them from the dominion of the Romans[2], they were ripe for rebellion, and at all times ready to throw off the yoke. Even the Jews at Rome had already begun to create disturbances which occasioned the edict of Claudius, that all Jews should depart from Rome[3]; and as, in those early times, the Christians were generally confounded with the Jews, it is not unlikely that both were included in this decree. At this time also, the city of Rome contained within herself the seeds of insurrection and civil war. The senate was secretly jealous of the emperor, who in his turn suspected the senate. The life even of the emperor was seldom free from danger; and the succession to the throne, after the death of Claudius, was purchased by largesses to the imperial guard. With the political notions cherished by the Jews, it is no wonder that they, in several instances, gave cause of suspicion to the Roman government, who would

[1] Compare Matt. xxii. 15—22. with Josephus, Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 2. It was a maxim with the Jews that *the world was given to the Israelites*; that they should have the supreme rule every where, and that the Gentiles should be their vassals.

[2] Josephus de Bell. Jud. lib. vii. c. 31. Suetonius in Vespasiano, c. 4. Tacitus, Hist. lib. ii. c. 5.

[3] Acts xviii. 2. Suetonius in Claudiano, c. 25.

be glad of an opportunity to expel from the city persons who were considered dangerous to its peace and security: nor is it improbable, on this account, that the Christians, under an idea of being the *peculiar people of God*, and the subjects of his kingdom alone, might be in danger of being infected with those unruly and rebellious sentiments. Under these circumstances, therefore, St. Paul judged it necessary to exhort the Roman Christians to submit peaceably to the government under which they lived. He tells them, that the *powers that be* (Rom. xiii. 1.), or the constituted authorities, *are ordained of God*, and forbids them to meddle with those who endeavoured to effect a change in the government.[1] The reigning emperor at this time was that monster of iniquity, Nero.

VI. The preceding view of the tenets held by the Heathens and Jews of Rome will enable us to ascertain the SCOPE or design of St. Paul in writing this Epistle, which was to set forth the place of *faith* as connected with justification; to confute the unbelieving; to instruct the believing Jew; to confirm the Christian, and to show the state of the idolatrous Gentile; and to place the Gentile convert upon an equality with the Jewish in respect of his religious condition, and his rank in the divine favour. These several designs he reduces to one scheme, by opposing or arguing with the infidel or unbelieving Jew, in favour of the Christian or believing Gentile, and as showing forth the grace of God in the cross of Christ as applicable to those "far off," whoever they might be. Very solemn is the prophetic warning given to the Gentile body (chap. xi.) graffed into the Jewish olive-tree: "Boast not thyself against the branches." "Thou standest by faith." "*If* thou continue in His goodness, otherwise thou also shalt be cut off."

VII. This Epistle consists of four parts; viz.

PART I. *The Introduction.* (ch. i. 1—15.)

PART II. *contains the Doctrinal Part of the Epistle concerning Justification.* (i. 16—32., ii.—xi.); in which we have,

SECT. 1. The proposition concerning the extent of the Gospel (i. 16.)[2],

[1] Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 89—102.

[2] Michaelis has given the following more logical view of the argumentative part of the Epistle to the Romans, which may be not unacceptable to the reader. The principal point, he observes, which St. Paul intended to prove, was, that the Gospel reveals a righteousness unknown before, and to which both Jews and Gentiles have an equal claim. (Rom. i. 15, 16.) In order to prove this point he shows (i. 18—iii. 20.) that both Jews and Gentiles are "under sin," that is, that God will impute their sins to Jews as well as to Gentiles.

His proof of this position may be reduced to the following syllogisms. (i. 17—24.)

"The wrath of God is revealed against those who hold the truth in unrighteousness; that is, who acknowledge the truth, and yet sin against it." (i. 18.)

"The Gentiles acknowledged truths; but partly by their idolatry, and partly by their other detestable vices, they sinned against the truths which they acknowledged.

"Therefore the wrath of God is revealed against the Gentiles, and punishes them. (i. 19—32.)

"The Jews have acknowledged more truths than the Gentiles, and yet they sin. (ii. 1. 17—24.)

"Consequently the Jewish sinners are yet more exposed to the wrath of God." (ii. 1—12.)

Having thus proved his point, he answers the following objections which might be made to it.

Objection 1. "The Jews were well grounded in their knowledge, and studied the law." St. Paul answers, If a knowledge of the law, without the performance of it, could justify

and the demonstration of that proposition (i. 17.), in which it is shown that justification is to be attained,

§ i. *Not by Works.* (i. 18.)
For the Gentiles (i. 19—32.)

---

them, God would not have condemned the Gentiles, who knew the law by nature. (ii. 13—16.)

Objection 2. "The Jews were circumcised." Answer. That is, they were admitted by an outward sign to a covenant with God; but this sign will not avail those who violate the covenant. (ii. 25—29.)

Objection 3. "According to this doctrine of St. Paul, the Jews have no advantage above the Gentiles, which is manifestly false." Answer. They still have advantages; for to them are committed the oracles of God. But their privileges do not extend so far that God should overlook their sins, which Scripture earnestly condemns even in Jews. (iii. 1—19.)

Objection 4. "They had the Levitical law and sacrifices." Answer. Hence is no remission, but only the knowledge of sin. (iii. 20.)

From the preceding arguments St. Paul infers that Jews and Gentiles must be justified by the same means, namely, without the Levitical law, through faith in Christ; and in opposition to the imaginary advantages of the Jews, he states the declaration of Zechariah, that God is not the God of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles. (iii. 21—31.)

As the whole blessing was promised to those who were the faithful descendants of Abraham, whom both Scripture and the Jews call his children, he proves his former assertion from the example of Abraham; who was an idolater before his call, but was declared just by God, on account of his faith, long before his circumcision. Hence St. Paul takes occasion to explain the nature and fruits of faith. (iv. 1—v. 1—11.) He then proceeds to prove from the equity of God that the Jews had no advantages above the Gentiles, with respect to justification. Both Jews and Gentiles had forfeited* life and immortality, through the common father of their race, whom they themselves had not chosen as their representative. If therefore it was the will of God to restore immortality by a new spiritual head of a covenant, which was Christ, it was just that both Jews and Gentiles should have an equal share in this new representative of the human race. (v. 12—21.)

He shows that the doctrine of justification, as he had stated it, lays us under the strongest obligations to holiness (vi. 1—23.); and that since the death of Christ we are no longer concerned with the law of Moses; for our justification arises from our appearing in the sight of God as if actually dead with Christ, on account of our sins; but the law of Moses was not given to the dead. On this occasion he evinces at large, that the preceding consideration does not affect the eternal power of God over us, and that while we are under the law of Moses we perpetually become subject to death, even by sins of inadvertency. (vii. 1—end.) Hence he concludes, that all those, and those only, who are united with Christ, and for the sake of this union live not according to the flesh, are free from all condemnation of the law, and have an undoubted share in eternal life. (viii. 1—17.

Having described the happiness of all such persons, he is aware that the Jews, who expected temporal blessings, would object to him, that Christians, notwithstanding what he had said, endured many sufferings in this world. This objection he obviates (viii. 18—39.); and shows that God is not the less true and faithful because he does not justify, but rather rejects and punishes the Jews who would not believe in the Messiah. (ix. x. xi.) In discussing this delicate topic he displays the utmost caution on account of the prejudices of his countrymen the Jews. He shows that the promises of God were never made to all the posterity of Abraham; and that God always reserved to himself the power of choosing those sons of Abraham, whom for Abraham's sake he intended to bless, and of punishing the wicked sons of Abraham; and that, with respect to temporal happiness or misery, even their good or ill conduct did not determine his choice. Thus Ishmael, Esau, the Israelites in the Desert in the time of Moses, and the greater part of that nation in the time of Isaiah, were rejected and made a sacrifice of his justice. (ix. 1—29.) He then shows that God had reason to reject most of the Jews then living, because they would not believe in the Messiah, though the Gospel had been preached to them plainly enough (ix. 30—x.): yet, that God had not rejected all his people, but was still fulfilling his promises on many thousand natural descendants of Abraham, who believed in the Messiah; and would in a future period fulfil them upon more; for that all Israel would be converted. (xi. 1—32.) And he concludes with expressing his admiration of the wise counsels of God. (33—36.) Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 102—106.

---

* Michaelis's expression, as translated by Bishop Marsh, is "foretold," but the sense evidently requires "forfeited."

The Jews (ii. iii. 1—18.)
and both together (iii. 19, 20.), are under sin.

§ ii. *But by faith*, in which it is shown
That we are justified by faith *alone* (iii. 21—31.)
As appears by the example of Abraham and the testimony of David (iv.);

And the privileges and blessings of Abraham's seed by faith are shown to be far greater than those which belonged to his seed by natural descent (as described in Rom. ii. 17—20.). These privileges of true believers in Christ are, 1. *Peace with God* (v. 1.); 2. *Joy in hope of the glory of God* (2.), which tribulation cannot prevent, but rather promotes (3—10.); 3. *Rejoicing in God* himself as reconciled to us through Christ, which however affords no countenance to sin, but requires evangelical obedience to God (11—21.), whence flows, 4. *Mortification of sin and newness of life*, as another evidence and effect of justification (vi.); 5. *The freedom of justified persons* from the malediction of the law, and its irritation to sin (vii.); 6. *Freedom from condemnation*, and ultimate glorification (viii.).

SECT. 2. Concerning the equal privileges of Jewish and Christian believers (ix.—xi.), in which the apostle, after expressing his affectionate esteem for the Jewish nation (ix. 1—5)[1], proceeds to show:

§ i. That God's rejection of great part of the seed of Abraham, and also of Isaac, was an undeniable fact. (ix. 6—13.)
§ ii. That God had not chosen them (the Jews) to such peculiar privileges, for any kind of goodness either in themselves or their fathers. (14—24.)
§ iii. That his acceptance of the Gentiles, and rejection of many of the Jews, had been predicted both by Hosea and Isaiah. (25—33.)
§ iv. That God set forth salvation for both Jews and Gentiles on the same terms, though the Jews rejected it. (x. 1—21.)
§ v. That, though the Israelites were rejected for their obstinacy, yet that rejection was not total; there still being a remnant among them who did embrace and believe the Gospel. (xi. 1—10.)
§ vi. That the rejection of the rest was not final, but in the end "all Israel should be saved." (11—31.)
§ vii. And that, in the mean time, even their obstinacy and rejection served to display the unsearchable wisdom and love of God. (32—36.)

PART III. *comprises the Hortatory or Practical Part of the Epistle* (xii.—xv. 1—14.), in which the apostle urges Christian believers to act in a manner suitable to their high and holy calling: with this view he exhorts them,

SECT 1. To dedicate themselves to God, and to demean themselves as fellow-members of Christ's body. (xii. 1—8.)
SECT. 2. To Christian love and charity. (xii. 9—21.)
SECT. 3. To obedience to the constituted authorities (xiii. 1—7.), and the exercise of mutual love. (8—14.)
SECT. 4. How those who are strong in faith should conduct themselves towards their weak brethren. (xiv. xv. 1—13.)

PART IV. *The Conclusion, in which St. Paul excuses himself.*

Partly for his boldness in thus writing to the Romans (xv. 14—21.), and partly for not having hitherto come to them (22.), but promises

[1] The genuineness and proper interpretation of Rom. ix. 5. (which contains one of the most decisive testimonies to the divinity of Jesus Christ in the New Testament) are satisfactorily established by Mr. Holden in his Scripture Testimony to the Divinity of Jesus Christ, pp. 51—56. See also J. J. Gurney's "Biblical Notes and Dissertations." (ed. i. 1830, pp. 423—456.; ed. ii. 1833, pp. 437—471.)

to visit them, recommending himself to their prayers (23—33.); and sends various salutations to the brethren at Rome. (xvi.)[1]

VIII. In perusing this Epistle it will be desirable to read, at least, the eleven first chapters, *at once*, uninterruptedly; as every sentence, especially in the argumentative part, bears an intimate relation to, and is dependent upon the whole discourse, and cannot be understood unless we comprehend the scope of the whole. Then in all it is needful to see how he applies the doctrine that "the just by FAITH shall live" to all the varied points of the argument; showing the *reality* of the propitiation of Christ, and the results of his true substitution. Further, in order to enter fully into its spirit, we must enter into the spirit of a Jew in those times, and endeavour to realise in our own minds his utter aversion from the Gentiles, his valuing and exalting himself upon his relation to God and to Abraham, and also upon his law, pompous worship, circumcision, &c. as if the Jews were the only people in the world who had any right to the favour of God. Attention to this circumstance will aid to illustrate the apostle's style and argument, showing some of the points to which this Epistle applies. But it is only through *minute study* that the depth of instruction here conveyed by the Spirit of God can be fully apprehended; each sentence is replete with meaning, and principles of widest application are solemnly enunciated and enforced.

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. II.

CHAP. XI.

ON THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

I. CHRISTIANITY was first planted at Corinth by St. Paul himself, who resided here a year and six months between the years 51 and 53. The church consisted partly of Jews and partly of Gentiles, but chiefly of the latter; whence the apostle had to combat, sometimes with Jewish superstition, and sometimes with Heathen licentiousness. After St. Paul's departure from Corinth, there arrived there Apollos, "an eloquent man, and mighty in the Scriptures," who taught and preached the Gospel with great success. (Acts xviii. 24—28.) Aquila and Sosthenes were also eminent teachers in this church. (xviii. 2.; 1 Cor. i. 1.) But, shortly after St. Paul quitted this church, its peace was disturbed by the intrusion of false teachers, who made great pretensions to eloquence, wisdom, and knowledge of their Christian liberty, and thus undermined his influence, and the credit of his ministry. Hence two parties were formed; one of

[1] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 325—327.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 297.; Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 89—92.; Rosenmüller, Scholia, tom. iii. pp. 352—360.; Whitby's and Macknight's Prefaces to the Epistle to the Romans; Bloch, Chronotaxis Scriptorum Divi Pauli, pp. 204—215.; Rambach, Introd. in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos, pp. 1—118.; Hug's Introd. to the New Test. vol. ii. pp. 408—425. Calmet, Preface sur l'Epitre de St. Paul aux Romains.

which contended strenuously for the observance of Jewish ceremonies, while the other, misinterpreting the true nature of Christian liberty, indulged in excesses which were contrary to the design and spirit of the Gospel. One party boasted that they were the followers of Paul; and another, that they were the followers of Apollos. The Gentile converts partook of things offered to idols, which the Jewish Christians affirmed to be unlawful. The native Corinthian converts had not so entirely eradicated that lasciviousness to which they had been addicted in their heathen state, but that they sometimes committed the vilest crimes; and one of them had even proceeded so far as to marry his step-mother. Some of them, also, supporting themselves by philosophical arguments and speculations, denied the resurrection of the dead. The richer members of the church misconducted themselves at the celebration of the Lord's Supper; while others, who possessed spiritual gifts, behaved themselves insolently, on account of their acquirements. Women also, with unveiled heads, spoke in their assemblies for divine worship. It further appears that many of the Corinthian Christians prosecuted their brethren before the Heathen tribunals, instead of bringing their complaints before Christian tribunals; and that violent controversies were agitated among them concerning celibacy and marriage.

Although these evils originated (as above noticed) chiefly with the false teachers, yet they are in part at least to be ascribed to the very corrupt state of morals at Corinth. It is well known that at the temple of Venus, erected in the centre of that city, one thousand prostitutes were maintained in honour of her. Hence it happened that some, who professed themselves Christians, regarded the illicit intercourse of the sexes as a trifling affair: and as the eating of things offered to idols was, in itself, an indifferent thing, they frequently went to the temples of the heathen deities to partake of the meat that had been there sacrificed, by which means they rendered themselves accessary to idolatry.[1]

II. The OCCASION on which this Epistle was written, appears from its whole tenor to have been twofold, viz.

First, the information which the apostle had received from some members of the family of Chloe, while he was at Ephesus, concerning the disorders that prevailed in the church at Corinth; such as 1. *Schisms and divisions* (1 Cor. i. 11. *et seq.*); 2. *Many notorious scandals*, as the prevalence of impurity, incests, covetousness, lawsuits of Christians before Pagan magistrates (v. vi.); 3. *Idolatrous communion* with the Heathens at their idol-feasts (viii. x.); 4. *Want of decorum* and order in their public worship (xi. 2—16. xiv.); 5. *Gross profanation* of the Lord's Supper (xi. 17—34.); and, 6. *The denial of the resurrection* (xv. 12. *et seq.*).

The *second* cause of St. Paul's writing this Epistle was his receiving a letter from the church at Corinth, by the hands of Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus (xvi. 17., vii. 1.) in which the

[1] The reader will find an instructive account of the state of the church at Corinth in Prof. Storr's *Notæ Historicæ, epistolarum Paulli ad Corinthios interpretationi inservientes*, in the second volume of his Opuscula Academica, pp. 242—266.

Corinthian Christians requested his advice concerning some particular cases; as, 1. Concerning *marriage* (vii. 1. *et seq.*); 2. *Things sacrificed to idols* (viii.); 3. *Spiritual gifts* (xii.); 4. *Prophesying*, or teaching and instructing others (xiv.); and, 5. Concerning the making of *charitable collections* for the poor brethren in Judæa (xvi. 1. *et seq.*)[1]

Hence we learn that St. Paul maintained a constant intercourse with the churches which he had planted, and was acquainted with all their circumstances. They seem to have applied to him for advice in those difficult cases which their own understanding could not solve; and he was ready, on all occasions, to correct their mistakes.

III. The SCOPE of this Epistle, therefore, is conformable to the circumstances that caused the apostle to write it, and in like manner is twofold, viz. 1. To apply suitable remedies to the disorders and abuses which had crept into the church at Corinth; and, 2. To give the Corinthians satisfactory answers on all those points concerning which they had requested his advice and information.[1] The Epistle accordingly divides itself into three parts.

PART I. *The Introduction* (i. 1—9.), *in which Paul expresses his Satisfaction at all the Good he knew of them, particularly at their having received the Gifts of the Holy Spirit, for the Confirmation of the Gospel.*

PART II. *discusses various Particulars adapted to the State of the Corinthian Church; which may be commodiously arranged into two Sections.*

SECT. 1. contains a reproof of the corruptions and abuses which disgraced the church. (i. 10., vi. 1—20.)

§ i. The apostle rebukes the sectaries among them, and defends himself against one or more Corinthian teachers, who had alienated most of the Corinthians from him; and adds many weighty arguments to re-unite them in affection to himself, as having first planted the Gospel among them. (i. 10—31., ii.—iv.)

§ ii. A reproof for not excommunicating an incestuous person, who had married his own step-mother. (v.)

§ iii. A reproof of their covetous and litigious temper, which caused them to prosecute their Christian brethren before heathen courts of judicature. (vi. 1—9.)

§ iv. A dissuasive from fornication,—a sin to which they had been extremely addicted before they were converted, and which some of the Corinthians appeared to have considered an indifferent matter. The enormity of this sin is very strongly represented. (vi. 10—20.)

SECT. 2. contains an answer to the questions which the Corinthian church had proposed to the apostle. (vii.—xv.)

§ i. Directions concerning matrimony (vii. 1—16.), the celibacy of virgins (25—38.) and widows (39—40.); in which St. Paul takes occasion to show that Christianity makes no alteration in the civil conditions of men, but leaves them under the same obligations that they were before their conversion. (17—24.)

§ ii. Concerning the lawfulness of eating things sacrificed to idols, showing when they may, and when they may not, be lawfully eaten. (viii.—xi. 1.)

§ iii. St. Paul answers a third query concerning the manner in which women should "pray or prophesy." He particulary censures the unusual dress of

[1] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 748.

both sexes in praying or prophesying, which exposed them to the contempt of the Greeks, among whom the men usually went uncovered, while the women were veiled. (xi. 2—17.)

§ iv. A reproof of their irregularities, when celebrating the Lord's Supper, with directions for receiving it worthily. (xi. 17—34.)

§ v. Instructions concerning the desiring and exercising of spiritual gifts. (xii.—xiv.)

§ vi. The certainty of the resurrection of the dead defended against the false teacher or teachers. (xv.)

It appears from the twelfth verse of this chapter that the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead was denied by certain false teachers; in consequence of which St. Paul discusses the three following questions:

I. Whether there will be a resurrection from the dead?
II. What will be the nature of the resurrection-bodies?
III. What will become of those who will be found alive at the coming of Christ?

I. He proves the doctrine of the resurrection.
1. *From Scripture.* (1—4.)
2. *From eye-witnesses of Christ's resurrection.* (5—12.)
3. *By showing the absurdity of the contrary doctrine:*—Thus,
i. If the dead rise not, Christ is not risen. (13.)
ii. It would be absurd to have faith in him, according to the preaching of the Gospel, if He be not risen. (14.)
iii. The apostles, who attest his resurrection, must be false witnesses. (15.)
iv. The faith of the Corinthians, who believe it, must be vain. (16, 17.)
v. All the believers, who have died in the faith of Christ, have perished, if Christ be not risen. (18.)
vi. Believers in Christ are in a more miserable state than any others, if there be no resurrection. (19.)
vii. Those, who were baptized in the faith, that Christ died for them, and rose again, are deceived. (29.)
viii. The apostles and Christians in general, who suffer persecution, on the ground that, after they had suffered awhile here, they shall have a glorious resurrection, are acting a foolish and unprofitable part. (30—35.)

II. He shows what will be the nature of the resurrection-bodies, and in what manner this great work will be performed. (35—49.)

III. He shows what will become of those who will be found alive at that day. (50—57.) This important and animating discussion is followed by
The use which we should make of this doctrine. (58)[1]

PART III. *contains the Conclusion, comprising Directions relative to the Contributions for the Saints at Jerusalem*[2], *promises that the Apostle would shortly visit them, and Salutations to various Members of the Church at Corinth.* (xvi.)

IV. Although the subscription to this Epistle purports that it was written at Philippi, yet, as this directly contradicts St. Paul's own declaration in xvi. 8., we must look to the Epistle itself for notes of time that may enable us to ascertain its date. We have seen[3] that

[1] Dr. A. Clarke on 1 Cor. xv.

[2] The Jews who lived out of Palestine were chiefly engaged in trade, and were generally in more affluent circumstances than those who resided in Judæa, to whom they usually sent an annual relief. (Vitringa de Syn. Vet. lib. iii. p. i. c. 13.) Now, as the Gentile Christians became brethren to the Jews, and partook of their spiritual riches, St. Paul thought it equitable that the Greek Christians should contribute to the support of their poorer brethren in Judæa. (Rom. xv. 26, 27.) When he was at Jerusalem, he had promised Peter and James that he would collect alms for this purpose (Gal. ii. 10.); and accordingly we find (1 Cor. xvi. 1—4.) that he made a collection among the Christians at Corinth. Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 61.

[3] See p. 493. *suprà*. Michaelis is of opinion that the mistake in the subscription arose from misunderstanding διέρχομαι (xvi. 5.) to mean I am *now* travelling through, instead of "my route is through Macedonia," which it evidently means. Vol. iv. p. 43.

St. Paul, on his departure from Corinth, went into Asia, and visited Ephesus, Jerusalem, and Antioch, after which, passing through Galatia and Phrygia, he returned to Ephesus, where he remained three years. (Acts xviii. 18—23., xix. 1., xx. 31.) At the close of his residence at Ephesus, St. Paul wrote this Epistle, as appears from 1 Cor. xvi. 8., where he says, *I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost;* and that it was written at the preceding passover is supposed from 1 Cor. v. 7., where the apostle uses this expression, *ye are unleavened,*—as if suggested by the feast of unleavened bread. Now, as St. Paul's departure from Ephesus, after residing there three years, took place about the year of Christ 56, it follows that the first Epistle to the Corinthians was written about that time[1], or perhaps early in the year 57.

The genuineness of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians was never doubted. It was cited or alluded to repeatedly by Clement of Rome[2], also by Polycarp[3], in the first century and the beginning of the second. In the second century it was cited by Tatian[4], Irenæus[5], Athenagoras[6], and Clement of Alexandria.[7] In the third century, this Epistle was acknowledged to be St. Paul's by Tertullian[8], Caius[9], and Origen.[10] The testimonies of later writers are too numerous and explicit to render any detail of them necessary.

V. An important question has been much agitated, whether St. Paul wrote any other Epistles to the Corinthians besides those we now have. In 1 Cor. v. 9. the following words occur—Ἔγραψα ὑμῖν ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ, which in our own version is rendered—*I have written to you in an epistle.* From this text it has been inferred, that St. Paul had already written to the Corinthians an Epistle which is no longer extant, and to which he alludes; while others contend, that by τῇ ἐπιστολῇ he means only the Epistle which he is writing. The former opinion is advocated by Calvin, Beza, Grotius, Cappel, Witsius, Le Clerc, Heinsius, Mill, Wetstein, Beausobre, Bishop Pearce, Dr. Doddridge, Mr. Scott, Michaelis, Storr, Rosenmüller, Hug, Schleusner, Davidson, and Alford, and the Rev. T. H. Horne *now*; and the latter opinion, after Chrysostom, Theodoret, and other Fathers, is defended by Fabricius, Glassius, Calmet, Dr. Whitby, Stosch, Jer. Jones, Drs. Edwards, Lardner, and Macknight, Purver, Archbishop Newcome, Bishop Tomline (whose words are adopted by Bp. Mant and Dr. D'Oyly), and Bishop Middleton. A third opinion is that of Dr. Benson, which is acceded to by Dr. A. Clarke, viz. that St. Paul refers to an Epistle which he had written, or begun to write, but had not sent; for, on receiving further information from Stepha-

[1] Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 42. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, p. 96. Mill, Whitby, Michaelis, Benson, and almost all modern commentators and critics, agree in the above date.
[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 36.; 4to. vol. i. p. 297.
[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 91. 94.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 327. 329.
[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 140.; 4to. vol. i. p. 355.
[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 163.; 4to. vol. i. p. 868.
[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 185.; 4to. vol. i. p. 380.
[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 222.; 4to vol. i. p. 401.
[8] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 263.; 4to. vol. i. p. 423.
[9] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 374, 375.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 482, 483.
[10] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 471.; 4to. vol. i. p. 535.

nas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, he suppressed that, and wrote this, in which he considers the subject more at large. In this case, however, there would be no occasion to refer to it at all.

[The opinion that such an Epistle had been written and was lost is very fully maintained by Dr. Davidson. (Introduction, ii. 139—143.) Mr. Alford, says (*in loc.*), "*I wrote unto you in the Epistle*, not *this present Epistle*, which τῇ ἐπιστολῇ *might* mean; see references [Rom. xvi. 22., Col. iv. 16., 1 Thess. v. 27., 2 Thess. iii. 14.]; for there is nothing in the preceding part of this Epistle which can by any possibility be so interpreted, certainly not either verse 2. or verse 6., which are commonly alleged by those who thus explain it, and ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ would be a superfluous and irrelevant addition, if he meant the letter on which he was now engaged;—but a *former Epistle* which has not come down to us; of the similar expression (2 Cor. vii. 8.), used with reference to *this Epistle*." It may, however, be said first, that ἔγραψα takes its notion of time from the period at which the letter would be read and used, just as past tenses are habitually employed in formal documents. The use of an aorist as introducing what is *about to be written*, is illustrated by the use of ξυνέγραψε by Thucydides in his introductory sentence, "Thucydides the Athenian *wrote*," said in relation to what should follow. Thus, here ἔγραψα may refer to the teaching which the apostle is about to unfold. Second, that this teaching is conveyed in such passages as *the sentence itself*, and in what follows; third, that ἐν τῇ ἐπιστολῇ is not in that view superfluous, but rather emphatic, "now in this Epistle I instruct you (whatever may be said by any, that this was not fully done before, &c.) not to keep company with fornicators." If, however, the reference be to some Epistle not extant, it need be no cause for surprise; for why should we not consider that God might have caused authoritative Apostolic Epistles to be written for present and temporary purposes? We need not think that there is any irreverence involved in the supposition; the same providential care which has preserved to the Church those writings which were inspired by the Holy Ghost for its guidance in all ages, may have been equally displayed in the withdrawal of any documents the object of which had been only temporary and local, and which had accomplished the object for which they were given forth.]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. III.[1]

[1] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 314, 315.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 291.; Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 42—62. 68, 69.; Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. §§ 101—104.; Rosenmüller, Scholia, tom. iv. pp. 1—7. Whitby's and Macknight's Prefaces; Bloch, Chronotaxis, Scriptorum Pauli, pp. 160—172. Calmet, Preface sur la premiere Epitre de Saint Paul aux Corinthiens.

CHAP. XII.

ON THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

I. THE preceding Epistle, we have seen, was written from Ephesus about the year 56, before St. Paul's departure from that city. On quitting Ephesus he went to Troas, which place was situated on the shore of the Ægean sea, in expectation of meeting Titus, and receiving an account of the success with which (he hoped) his former Epistle had been attended, and of the present state of the Corinthian church. (2 Cor. ii. 12.) But not meeting him there (13.), Paul proceeded to Macedonia, where he obtained the desired interview, and received satisfactory information concerning the promising state of affairs at Corinth. (vii. 5, 6.) From this country, and probably from Philippi (as the subscription imports), the apostle wrote the second letter (2 Cor. viii. 1—14., ix. 1—5.); which he sent by Titus and his associates, who were commissioned to hasten and finish the contribution among the Christians at Corinth, for the use of their poor brethren in Judæa. (ix. 2—4.) From these historical circumstances, it is generally agreed that this Epistle was written within a year after the former, that is, early in A. D. 58. The genuineness of this Epistle was never doubted; and as it is cited or referred to by nearly the the same ancient writers, whose testimonies to the first Epistle we have given in the preceding chapter, it is not necessary to repeat them in this place.

II. The first Epistle to the Corinthians produced very different effects among them. Many amended their conduct, most of them showed strong marks of repentance, and evinced such respect for the apostle, that they excommunicated the incestuous person (2 Cor. ii. 5—11., vii. 11.); requested the apostle's return with tears (vii. 7.); and became zealous for him,—that is, they vindicated the apostle and his office against the false teacher and his adherents. (vii. 7—11.) Others, however, of the Corinthians, adhered to the false teacher, expressly denied St. Paul's apostolical ministry, and even furnished themselves with arguments which they pretended to draw from his first Epistle. He had formerly intimated his intention of taking a journey from Ephesus to Corinth, thence to visit the Macedonian churches, and from them to return to Corinth (2 Cor. i. 15, 16.); but the unhappy state of the Corinthian church led him to alter his intention, since he found he must have treated them with severity, had he visited them. (23.) Hence his adversaries charged him, 1. With *levity* and irresolution of conduct (2 Cor. i. 18.), and, therefore, he could not be a prophet; 2. With *pride and tyrannical severity* on account of his treatment of the incestuous person; 3. With *arrogance and vain-glory* in his ministry; and, 4. With being *personally contemptible*, intimating, that however weighty he might be in his letters, yet in person he was base and despicable. (2 Cor. x. 10.) Such were the principal circumstances that gave occasion to this second Epistle to the Corinthians, to which we may add their forwardness in the

contribution for the poor saints in Judæa, and their kind benevolent reception of Titus.

III. Agreeably to these circumstances the SCOPE of this Epistle is chiefly, 1. *To account for his not having come to them so soon as he had promised,* viz. not out of levity, but partly in consequence of his sufferings in Asia, which prevented him (2 Cor. i. 8—11.), and partly that he might give them more time to set their church in better order, so that he might come to them with greater comfort (ii. 3, 4.) 2. To declare that his sentence against the incestuous person was neither rigid nor tyrannical (ii. 5—11.), but necessary and pious; and now, as excommunication had produced so good an effect upon that offender, the apostle, commending the obedience of the Corinthians, exhorts them to absolve him from that sentence and to restore him to communion with the church. 3. *To intimate his great success in preaching the Gospel,* which he does, not for his own glory, but for the glory of the Gospel, which had peculiar efficacy upon the Corinthians above others (2 Cor. iii.), and far surpassed the ministry of Moses (iv.), and was under a veil only to those who were perishing. In preaching which Gospel he used all diligence and faithfulness, notwithstanding all his afflictions for the Gospel; which afflictions, far from reflecting disgrace upon the Gospel, or its ministers, prepared for him a far greater glory in heaven (v.), to which he aspired, inviting others to do the same, by accepting the grace of reconciliation tendered in the Gospel. 4. *To stir them up to lead a holy life,* and particularly to avoid communion with idolaters. 5. *To excite them to finish their contributions for their poor brethren in Judæa.* (viii. ix.) 6. Lastly, to *apologise for himself* against the personal contemptibleness imputed to him by the false teacher and his adherents. (x.—xiii.) In the course of this apology, he reproves their vain-glory, and enters upon a high commendation of his apostolic office and power, and his extraordinary revelations, which far outshone the counterfeit glory of the false teacher; but at the same time declares that he had rather use meekness than exert his power, unless he should be forced to do it by their contumacy and impenitence.[1]

IV. This Epistle consists of three parts; viz.

PART I. *The Introduction.* (i. 1, 2.)

PART II. *The Apologetic Discourse of St. Paul,* in which,

SECT. 1. He justifies himself from the imputations of the false teacher and his adherents, by showing his sincerity and integrity in the discharge of his ministry; and that he acted not from worldly interest, but from true love for them, and a tender concern for their spiritual welfare. (i. 3—24., ii.—vii.)

SECT. 2. He exhorts them to a liberal contribution for their poor brethren in Judæa. (viii. ix.)

[1] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, p. 754. The various emotions, which evidently agitated the mind of St. Paul, when writing this Epistle, and also his elegance of diction, powers of persuasion, and force of argument, are all admirably discussed and illustrated by Prof. Royaards, in his Disputatio Inauguralis de alterâ Pauli ad Corinthios Epistolâ, et observandâ in illâ apostoli indole et oratione. 8vo. Trajecti ad Rhenum, 1818.

SECT. 3. He resumes his apology; justifying himself from the charges and insinuations of the false teacher and his followers; in order to detach the Corinthians from them, and to re-establish himself and his authority. (x.—xiii. 10.)

PART III. *The Conclusion.* (xiii. 11—14.)

V. "The most remarkable circumstance in this Epistle is, the confidence of the apostle in the goodness of his cause, and in the power of God to bear him out in it. Opposed as he then was by a powerful and sagacious party, whose authority, reputation, and interest were deeply concerned, and who were ready to seize on every thing that could discredit him, it is wonderful to hear him so firmly insist upon his apostolical authority, and so unreservedly appeal to the miraculous powers which he had exercised and conferred at Corinth. So far from shrinking from the contest, as afraid of some discovery being made, unfavourable to himself or to the common cause, he, with great modesty and meekness indeed, but with equal boldness and decision, expressly declares that his opposers and despisers were the ministers of Satan, and menaces them with miraculous judgments, when as many of their deluded hearers had been brought to repentance, and re-established in the faith, as proper means could in a reasonable time effect. It is inconceivable that a stronger internal testimony, not only of integrity, but of divine inspiration, can exist. Had there been any thing of imposture among the Christians, it was next to impossible, but such a conduct must have occasioned a disclosure of it."[1]

Of the effects produced by this second Epistle, we have no circumstantial account; for St. Luke has only briefly noticed (in Acts xx. 2, 3.) St. Paul's second journey to Corinth, after he had written this Epistle. We know, however, that he was there, and that the contributions were brought to him in that city for the poor brethren at Jerusalem (Rom xv. 26.); and that, staying there several months, he sent salutations from some of the principal members of that church to the Romans. (xvi. 22, 23.) "From this time we hear no more of the false teacher and his party; and when Clement of Rome wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians, St. Paul was considered by them as a divine apostle, to whose authority he might appeal without fear of contradiction. The false teacher, therefore, must either have been silenced by St. Paul, in virtue of his apostolical powers, and by an act of severity which he had threatened (2 Cor. xiii. 2, 3.); or this adversary of the apostle must have quitted the place. Whichever was the cause, the effect produced must operate as a confirmation of our faith, and as a proof of St. Paul's divine mission."[2]

[From 2 Cor. xii. 14. and xiii. 1. it has been judged by some that St. Paul had paid *two* visits to Corinth before he wrote this Epistle (or of course the former, as there had been none between). Dr. Davidson (Introd. ii. 213.) gives the names of many, from Chrysostom to Wieseler, who have held this opinion. Davidson himself agrees

[1] Scott's Pref. to 1 Cor.

[2] Michaelis, vol. iv. p. 74.

with those, such as Paley, who consider that the apostle spoke of a third time that he was coming (2 Cor. xiii. 1, 2.) in the sense of what he had said just before (xii. 14.), that it was the third time that he was *ready* to come (though to spare them he had put this off). The "*second* benefit" mentioned in 2 Cor. i. 15, 16. seems to imply that the apostle had as yet paid but *one* visit to Corinth, namely, that noticed in Acts xviii. It also seems difficult to suppose that this second visit, if it really took place, should not be referred to *definitely* in Cor., where the apostle's personal relation to that church is so much discussed.

Mr. Alford, on the other hand (Proleg. ii. chap. iii. § v.), strongly maintains the opinion that 2 Cor. xii. 14. and xiii. 1. *do* teach that a second visit had been paid. This he considers to have been in the course of the years during which St. Paul had made Ephesus his usual place of abode. So, too, Mr. J. B. Lightfoot.[1] Michaelis, holding that a second visit had been paid, supposed that St. Paul had voyaged to Crete (leaving Titus there), and that this voyage had been connected with the non-detailed visit to Corinth. Some *divide* the apostle's stay at Corinth, supposing him to have gone elsewhere for a while and then returned. Such a visit must, at all events, have been extremely short, and it would be rather an episode than a prominent event in the intercourse of the apostle with that church.]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. IV.[2]

CHAP. XIII.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

I. CHRISTIANITY was very early planted in Galatia by Paul himself[3], and it appears from the Acts of the Apostles that he visited the churches in this country more than once. Two distinct visits are clearly marked, viz. the first about the year 50 (Acts xvi. 6.), and the second about the year 54 or 55. (xviii. 23.)

II. There is great diversity of opinion among learned men concerning the date of the Epistle to the Galatians. Weingart supposes it to have been written so early as the year 48; Michaelis, in 49; Cappel, in 51; Bishop Pearson, in 57; Mill, Fabricius, Moldenhawer, and others, in 58; Van Til and Dr. Doddridge, in 53; Hottinger, in 54; Lord Barrington, Drs. Benson and Lardner, in 53; Beausobre, Rosenmüller, and Dr. A. Clarke, in 52 or 53; Bishop Tomline, in 52. Theodoret, who is followed by Dr. Lightfoot and

[1] See "Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology." June, 1855, p. 195.

[2] Calmet, Preface sur la seconde Epitre aux Corinthiens. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 324, 325.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 296. Rosenmüller, Scholia in N. T. tom. iv. pp. 251, 252.; Bloch, Chronotaxis Scriptorum Pauli, pp. 192—203.; Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. §§ 105—107.; Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 73—75.; Whitby's and Macknight's Prefaces to 2 Corinthians.

[3] Compare Gal. i. 8. 11., iii. 1. *et seq.*

some others, imagine that it was one of those Epistles which St. Paul wrote from Rome during his first confinement; but this opinion is contradicted by the apostle's silence concerning his bonds, which he has often mentioned in the letters that are known to have been written at that time.

It is evident that the Epistle to the Galatians was written *early*, because he complains in it of their speedy apostasy from his doctrine (Gal. i. 6.), and warns them in the strongest and most forcible terms against the judaising teachers, who disturbed the peace of the churches in Syria and Asia Minor. (i. 7—9., iii. 1.) The warmth of the apostle's expressions led Tertullian to conclude that St. Paul was himself a *neophyte* or novice in the Christian faith at the time of writing this Epistle[1]: a hasty conclusion! which if retorted upon Tertullian would mark *him* as *always* a novice. And as no intimation is given through the whole of it that he had been with them more than once, we are authorised to conclude that he wrote this letter from Corinth about the end of 52, or early in the year 53. The subscription, indeed, states it to have been written from Rome; but this is evidently spurious, for St. Paul's first journey to Rome did not take place until at least ten years after the conversion of the Galatians.

III. The genuineness of this Epistle was never doubted. It is cited by the apostolic fathers, Clement of Rome[2], and Polycarp[3]; and is declared to be authentic by Irenæus[4], Clement of Alexandria[5], Tertullian[6], Caius[7], Origen[8], and by all subsequent writers. It is worthy of remark, that this Epistle was acknowledged to be genuine by the heretic Marcion, who reckoned it the earliest written of all St. Paul's Letters, and accordingly placed it first in his Apostolicon, or Collection of Apostolical Writings.[9]

IV. The Churches in Galatia, as in most other countries, were composed partly of converted Jews, and partly of Gentile converts, but the latter seem to have been most numerous. It appears from the contents of this Epistle, that, not long after the Galatians had embraced Christianity, a certain judaising teacher or false apostle had either crept in or risen up among them, who, to advance his own doctrine, questioned St. Paul's apostolical authority, insinuating that Peter and the apostles of the circumcision were superior to him, and consequently much more to be regarded. It was further insinuated that they never preached against the circumcision of Gentile converts; but that it was a doctrine peculiar to Paul, who was only an apostle of men, and had not such extraordinary powers and illumination as had been conferred on the other apostles. The false teacher seems even to have intimated, that St. Paul did himself, secretly, and at

[1] Cont. Marcion, lib. i. c. 20.
[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 37.; 4to. vol. i. p. 298.
[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 95.; 4to. vol. i. p. 330.
[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 163, 164.; 4to. vol. i. p. 368.
[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 223.; 4to. vol. i. p. 401.
[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 264.; 4to. vol. i. p. 423.
[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 374.; 4to. vol. i. p. 482.
[8] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 471.; 4to. vol. i. p. 535.
[9] Epiphanius, Hæres. 42.

some times, preach the necessity of circumcision to the Gentile converts; though generally, and at other times, he insisted on the contrary. In short, the false apostle was desirous that all Gentile Christians should submit themselves to circumcision, and consequently oblige themselves to observe the whole law of Moses, as if the Gospel of Jesus Christ alone were insufficient to justify and save them. And so successful was this teacher in propagating this error, that some of the Galatians actually submitted to be circumcised. (Gal. v. 2—12.) From the expression of St. Paul in Gal. v. 9—10., it is probable that this disturbance in the Galatian churches was made by one judaising teacher only, and not by several zealots, as some commentators have supposed; and from what is said in vi. 12, 13. it appears that he was a man who acted not from any religious views or motives, but from vain-glory and fear; that he might conciliate the favour of the Jews by increasing the number of proselytes, and so escape the persecutions raised by the unbelieving Jews against St. Paul, and those who adhered to his doctrines.

Such were the circumstances that occasioned St. Paul to write this Epistle with his own hand (Gal. vi. 11.), contrary to his usual practice of dictating his letters. Accordingly, its SCOPE is, to assert his apostolical character and authority, and the doctrine which he taught, and to confirm the Galatian churches in the faith of Christ, especially with respect to the important point of justification by faith alone; to expose the errors which had been disseminated among them, by demonstrating to them the true nature and use of the moral and ceremonial law; and to revive those principles of Christianity which he had taught when he first preached the Gospel to them.

V. The Epistle to the Galatians, therefore, consists of three parts, viz.

PART I. *The Introduction.* (i. 1—5.)

PART II. *The Discussion of the Subjects which had occasioned this Epistle: in which*

SECT. 1. is a vindication of St. Paul's apostolical doctrine and authority, and shows that he was neither a missionary from the church at Jerusalem, nor a disciple of the apostles, but an immediate apostle of Christ himself, by divine revelation; consequently that he was in no respect inferior to St. Peter himself. (i. 6—24. ii.)

SECT. 2. The apostle disputes against the advocates for circumcision and the observance of the law of Moses, and shows,

§ i. That justification is by faith in Christ, and not by the works of the Mosaic law. (iii. 1—18.)

§ ii. That the design of God in giving the law was, not to justify but to convince of sin, as well as to restrain from the commission of it; and that being intended only for a temporary institution, instead of vacating the promise, it was designed to be subservient to it, by showing the necessity of a better righteousness than that of the law, as a schoolmaster until the coming of Christ; that, being justified by faith in him, they might obtain the benefit of the promise. (iii. 19—24.) Such being the end and design of the law, the apostle infers from it, that now, under the Gospel, we are freed from the law (25—29.); and illustrates his inference by

God's treatment of the Jews, whom he put under the law, as a father puts a minor under a guardian. (iv. 1—7.)

SECT. 3. shows the great weakness and folly of the Galatians in going about to subject themselves to the law, and that by submitting to circumcision they became subject to the whole law, and would thus put themselves on a ground wholly inconsistent with the covenant of grace. (iv. 8—31., v. 1—9.)

SECT. 4. contains various instructions and exhortations for Christian behaviour, and particularly concerning a right use of their Christian freedom. (v. 10—16., vi. 1—10.)

PART III. *The Conclusion, which is a Summary of the Topics discussed in this Epistle, terminates with an Apostolical Benediction.* (vi. 11—18.)

VI. Although the subject discussed in the Epistle to the Galatians is the same that is treated in the Epistle to the Romans, viz. the doctrine of *justification* by *faith alone*, yet the two Epistles differ materially in this respect. The Epistle to the Galatians (which was first written) was designed to prove against the Jews, that men are justified by faith *without the works of the law of Moses*[1], which required perfect obedience to all its precepts, moral and ceremonial, under the penalty of the curse, from which the atonements and purifications prescribed by Moses had no power to deliver the sinner. The Law was not to be considered as though it *added* something to the acceptance already bestowed on those who believe. On the contrary, in his Epistle to the Romans, St. Paul treats of justification on a more enlarged plan; his design being to prove against both Jews and Gentiles, that neither the one nor the other can be justified meritoriously by performing *works of law* of any kind; but that all must be justified gratuitously by faith through the obedience and sacrifice of Christ: "Per fidem, propter Christum," as said the Reformers. The two Epistles, therefore, taken together, form a complete proof that justification is not to be obtained meritoriously, either by works of morality, or by rites and ceremonies, though of divine appointment; but that it is a *free* gift, proceeding entirely from the mercy of God, to those who receive it by faith in Jesus our Lord.

This Epistle is written with great energy and force of language, and at the same time affords a fine instance of St. Paul's skill in managing an argument. The chief objection, which the advocate or advocates for the Mosaic law had urged against him, was, that he preached circumcision. In the beginning of the Epistle he overturns this slander by a statement of facts, without taking any express notice of it; but at the end he fully refutes it, that he might leave a strong and lasting impression upon their minds.

Though the erroneous doctrines of the judaising teacher and his followers, as well as the calumnies which they spread for the purpose of discrediting him as an apostle, doubtless occasioned great uneasiness of mind to him and to the faithful in that age, and did considerable injury among the Galatians, at least for some time; yet, ultimately,

[1] Compare, among other passages, Gal. iii. 2, 3. 5., iv. 21., v. 1—4.

these evils have proved of no small service to the church in general. For, by obliging the apostle to produce the evidences of his apostleship, and to relate the history of his life, especially after his conversion, we have obtained the fullest assurance that he really was an apostle, called to be an apostle by Jesus Christ himself, and acknowledged to be such by those who were apostles before him; consequently we are assured that our faith in the doctrines of the Gospel as taught by him (and it is he who has taught the *peculiar* doctrines of the Gospel most fully) is not built on the credit of men, but on the authority of the Spirit of God, by whom St. Paul was inspired in the whole of the doctrine which he has delivered to the world.

As this letter was directed to the *churches* of Galatia, Dr. Macknight is of opinion that it was to be read publicly in them all. He thinks that it was in the first instance sent by Titus to the brethren in Ancyra, the chief city of Galatia, with an order to them to communicate it to the other churches, in the same manner as the first Epistle to the Thessalonians was appointed to be read to all the brethren in that city, and in the province of Macedonia.[1]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. V.[2]

CHAP. XIV.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

I. CHRISTIANITY was first planted in this city by St. Paul, about A. D. 54, when he reasoned with the Jews in their synagogues for the space of three months; he did not, however, continue long there at that time, but hastened to keep the feast at Jerusalem, promising to return again to his hearers. (Acts xviii. 19—21.) Accordingly he came to Ephesus early the following year (Acts xix. 1. *et seq.*) and preached the word with such success, and performed such extraordinary miracles among them, that a numerous church was formed there, chiefly composed of Gentile converts; whose piety and zeal were so remarkable, that many of them, in abhorrence of the *curious arts* which they had used, burnt their magical books, to a great value. (xix. 19.) And such was the apostle's concern for their spiritual welfare, that he did not leave them until A. D. 56, when he had been about three years among them. (xx. 31.) After this he spent some time in Macedonia and Achaia; and on his return to Jerusalem (A. D. 57) he sent for the elders of the Ephesian church to meet him at Miletus. There he took an affectionate leave of them, as one that should *see them no more;* appealing to them with what fidelity he had

[1] Dr. Macknight's Preface to the Epistle to the Galatians, sect. 3.

[2] Calmet, Preface sur l'Epitre aux Galates. Rosenmüller, Scholia in N. T. tom. iv. pp. 394—396.; Bloch, Chronotaxis Scriptorum Pauli, pp. 131—159.; Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 305—314.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 287—291.; Whitby's Preface; Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. §§ 98—100.; Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 8—22.

discharged his ministry among them, and exhorting them to "take heed unto themselves, and unto the flock" committed to their care, lest they should be corrupted by seducing teachers who would rise among them, and artfully endeavour to pervert them. (xx. 17—38.)

II. The apostle Paul is universally[1] admitted to be the author of the Epistle to the Ephesians. This Epistle is alluded to by Polycarp[2], and is cited by *name* by Irenæus[3], Clement of Alexandria[4], Tertullian[5], Origen[6], and by all subsequent writers without exception. Most of the ancient manuscripts, and *all* the ancient versions, have the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, "at Ephesus," in the first verse of this Epistle, which is an evident proof that the Epistle was written to the Ephesians. But Grotius, Mill, Wetstein, Vitringa, Venema, Benson, Paley, and other learned men, have doubted or denied that this Epistle was written to the Ephesians, and have argued that it must have been written to the Laodiceans. They rest this opinion, first, on the assertion of Marcion, a heretic of the second century, who affirmed the same thing; but his testimony is of no weight, for Marcion altered and interpolated the writings of the New Testament, to make them favourable to *his* sentiments, and upon this very account he is censured by Tertullian (A. D. 200), as setting up an interpolation of his own with regard to the Epistle in question, in opposition to the *true testimony* of the church.[7] They further appeal to a passage in Basil's second book against Eunomius, in which he thus cites Eph. i. 1.: "And writing to the Ephesians, as truly united to him 'who is' through knowledge, he called them in a peculiar sense 'such who are,' saying; 'to the saints who are' (or even) 'to the faithful in Christ Jesus.' For so those before us have transmitted it, and we have found it in ancient copies."[8] From the concluding sentence of this quotation it is inferred that certain manuscripts, which Basil had seen, omitted the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, "at Ephesus." Michaelis, however, argues at considerable length, that the omission of the word οὖσιν "who are," was the subject of Basil's implied censure, as being hostile to the inference he wished to deduce, and not the omission of the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ.[9] And, as this Father, in another passage of his writings, *expressly cites* the Epistle to the Ephesians[10] without any hesitation, it is evident that in his time (the latter part of the fourth century) this Epistle was not considered as being addressed to the Laodiceans.

[1] [There is even now hardly any occasion to modify this word. The attacks on this Epistle by modern doubters are of a kind wholly *subjective*: they have been well met by Mr. Alford in his *Prælectio* on this topic.]

[2] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 95.; 4to. vol. i. p. 330.

[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 163.; 4to. vol. i. p. 368.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 223.; 4to. vol. i. p. 401.

[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 263, 264.; 4to. vol. i. p. 423.

[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 472.; 4to. vol. i. p. 535.

[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 263, 264.; 4to. vol. i. p. 423.

[8] See the original passage in Lardner, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 401.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 466.; or in Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 142—146.

[9] [The words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ are omitted in the *text* of the Codex Vaticanus, though they have been added in the margin; and this proves that such MSS. may have been current in Basil's days, when this one indeed was extant.]

[10] Lardner, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 404.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 467.

Thirdly, it is contended that there are no allusions in this Epistle to St. Paul's having resided among the persons to whom it is addressed; and that the expressions in Eph. i. 15., iii. 2., and iv. 21., appear to be more suitable to persons whom he had never seen (which was the case of the Christians at Laodicea), than to the Ephesians, among whom he had resided about three years. (Acts xx. 31.) But these passages admit of easy and satisfactory interpretations, which directly refute this hypothesis. It will be recollected that four or five years had elapsed since St. Paul had quitted Ephesus: he might, therefore, with great propriety, express (in i. 15.) his complacency on *hearing* that they continued steadfast in the faith, notwithstanding the various temptations to which they were exposed. Again, the expression in iii. 2. (εἴγε ἠκούσατε τὴν οἰκονομίαν) which many translate and understand to mean, *if ye have heard of the dispensation*, — more correctly means, *since ye have heard the dispensation* of the grace of God, which had been made known to them by St. Paul himself. Consequently this verse affords no countenance to the hypothesis above mentioned. The same remark applies to iv. 21., where a similar construction occurs, which ought in like manner to be rendered, *since indeed ye have heard him*, &c. But most stress has been laid upon the direction given by St. Paul in Col. iv. 16. — that the Colossians should "cause the Epistle which he wrote to them to be read also in the church of the Laodiceans, and that they should likewise read the Epistle from Laodicea;" — which (it is contended) affords a plain proof that the Epistle, in our copies inscribed to the Ephesians, must be that which is intended in Col. iv. 16., and consequently was originally written to the Laodiceans. But this conclusion does not necessarily follow: for it is most probable, that by "*the Epistle from Laodicea*," St. Paul meant the Epistle to the Ephesians, a copy of which was sent by the apostle's directions to the Laodiceans, whose city lay between Ephesus and Colosse; and, as it was within the circuit of the Ephesian church (which was the metropolitan of all Asia, as Ephesus was the chief city of proconsular Asia), the Epistle to the Ephesians may refer to the whole province.

Michaelis, Haenlein, Hug, and Cellérier, after Archbishop Usher and Bengel, get rid of all the difficulties attending this question, by supposing the Epistle to have been *encyclical* or circular, and addressed to the Ephesians, Laodiceans, and some other churches in Asia Minor. But it could hardly be circular in the sense in which Michaelis understands that term: for he supposes that the different copies transmitted by St. Paul had ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, *at Ephesus*, ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ, *at Laodicea*, &c., as occasion required, and that the reason why our manuscripts read ἐν Ἐφέσῳ is, that when the books of the New Testament were first collected, the copy used was obtained from Ephesus; but this, Bishop Middleton observes, seems to imply — what cannot be proved — that the canon was established by authority, and that all copies of this Epistle, not agreeing with the approved edition, were suppressed.

Dr. Macknight is of opinion that St. Paul sent the Ephesians

word by Tychicus, who carried their letter, to send a copy of it to the Laodiceans, with an order to them to communicate it to the Colossians. This hypothesis will account, as well as that of Michaelis, for the want of those marks of personal acquaintance which the apostle's former residence might lead us to expect, and on which so much stress has been laid: for every thing local would be purposely omitted in an Epistle which had a further destination.

The reader will adopt which of these hypotheses he may deem the best supported: we think the solution last stated the most natural and probable; and that, when the united testimonies of manuscripts, and all the Fathers, with the exception of Basil, are taken into consideration, we are fully justified in regarding this Epistle as written to the Ephesians.[1] [See, on the whole subject, Dr. Davidson's Introd. ii. 328—344.]

III. The subscription to this Epistle states that it was written from Rome, and sent to the Ephesians by Tychicus, who was also the bearer of the Epistle to the Colossians, the similarity of which in style and subject shows that it was written at the same time. That this Epistle was written during St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, is evident from its allusions to his confinement (iii. 1., iv. 1., vi. 20.); and as he does not express in it any hopes of a speedy release (which he does in his other Epistles sent from that city), we conclude with Dr. Lardner, Bishop Tomline, and others, that it was written during the early part of St. Paul's imprisonment, and probably in the year 61, soon after he arrived at Rome. Prof. Turner is of opinion that the date is probably about the year 62.[2]

IV. As St. Paul was, in a peculiar manner, the apostle of the Gentiles, and was now a prisoner at Rome in consequence of the enmity of the Jews at his asserting that the observance of the Mosaic law was not necessary to obtain the favour of God, he was apprehensive lest advantage should be taken of his confinement to unsettle the minds of his Ephesian converts, who were almost wholly Gentiles. Hearing, however, that they stood firm in the faith of Christ, he wrote this Epistle in order to establish them in that faith, and to give them more exalted views of the love of God, and of the excellency and dignity of Christ; and at the same time to fortify their minds against the scandal of the cross. With this view he shows them that they were saved by grace; and that, however wretched they once were, now they had equal privileges with the Jews. He then proceeds to encourage them to persevere in their Christian

[1] Stosch, de Epistolis Apostolorum non deperditis, p. 101. *et seq.* Calmet, Preface sur l'Epitre aux Ephesiens; Rosenmüller and Koppe in their respective Prolegomena to this Epistle. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 128—146. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 416—456.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 342—362. Macknight on Col. iv. 16. Cellérier, Introd. au Nouv. Test. p 423. Hug's Introd. vol. ii. §§ 119—121. Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 508—518. (first edit.) who observes, that if ever there were an epistle from St. Paul to the Laodiceans, it is lost; for that which is extant in Fabricius and in Mr. Jones's work on the canon is universally admitted to be a forgery; yet the loss of a canonical writing is of all suppositions the most improbable; [if *intended* for perpetual use.]

[2] The Epistle to the Ephesians in Greek and English, with . . . an Exegetical Commentary by S. H. Turner, D.D. p. xviii. (New York, 1856. 8vo.)

calling, by declaring with what steadfastness he suffered for the truth, and with what earnestness he prayed for their establishment and continuance in it; and urges them to walk in a manner becoming their profession, in the faithful discharge both of the general and common duties of religion, and of the special duties of particular relations.

V. In this Epistle we may observe the following particulars, besides the inscription (i. 1, 2.); viz.

PART I. *The Doctrine pathetically explained, which contains,*

SECT. 1. Praise to God for the whole Gospel-blessing (i. 3—14.), with thanksgiving and prayer for the saints. (i. 15—23., ii. 1—10.)

SECT. 2. A more particular admonition concerning their once wretched but now happy condition. (ii. 11—22.)

SECT. 3. A prayer for their establishment. (iii.)

PART II. *The Exhortation.*

SECT. 1. *General,* to walk worthy of their calling, agreeable to,

(1.) The unity of the Spirit, and the diversity of his gifts. (iv. 1—16.)
(2.) The difference between their former and present state. (iv. 17—24.)

SECT. 2. *Particular.*

(1.) To avoid lying, anger, theft, and other sins (iv. 25—31., v. 1—21.), with a commendation of the opposite virtues.
(2.) To a faithful discharge of the relative duties of wives and husbands (v. 22—33.), of children and parents (vi. 1—4.), and of masters and servants. (vi. 5—9.)

SECT. 3. *Final.* — To war the spiritual warfare. (vi. 10—20.)

PART III. *The Conclusion.* (vi. 21—24.)

VI. The style of this Epistle is exceedingly animated, and corresponds with the state of the apostle's mind at the time of writing. Overjoyed with the account which their messenger had brought him of their faith and holiness (i. 15.), and transported with the consideration of the unsearchable wisdom of God, displayed in the work of man's redemption, and of his astonishing love towards the Gentiles in making them partakers, through faith, of all the benefits of Christ's death, he soars high in his sentiments on these grand subjects, and gives his thoughts utterance in sublime and copious expressions.

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. VI.

For a table of the corresponding passages in this Epistle, and in that of the Colossians, see under that Epistle.

CHAP. XV.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

I. CHRISTIANITY was first planted at Philippi, in Macedonia, by St. Paul, A.D. 50, the particulars of which are related in Acts xvi. 9—40; and it appears from Acts xx. 6. that he visited them again A.D. 57,

though no particulars are recorded concerning that visit. Of all the churches planted by St. Paul, that at Philippi seems to have cherished the most tender concern for him; and though it appears to have been but a small community, yet its members were peculiarly generous towards him. For when the Gospel was first preached in Macedonia, no other church contributed any thing to his support, except the Philippians; who, while he was preaching at Thessalonica, the metropolis of that country, sent him money twice, that the success of the Gospel might not be hindered by its preachers becoming burthensome to the Thessalonians. (Phil. iv. 15, 16.) The same attention they showed to the apostle, and for the same reason, while he preached the Gospel at Corinth. (2 Cor. xi. 9.) And when they heard that St. Paul was under confinement at Rome, they manifested a similar affectionate concern for him; and sent Epaphroditus to him with a present, lest he should want necessaries during his imprisonment. (ii. 25., iv. 10. 14—18.)

II. It appears from St. Paul's own words, that this Epistle was written while he was a prisoner at Rome (i. 7. 13., iv. 22.); and from the expectation which he discovers, of being soon released and restored to them [1], as well as from the intimations contained in this letter (i. 12., ii. 26.), that he had then been a considerable time at Rome, it is probable that he wrote the Epistle to the Philippians towards the close of his first imprisonment, at the end of A. D. 62., or perhaps at the commencement of 63. The genuineness of this letter was never questioned till modern times, and then on most trivial grounds. Polycarp, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, the churches of Vienne and Lyons, are sufficient vouchers in its favour in the very early ages.

III. The more immediate occasion of the Epistle to the Philippians was the return of Epaphroditus, by whom Paul sent it, as a grateful acknowledgment of their kindness in sending him supplies of money. From the manner in which Paul expressed himself on this occasion, it appears that he was in great want of necessaries before their contributions arrived; for as he had not converted the Romans, he did not consider himself as entitled to receive supplies from them. Being a prisoner, he could not work as formerly; and it was his rule never to receive any thing from the churches where factions had been raised against him. It also appears that the Philippians were the only church from whom he received any assistance, and that he conferred this honour upon them, because they loved him exceedingly, had preserved the Christian doctrine in purity, and had always conducted themselves as sincere Christians.

IV. The scope of this Epistle, therefore, is to confirm the Philip-

[1] M. Oeder, in a programma published in 1731, contended that this Epistle was written at a much earlier period at Corinth, and shortly after the planting of the church at Philippi: this hypothesis was examined and refuted by Wolfius in his Curæ Philologicæ, vol. iii. pp. 168. *et seq.* and 271. *et seq.* In 1799 the celebrated Professor Paulus published a programma, de Tempore scriptæ prioris ad Timotheum atque ad Philippenses Epistolæ Paulinæ; in which he endeavours to show that it was written at Cæsarea; but his hypothesis has been refuted by Heinrichs in his notes on the Epistle. Of course it has been revived as though it were something *new*; for such is the custom with regard to all such theories.

pians in the faith, to encourage them to walk in a manner becoming the Gospel of Christ, to caution them against the intrusion of judaising teachers, and to testify his gratitude for their Christian bounty.

Accordingly, after a short introduction (i. 1, 2.), he proceeds,

SECT. 1. To express his gratitude to God for their continuing steadfast in the faith, and prays that it may continue (i. 3—11.); and, lest they should be discouraged by the tidings of his imprisonment, he informs them that his sufferings and confinement, so far from impeding the progress of the Gospel, had "rather fallen out to its furtherance;" and assures them of his readiness to live or die, as should be most for their welfare and the glory of God. (12—20.)[1]

SECT. 2. He then exhorts them, in a strain of the most sublime and pathetic eloquence, to maintain a conduct worthy of the Gospel, and to the practice of mutual love and candour, enforced by the highest of all examples,—that of Jesus Christ; and to work out their own salvation with fear and trembling, that he may rejoice in the day of Christ on their account (i. 21—30., ii. 1—17.); and promises to send Timothy and Epaphroditus, of whom he makes a very affectionate mention. (19—30.)

SECT. 3. He solemnly cautions them against judaising teachers, *who preached Christ through envy and strife.* (iii. iv. 1.)

SECT. 4. After some admonitions to particular persons (iv. 2, 3.), and some general exhortations to Christian cheerfulness, moderation, and prayer (4—7.), he proceeds to recommend virtue in the most extensive sense, mentioning all the different bases on which it had been placed by the Grecian philosophers. (8, 9.) Towards the close of his Epistle, he makes his acknowledgments to the Philippians for their seasonable and liberal supply, as it was a convincing proof of their affection for him, and of their concern for the support of the Gospel, which he preferred far before any secular interest of his own, expressly disclaiming all selfish mercenary views, and assuring them, with a noble simplicity, that he was able upon all occasions to accommodate his temper to his circumstances; and had learned, under the teachings of divine grace, in whatever station Providence might see fit to place him, therewith to be content. (10—18.) After which the apostle, having encouraged them to expect a rich supply of all their wants from their God and Father, to whom he devoutly ascribes the honour of all (19.), concludes with salutations from himself and his friends at Rome to the whole church, and a solemn benediction. (21—23.)

It is remarkable that the Epistle to the church at Philippi is the only one, of all St. Paul's letters to the churches, in which not one censure is expressed or implied against any of its members; but, on the contrary, sentiments of unqualified commendation and confidence

[1] Verses 15—18. are a parenthesis, though not so marked in any editions or translations which we have seen.

pervade every part of this Epistle. Its style is singularly animated, affectionate, and pleasing.

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. VII.[1]

CHAP. XVI.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

I. By whom or at what time Christianity was planted at Colossæ[2], we have no certain information. Dr. Lardner, Bishop Tomline, Boehmer, and others [amongst whom some recent writers may be included] are of opinion that the church at Colossæ was founded by Paul; and they ground this opinion principally on the following considerations; viz.

That Paul was twice in Phrygia, in which country were the cities of Colossæ, Laodicea, and Hierapolis,—that he does in effect say that he had dispensed the Gospel to the Colossians (i. 21—25.),—and that it appears, from the terms of affection and authority discoverable in this Epistle, that he did not address them as strangers, but as acquaintances, friends, and converts. It is true that Paul was twice in Phrygia, but he does not seem to have visited the three cities above mentioned; for his route lay considerably to the northward of them, from Cilicia and Derbe to Lystra, and thence through Phrygia and Galatia to Mysia and Troas. (Acts xvi. 6.) And in his second tour he also passed through Galatia and Phrygia to Ephesus and Troas (Acts xviii. 23.), and so through the upper coasts of Asia Minor (xix. 1.) That Paul did *not* plant the church at Colossæ, is evident from his own declaration in ii. 1., where he says that neither the Colossians nor the Laodiceans had then "seen his face in the flesh." But though Paul had never been in Colossæ when he wrote this Epistle, yet Christianity had evidently been taught, and a church planted there. Rosenmüller is of opinion that the Gospel was introduced into that city by Epaphras. It is not improbable that Epaphras, who is mentioned in i. 7., iv. 12, 13., was one of the earliest teachers; but it does not necessarily follow that he was the person who first planted Christianity there. Indeed, it is not likely that

[1] Rosenmüller, Scholia in Nov. Test. tom. iv. pp. 472—475.; Calmet, Preface sur l'Epitre aux Philippiens; Michaelis's Introduction, vol. iv. pp. 152—160.; Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. §§ 137—139.; Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 152—161.; Macknight's Preface to this Epistle. But the fullest view of the Epistle to the Philippians will be found in Hoog's Specimen Academicum Inaugurale de Coetus Christianorum Philippensis Conditione primævâ, ex epistolâ iis ab apostolo Paulo scriptâ, præcipuè dijudicanda. Lugd. Bat. 1825. 8vo.

[2] In Col. i. 2. instead of ἐν Κολοσσαῖς, *at Colossæ*, the Alexandrian, Vatican, Codex Ephrem, and several other ancient manuscripts, read ἐν Κολασσαῖς, *at Colassæ*, or among the Colassians. With them agree the Syriac, Coptic, and Sclavonic versions as well as Origen, Gregory of Nyssa, and many other learned fathers: but as the coins of this city are stamped ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΟΙ, and ΔΗΜΟΣ ΚΟΛΟΣΣΗΝΩΝ (Eckel, Doctrina Nummorum Veterum, Part i. vol. iii. p. 98.), Colossæ appears to be the more correct name.

the Colossians would send away the founder of their Church while it was yet in an infant state. As it appears from Acts xix. 10. that, during Paul's residence at Ephesus, many persons, both Jews and Greeks, came from various parts of Asia to hear the Gospel, Michaelis supposes that several Colossians, particularly Philemon, were of this number. He also thinks that Timothy might have taught them the Christian faith; as Paul subjoins his name to his own (i. 1.), and throughout the first chapter speaks in their joint names, except where the subject relates to his own imprisonment, and where Timothy of course could not be included.

II. But though it is impossible now to ascertain the founder of the church at Colossæ, the Epistle itself furnishes us with a guide to its date. In Col. iv. 3. the apostle alludes to his imprisonment, from which circumstance, as well as from its close affinity to the Epistle addressed to the Ephesians, it is evident that it was written nearly at the same time. Accordingly most commentators and critics refer it to the year 62. Its genuineness was never disputed.

III. At the time of writing this Epistle, Paul was "an ambassador in bonds," for maintaining the freedom of the Gentile converts from all subjection to the law of Moses.

Its immediate OCCASION was, some difficulties that had arisen among the Colossians, in consequence of which they sent Epaphras to Rome, to acquaint the apostle with the state of their affairs; to which we may add the letter (Col. iv. 16.) sent to him by the Laodiceans, who seem to have written to him concerning the errors of the false teachers, and to have asked his advice. Paul, therefore, replies in the present Epistle, which he sent to the Colossians as being the larger church, and also because the false teachers had probably caused greater disturbances among the Colossians; but desired that they would send the same Epistle to the Laodiceans, and ask them for a copy of their letter to Paul, in order that they might the better understand his answer.

Who the false teachers were, is a point not satisfactorily determined. Michaelis is of opinion that this Epistle was directed against the tenets and practices of the Essenes, of which sect an account has been given in the preceding volume. But it is more probable that they were partly superstitious judaising teachers, who diligently inculcated not only the Mosaic law, but also the absurd notions of the rabbins and partial converts from Gentilism who blended Platonic notions with the doctrines of the Gospel. It is well known that the Platonists entertained singular ideas concerning demons, whom they represented as carrying men's prayers to God, from whom they brought back the blessings supplicated; and the doctrines of the Jews concerning angels were nearly the same as that of the Platonics concerning demons. It appears from Col. ii. 16—23. that the false teachers inculcated the worship of angels, abstinence from animal food, the observance of the Jewish festivals, new moons and Sabbaths, the mortification of the body by long-continued fastings, and, in short, the observance of the Mosaic ritual law, either as absolutely necessary to salvation, or as tending to fleshly perfection.

IV. The SCOPE of the Epistle to the Colossians is, to show that all hope of man's redemption is founded on Christ our Redeemer, in whom alone all complete fulness, perfections, and sufficiency, are centered; to instruct as to His person, glories, and headship; to caution the Colossians against the insinuations of judaising teachers, and also against philosophical speculations and deceits, and human traditions, as inconsistent with Christ and his fulness for our salvation; and to excite the Colossians, by the most persuasive arguments, to a temper and conduct worthy of their sacred character. The Epistle, therefore, consists of two principal parts besides the introduction and conclusion.

I. After a short inscription or introduction (i. 1, 2.) Paul begins with expressing great joy for the favourable character which he had heard of them, and assures them that he daily prayed for their further improvement. (3—14.) He then makes a short digression in order to describe the dignity of Jesus Christ, who, he declares, created all things, whether thrones or dominions, principalities or powers, —that he alone was the head of the church, and had died to reconcile men to the Father, and that through him believers *are* reconciled. (15—20.) One inference from this description is evident, that Jesus was superior to angels; that they were created beings, and ought not to be worshipped. In verse 21. Paul returns from this digression to the sentiments with which he had introduced it in the thirteenth and fourteenth verses; and again expresses his joy that the Colossians remained faithful to the Gospel, which was to be preached to the Gentiles, without the presentation of terms of law. From this view of the excellency of Christ's person, and the riches of his grace, the apostle takes occasion to express the cheerfulness with which he suffered in the cause of the Gospel, and his earnest solicitude to fulfil his ministry among them in the most successful manner; assuring them of his concern for them and for the other Christians in the neighbourhood, that they might be established in their adherence to the Christian faith. (i. 21—29., ii.1—7.)

II. Having given these general exhortations, he proceeds directly to caution them against the vain and deceitful philosophy of the new teachers, and their superstitious adherence to the law; and warns Christians against the worshipping of angels. He censures the observations of Jewish sabbaths and festivals, and cautions the Colossians against those corrupt additions which some were attempting to introduce, especially by rigours and superstitions of their own devising. (ii. 8—23.) To these doctrinal instructions succeed precepts concerning the practical duties of life, especially the relative duties of husbands and wives, parents and children, servants and masters. (iii. iv. 1—6.) The Epistle concludes with matters chiefly of a private nature, except the directions for reading it in the church of Laodicea, as well as in that of Colossæ. (iv. 7—18.)

Whoever, says Michaelis, would understand the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, must read them together. The one is in most places a commentary on the other; the meaning of single passages in one Epistle, which, if considered alone, might be variously interpreted, being determined by the parallel passages in the other Epistle. Yet, though there is a great similarity, the Epistle to the Colossians contains many things which are not to be found in that to the Ephesians; especially in regard to the worship of angels, and many single points, which appear to be Essene, and might prevail at Colossæ.[1]

[1] Bochmer, Isagoge in Epistolam ad Colossenses; Calmet, Preface sur l'Epitre à les Colossiens; Michaelis's Introd. vol. iv. pp. 116—124.; Hug's Introd. §§ 122—124.; Macknight's Preface; Rosenmüller, Scholia, tom. iv. pp. 134—136. In instituting a collation of these two Epistles the student will find a very valuable help in M. Van Bemmelen's Dissertatio Exegetico-Critica, de epistolis Pauli ad Ephesios et Colossenses inter se collatis. 8vo. Lugd. Bat. 1803.

The following Table exhibits the corresponding passages of the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians.

Ephesians.	Colossians.	Ephesians.	Colossians.
Ch. i. 1, 2.	Ch. i. 1. 2.	Ch. iv. 22—25.	Ch. iii. 9, 10.
i. 6, 7.	i. 13.	iv. 17—21.	i. 21. ii. 6. iii. 8—10.
i. 10.	i. 19, 20	iv. 29.	iv. 6.
i. 15, 16.	i. 3, 4.	iv. 32.	iii. 12, 13.
i. 17—21.	i. 9—15.	iv. 31.	iii. 8.
i. 22. iii. 10, 11.	i. 16—18.	v. 5.	iii. 5.
i. 19. ii. 1—5.	ii. 12, 13.	v. 6.	iii. 6.
ii. 1.	i. 21.	v. 7, 8.	iii. 7, 8.
ii. 13—16.	i. 20. ii. 14.	v. 15, 16.	iv. 5.
iii. 1.	i. 24, 25.	v. 18—20.	iii. 16, 17.
iii. 3, &c.	i. 26—29.	v. 21—23. vi. 1—9.	iii. 18—25. iv. 1.
iv. 2—4.	ii. 12—15.	vi. 18—20.	iv. 2—4.
iv. 16.	ii. 19.	vi. 21, 22.	iv. 7—9.

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. VIII.

CHAP. XVII.

ON THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

I. Christianity was first planted at Thessalonica by St. Paul, A.D. 50, who formed a church, composed both of Jews and Gentiles, but the latter were most numerous. (Acts xvii. 2—4.) The unbelieving Jews, however, having stirred up a persecution against him and his company, they were forced to flee to Berœa, and thence to Athens (xvii. 5—15.), from which city he proceeded to Corinth. Being thus prevented from visiting the Thessalonians again as he had intended (1 Thess. ii. 17, 18.), he sent Silas and Timothy to visit them in his stead (iii. 6.), and, on their return to him from Macedonia, (Acts xvii. 14, 15., xviii. 5.), he wrote the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, A.D. 52, from Corinth, and not from Athens, as the spurious subscription to this Epistle imports.[1]

II. The first Epistle to the Thessalonians is generally admitted to have been one of the earliest written, if indeed it be not the *very first*[2], of all St. Paul's letters, and we find that he was anxious that it should be read to all the Christian churches in Macedonia. In chap. v. 27. he gives the following command:—*I adjure you by the Lord that this Epistle be read unto all the holy brethren.* This direction is very properly inserted in his first Epistle. Its genuineness has never been disputed until modern times. It is certainly quoted and recognised as St. Paul's production (together with the second Epistle) by

[1] Grotius has contended that the *first* Epistle to the Thessalonians is in reality the second, but he has not supported that conjecture by any historical evidence.

[2] Calmet, Bloch, Dr. Macknight, and many other modern critics, after Chrysostom and Theodoret, are decidedly of opinion that this is the earliest written of all St. Paul's Epistles.

Irenæus[1], Clement of Alexandria[2], Tertullian[3], Caius[4], Origen[5], and all subsequent ecclesiastical writers.

[Dr. Davidson (Introd. ii. 451—467.) has sufficiently discussed the *arguments* (if such they can be called) by which Baur and others have sought to oppose the authority of one or both of the Epistles to the Thessalonians.]

III. The immediate occasion of Paul's writing this Epistle was, the favourable report which Timothy had brought him of the steadfastness of the Thessalonians in the faith of the Gospel. He therefore wrote to confirm them in that faith, lest they should be turned aside from it by the persecutions of the unbelieving Jews, and also to excite them to a holy conversation; becoming the dignity of their high and holy calling. This Epistle consists of five parts, viz.

PART I. *The Inscription.* (i. 1.)

PART II. *celebrates the grace of God towards the Thessalonians, and reminds them of the manner in which the Gospel was preached to them.* (i. 2—10., ii. 1—16.)

PART III. *The apostle declares his desire to see them, together with his affectionate solicitude for them, and his prayer for them.* (ii. 17—20. iii.) In

PART IV. *he exhorts them to grow in holiness* (iv. 1—8.) *and in brotherly love, with industry.* (9—12.)

PART V. *contains exhortations against immoderate sorrow for their brethren, who had departed in the faith; together with admonitions concerning the coming of Christ to judgment.* (iv. 13—18., v. 1—11.)

The Epistle concludes with various practical advices and instructions. (v. 12—28.)

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. IX.[6]

CHAP. XVIII.

ON THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

I. THE second Epistle to the Thessalonians was evidently written soon after the first (A. D. 52), and from the same place; for Silvanus or Silas, and Timothy, are joined together with the apostle in the

[1] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 164.; 4to. vol. i. p. 368.
[2] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 223.; 4to. vol. i. p. 401.
[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 264.; 4to. vol. i. p. 423.
[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 374.; 4to. vol. i. p. 482.
[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 528. 530.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 566, 567.
[6] Calmet, Preface sur la première Epitre aux Thessaloniens; Rosenmüller, Scholia, tom. iv. pp. 681, 682.; Bloch, Chronotaxis Scriptorum Pauli, pp. 99—109.; Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 23—29.; Hug's Introduction, ii. §§ 90—92. But the fullest view of all the circumstances of this Epistle is given in Burgerhoudt's Specimen Academicum Inaugurale de Coetus Christianorum Thessalonicensis Ortu Fatisque, et prioris Pauli iis scriptæ Epistolæ Consilio et Argumento. Lugd. Bat. 1825. 8vo.

inscription of this Epistle as well as that of the former. The Epistle was occasioned by the information communicated to Paul by the person who had conveyed his first letter to the Thessalonians, respecting the state of their church. Among other things he was informed, from some expressions in it[1], that many of them expected that the day of the Lord would happen in that age; and that such of them as thought the advent of Christ and the accompanying events to be immediate, were neglecting their secular affairs, as being inconsistent with a due expectation of that important event. As soon, therefore, as the state of the Thessalonians was made known to Paul, he wrote this second Epistle, to correct their misapprehension, to rescue them from an error which (appearing to rest on apostolical authority) must ultimately be injurious, and to recommend several Christian duties.

II. After a short introduction, the apostle begins with commending the faith and charity of the Thessalonians, of which he had heard a favourable report. He expresses his joy on account of the patience with which they endured persecution; which, he observes, was a proof of a righteous judgment to come, where their persecutors would meet with their proper recompense, and the righteous be delivered out of all their afflictions. And all this (he assures them) will take place, when Jesus Christ returns with pomp and majesty as universal judge. He further assures them of his constant prayers for their further improvement, in order that they may attain the felicity promised. (ch. i.)

He then proceeds to rectify the mistake of the Thessalonians, who, from misunderstanding a passage in his former letter, or from wrong information, believed ὅτι ἐνέστηκεν ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ Κυρίου. "The day of the Lord," he informs them, will not come until a great apostasy has overspread the Christian world, the nature of which he describes. Symptoms of this mystery of iniquity had then appeared: but the apostle expresses his thankfulness to God that the Thessalonians had escaped this corruption; and he exhorts them to steadfastness, praying that God would comfort and strengthen them. (ii.)

He next requests their prayers for himself, and for Silvanus and Timothy, his two assistants; at the same time expressing his confidence that they would pay a due regard to the instructions he had given them. And he proceeds to correct some irregularities that had crept into their church. Some of the Thessalonians seem to have led an idle and disorderly life: these he severely reproves, and commands the faithful to shun their company, if they still remained incorrigible. The apostle concludes with his apostolical benediction; and informs them that his writing the salutation with his own hand was a token of the genuineness of all the Epistles which he wrote.

From the preceding view of this Epistle, it will be seen that it consists of five parts, viz.

1. The Inscription. (i. 1, 2.
2. St. Paul's Thanksgiving and Prayer for them. (i. 3—12.)
3. The Rectification of their Mistake concerning the day of judgment and the doctrine concerning the man of sin. (ii.)

[1] See 1 Thess. iv. 15. 17., v. 4. 6.

4. Various advices relative to Christian virtues, particularly
   i. To prayer, with a prayer for the Thessalonians. (iii. 1—5.)
   ii. To correct the disorderly. (iii. 6—16.)
5. The Conclusion. (iii. 17, 18.)

III. Although the second Epistle to the Thessalonians is the shortest of all St. Paul's letters to the churches it is not inferior to any of them in the sublimity of the sentiments, and in that spirit by which all the writings of this apostle are so eminently distinguished. This Epistle has *one* feature peculiar to itself in the prediction which it contains of the "Man of Sin," and the "Mystery of Iniquity." It thus has an especially *prophetic* character. [This portion was applied by the early church to a person, the Antichrist, manifesting all power of evil, just before the second advent of Christ. More recent writers have applied it to the Papacy; while of late years many have maintained the earlier opinion with regard to this prophecy, and many other portions of Scripture, especially in Daniel and the Apocalypse.]

Of the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. X.

CHAP. XIX.

ON THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

I. TIMOTHY, to whom this Epistle was addressed, was a native of Lystra, a city of Lycaonia, in Asia Minor. His father was a Greek, but his mother was a Jewess (Acts xvi. 1.), and, as well as his grandmother Loïs, a person of excellent character. (2 Tim. i. 5.) The pious care they took of his education soon appeared to have the desired success; for we are assured by St. Paul that, from his childhood, Timothy was well acquainted with the Holy Scriptures. (2 Tim. iii. 15.) It is generally supposed that he was converted to the Christian faith during the first visit made by Paul and Barnabas to Lystra. (Acts xiv.) From the time of his conversion, Timothy made such proficiency in the knowledge of the Gospel, and was so remarkable for the sanctity of his manners, as well as for his zeal in the cause of Christ, that he attracted the esteem of all the brethren in those parts. Accordingly, when the apostle came from Antioch in Syria to Lystra the second time, they commended Timothy so highly to him, that Paul selected him to be the companion of his travels, having previously circumcised him (Acts xvi. 2, 3.), and conferred on him spiritual gifts in a solemn manner by imposition of hands (1 Tim. iv. 14., 2 Tim. i. 6.), though at that time he probably was not more than twenty years of age. (1 Tim. iv. 12.) From that period, frequent mention is made of Timothy, as the attendant of Paul in his various journeyings, assisting him in preaching the Gospel, and in conveying his instructions to the churches. When the apostle was driven from Thessalonica and Berœa by persecution, he left Silas and Timothy

there to strengthen the churches in the faith. (Acts xvii. 13, 14.) Thence they went to Paul at Corinth (xviii. 5.), and from Ephesus he again sent Timothy to Thessalonica (Acts xix. 22., 1 Thess. iii. 2, 3.) to comfort the believers under their tribulations and persecutions. Timothy returning to the apostle, next accompanied him into Asia (Acts xx. 4.), and was left at Ephesus (1 Tim. i. 3, 4.) to instruct the church in that city, the care of which was confided to Timothy. How long he watched over the Ephesian church is not known; but he was at a later period called to the apostle at Rome. We are wholly uncertain as to the time of his death.

II. The date of this Epistle has been much disputed. Dr. Lardner refers it to the year 56; Dr. Benson, Michaelis, and Hug (after Cappel, Grotius, Lightfoot, and several other critics), date it in A. D. 58; Bishop Pearson, Le Clerc, Dr. Mill, and Rosenmüller, in A. D. 65; Drs. Whitby, Macknight, and Paley, and Bishop Tomline, in 64.

In favour of the EARLY DATE *it is argued,*

1. That it appears from the third chapter of this Epistle, that no bishops had been then appointed at Ephesus. St. Paul instructs Timothy in the choice, as of an appointment to a new office, and "hopes to return to him shortly." And it is not probable the apostle would suffer a community to be long without governors. Now he departed from Ephesus when he travelled into Macedonia (Acts xx. 1.), and we see from v. 17. 28. that on his return bishops had been appointed. Consequently this Epistle must have been written at the beginning of his journey; for Timothy soon left Ephesus, and was at Corinth with Paul. (Acts xviii. 5.) He even joined him in Macedonia, for the second Epistle to the Corinthians, written in Macedonia, was in the joint names of Paul and Timothy. This Epistle, therefore, was written a short time before the second to the Corinthians.

2. It is further contended, that Timothy, at the time this Epistle was written, was in danger of being "despised for his youth." (1 Tim. iv. 12.) As he became an associate of Paul at Lystra (Acts xvi. 1.) so early as A. D. 50, he must then have been, as an assistant in the Gospel, at least twenty years of age. If this Epistle was written A. D. 65, he must have been of the age of thirty-five years, and could not have been less than fifteen years a preacher of the Gospel. He could not in that case have been despised for his youth; though he might before he had reached his twenty-seventh year.

On the contrary, *in behalf of the* LATER DATE, which supposes this Epistle to have been written after St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome, A. D. 64 or 65, it is insisted,

1. That it appears from St. Paul's Epistles to Philemon (22.) and to the Philippians (ii. 24.), that he evidently designed, when he had a prospect of being released, to go both to Colossæ and into Macedonia. Now it is admitted that these two Epistles were written towards the close of St. Paul's first imprisonment at Rome; and, if he executed his intention of going to Colossæ immediately after his release, it is very probable that he would visit Ephesus, which was in the vicinity of Colossæ, and proceed thence to Philippi.

2. We further learn from the first Epistle to Timothy, that he was left at Ephesus to oppose the following errors:—1. Fables invented by the Jewish doctors to recommend the observance of the law of Moses as necessary to salvation;—2. Uncertain genealogies, by which individuals endeavoured to trace their descent from Abraham, in the persuasion that they would be saved, merely because they had Abraham to their father;—3. Intricate questions and strifes about some words in the law;—4. Perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, who reckoned that which produced most gain to be the best of godliness; and oppositions of knowledge falsely so named. But these errors had not taken place in the Ephesian church before the apostle's departure; for, in his charge to the Ephesian elders at Miletus,

he foretold that false teachers would enter among them after his departing (Acts xx. 29.): *I know that after my departing, shall grievous wolves enter in among you, not sparing the flock.* 30. *Also of your own selves shall men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw away disciples after them.* The same thing appears from the two Epistles which the apostle wrote to the Corinthians; the one from Ephesus before the riot of Demetrius, the other from Macedonia after that event; and from the Epistle which he wrote to the Ephesians themselves from Rome, during his confinement there. For in none of these letters is there any notice taken of the above-mentioned errors as subsisting among the Ephesians at the time they were written, which cannot be accounted for on the supposition that they were prevalent in Ephesus when the apostle went into Macedonia after the riot. We conclude, therefore, with Dr. Macknight, that the first Epistle to Timothy, in which the apostle desired him to abide at Ephesus, for the purpose of opposing the judaisers and their errors, could not be written, either from Troas, or from Macedonia, after the riot, as those who contend for the early date of that Epistle suppose: but it must have been written some time after the apostle's release from his confinement in Rome, when, no doubt, he visited the church at Ephesus, and found the judaising teachers there busily employed in spreading their pernicious errors.

3. In the first Epistle to Timothy, the same persons, doctrines, and practices are reprobated, which are condemned in the second. Compare 1 Tim. iv. 1—6. with 2 Tim. iii. 1—5., and 1 Tim. vi. 20. with 2 Tim. i. 14., and 1 Tim. iv. 7. and vi. 20. with 2 Tim. ii. 16. The same commands, instructions, and encouragements are given to Timothy in the first Epistle as in the second. Compare 1 Tim. vi. 13, 14. with 2 Tim. iv. 1—5. The same remedies for the corruptions, which had taken place among the Ephesians, are prescribed in the first Epistle as in the second. Compare 1 Tim. iv. 14. with 2 Tim. i. 6, 7. And as in the second Epistle, so in the first, everything is addressed to Timothy, as superintendent both of the teachers and of the people in the church at Ephesus: all which, Dr. Macknight thinks, implies that the state of things among the Ephesians was the same when the two Epistles were written. Consequently, the first Epistle was written only a few months before the second, and not long before the apostle's death.

To the late date of this first Epistle, however, there are three plausible objections, which admit of easy solutions.

1. It is thought, that if the first Epistle to Timothy was written after the apostle's release, he could not, with any propriety, have said to Timothy, iv. 12. *Let no man despise thy youth.*—But it is replied, that Servius Tullius, in classing the Roman people, as Aulus Gellius relates[1], divided their age into three periods. Childhood, he limited to the age of seventeen; youth, from that to forty-six; and old age, from forty-six to the end of life. Now, supposing Timothy to have been twenty years old, A. D. 50, when he became Paul's assistant, he would be no more than thirty-four, A. D. 64, two years after the apostle's release, when it is supposed this Epistle was written. Since, therefore, Timothy was then in that period of life, which, by the Greeks as well as the Romans, was considered as youth, the apostle, with propriety, might say to him, *Let no man despise thy youth.*

2. When the apostle touched at Miletus, in his voyage to Jerusalem, with the collections, the church at Ephesus had a number of elders, that is, of bishops, who came to him at Miletus. (Acts xx. 17.) It is therefore asked, What occasion was there, in an Epistle written after the apostle's release, to give Timothy directions concerning the qualifications of bishops and deacons, in a church where there were so many elders already? The answer is, the elders who came to the apostle at Miletus, in the year 58, might have been too few for the church at Ephesus, in her increased state, in the year 65. Besides, false teachers had then entered, to oppose whom, more bishops and deacons might be needed than were necessary in the year 58; not to mention, that some of the first elders having died, others were wanted to supply their places.

3. Because the apostle wrote to Timothy, that *he hoped to come to him soon* (1 Tim. iii. 14.), it is argued, that the letter, in which this is said, must have been written before the apostle said to the Ephesian elders (Acts xx. 25.) *I know that all ye, among whom I have gone preaching the kingdom of God, shall see my face no*

[1] Noctes Atticæ, lib. x. c. 28.

more. But if, by this, the first Epistle to Timothy is proved to have been written before the apostle's interview with the elders at Miletus, his Epistles to the Philippians, to the Hebrews, and to Philemon, in which he promised to visit them, must likewise have been written before the interview: for his declaration respected the Philippians, the Hebrews, and Philemon, as well as the Ephesians; for they certainly were persons among whom the apostle had gone preaching the kingdom of God: yet no commentator ever thought the Epistles above mentioned were written to them before the apostle's interview with the Ephesian elders. On the contrary, it is universally acknowledged that these Epistles were written four years after the interview; namely, during the apostle's first imprisonment at Rome. When, therefore, he told the Ephesian elders, that they and his other converts, among whom he had gone preaching the kingdom of God, should see his face no more, as it was no point either of faith or practice which he spake, he may well be supposed to have declared nothing but his own opinion resulting from his fears. He had lately escaped the rage of the Jews, who laid wait for him in Cenchrea to kill him. (Acts xx. 3.) This, with their fury on former occasions, filled him with such anxiety, that, in writing to the Romans from Corinth, he requested them *to strive together with him in their prayers, that he might be delivered from the unbelieving in Judæa.* (Rom. xv. 30, 31.)—Further, that in his speech to the Ephesian elders, the apostle only declared his own persuasion, dictated by his fears, and not any suggestion of the Spirit, Dr. Macknight thinks, is plain from what he had said immediately before, verse 22. *Behold I go bound in the spirit to Jerusalem, not knowing the things which shall befal me there:* 23. *Save that the Holy Ghost witnesseth in every city, saying that bonds and afflictions abide me.* Wherefore, although his fears were happily disappointed, and he actually visited the Ephesians after his release, his character as an inspired apostle is not hurt in the least; if, in saying *he knew they should see his face no more,* he declared his own persuasion only, and no dictate of the Holy Spirit.[1]

We conclude, therefore, that St. Paul wrote his first Epistle to Timothy about the end of the year 64.

[The passage 1 Tim. iv. 12. appears to the present editor to be decisive in favour of a comparatively early date for this Epistle. Actual *youth,* and not some conventional division of human life which stands opposed to *old age,* seems clearly to be intended. The different suppositions connected with the time when this Epistle could have been written, are discussed by Dr. Davidson (Introd. iii. p. 3—32.); a mere enumeration of them cannot be made in a brief compass. It must therefore suffice to say, that this Epistle to Timothy seems either to have been written after St. Paul left Ephesus, as mentioned in Acts xx., and went into Macedonia; or else after he had similarly visited that country during his stay at Ephesus, and that break in his sojourn there was not recorded in the Acts. In the former case, it must be supposed that Timothy *returned* to Ephesus before Paul quitted that city; and that Paul did not carry out his intention of joining him at Ephesus. On the latter hypothesis we have only to bear in mind the admitted fact that the book of Acts does not furnish us with full details of the journeys, &c., of this apostle. Such an unrecorded visit to Macedonia may be connected with the short visit which, in the opinion of some, he paid to Corinth. See above, p. 529.]

[1] Dr. Benson's Preface to 1 Tim. (pp. 220—222.) Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 75—78. Rosenmüller, Scholia in N. T. tom. v. pp. 1—4.; Hug's Introd. vol. ii. §§ 108—112. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 316—320.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 292—294. Doddridge and Whitby's Prefaces to 1 Tim. Macknight's Preface to 1 Tim. sect. ii. Dr. Paley has advocated the late date of this Epistle by arguments similar to those above stated. Horæ Paulinæ, pp. 288—294.

III. But whatever uncertainty may have prevailed concerning the date of this Epistle, it has been habitually acknowledged to be the undisputed production of the apostle Paul. *Both the first and second* Epistles to Timothy are cited or alluded to by almost the earliest Fathers, and the first Epistle by Polycarp[1]; and in the following centuries by Irenæus[2], Clement of Alexandria[3], Tertullian[4], Caius[5], Origen[6], and by all subsequent ecclesiastical writers without exception.

Decisive as these testimonies confessedly are, the authenticity of this Epistle has been denied by Dr. Schleiermacher, Professor Eichhorn, and others, and vindicated by Professor Hug. The following is an abstract of the objections and their refutation:—

1. The language of the Epistle cannot be that of St. Paul, because (it is alleged) expressions occur which are either not to be found in his other Epistles, or at least not with the same signification. But this is more or less the case in other Epistles; and some of the words alluded to are found in the New Testament, "while the composition of others betrays the apostle, who, unshackled by the laws of grammatical authority, either compounds his own words and forcible expressions, or derives them in a manner in which the tragedians would scarcely have indulged themselves." If, however, "in addition to this peculiarity, we examine the whole of the diction, we shall find it assuredly Paul's. The accumulation of words of allied significations, or false synonyms, the enumerations, the short and sudden digressions, the parentheses, particularly the long parenthesis in i. 5—18., the animation which pervades the whole;—all is not an imitation in the use of certain words, in which any one might easily succeed, but the fac-simile of his peculiar mode of communication."[7] Besides, the difference of style in this Epistle, as compared with that of the preceding Epistles, is accounted for by new adversaries arising, by the difference of the times when the several Epistles were written, and also by the diversity of the subjects discussed, all which circumstances would necessarily produce a diversity of expression.[8]

2. The doubts which have been raised against this Epistle, because the apostle (i. 20.) has so very briefly mentioned Hymenæus and Alexander, are of no moment. He mentions them incidentally, as well-known examples of erring self-conceit, and for no other purpose besides, as he has also done in other passages, at this period of his life, viz. 2 Tim. i. 15., and ii. 17., where he also points out well-known examples of error, as a warning to others, and this he also does incidentally.[9]

3. It has been asserted, that there is a contradiction between 1 Tim. i. 20. where Alexander is mentioned as a heretic, and 2 Tim. iv. 14.

[1] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 96, 97.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 330, 331.
[2] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 164.; 4to. vol. i. p. 368.
[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 224.; 4to. vol. i. p. 401.
[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 264, 265.; 4to. vol. i. p. 424.
[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 374.; 4to. vol. i. p. 483.
[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 471.; 4to. vol. i. p. 535.
[7] Hug's Introduction, ii. § 12.
[8] Cellérier, Introd. au Nouv. Test. p. 432.
[9] Hug, *ubi suprà.*

where he is an enemy of St. Paul. But the apostle carefully distinguishes the individual in the second Epistle from him who is noticed in the first, by the epithet of ὁ χαλκεὺς, *the worker in metals*, or *the smith*. Beza and Bolton have conjectured that he was the person who appeared at the Roman tribunal among the accusers of Paul. This, however, is of little moment, as from this name being very common, there must have been hundreds of persons who bore the name of Alexander.[1]

In short, whoever carefully and impartially examines the style of this Epistle, will find that the language and genius of the apostle of the Gentiles pervades it throughout; and that the animating, urgent, and affecting motives which it presents, are such as proceeded from the heart, and such as no impostor could imitate.[2]

IV. Timothy, having been left at Ephesus, "to charge some that they should teach no other doctrine" in the church in that city, St. Paul wrote this Epistle chiefly to instruct him in the choice of proper officers in the church, as well as in the exercise of a regular ministry. Another and very important part of the apostle's design was to caution this young evangelist against the influence of those false teachers (Michaelis thinks they were Essenes), who, by their subtle distinctions and endless controversies, had corrupted the purity and simplicity of the Gospel; to press upon him, in all his preaching, a constant regard to the interests of practical religion; and to animate him to the greatest diligence, fidelity, and zeal, in the discharge of his office. The Epistle, therefore, consists of three parts; viz.

PART I. *The Introduction.* (i. 1, 2.)

PART II. *Instructions to Timothy how to behave in the Administration of the Church at Ephesus; in which,*

SECT. 1. After reminding Timothy of the charge which had been committed to him, viz., To preserve the purity of the Gospel against the pernicious doctrines of the false teachers (enumerated above) whose opinions led to frivolous controversies, and not to a holy life, St. Paul shows the use of the law of Moses, of which these teachers were ignorant. This account of the law, he assures Timothy, was agreeable to the representation of it in the Gospel, with the preaching of which he was intrusted. (i. 3—11.) Having mentioned the Gospel, the apostle, in the fulness of his heart, makes a digression to express his gratitude to God in calling him, who had been a persecutor, to the Christian faith and ministerial office; and observes, that this favour was extended to him, though so unworthy, as an encouragement to all that should believe in every future age. (12—20.)

SECT. 2. Paul then proceeds to give Timothy particular instructions,

§ i. Concerning the manner in which divine worship was to be performed in the Ephesian church. (ii.)

---

[1] Hug, *in loc.*

[2] Cellérier, Introd. au Nouv. Test. p. 432.

§ ii. Concerning the qualifications of the persons whom he was to ordain bishops and deacons of that church. (iii.) [1]

§ iii. After foretelling the great corruptions which were to prevail in the church in future times (iv. 1—5.), the apostle instructs Timothy,

1. How to support the sacred character. (6—16.)
2. How to admonish aged men and women (v. 1, 2.), and in what manner he should treat widows (3—16.), elders (17—19.), and offenders. (20, 21.) Annexed are some instructions to Timothy himself. (22—24.)
3. Concerning the duties of slaves. (vi. 1, 2.)

SECT. 3. condemns trifling controversies and pernicious disputes, censures the excessive love of money, and charges the rich to be rich in good works. (vi. iii.—19.)

PART III. *The Conclusion.* (20, 21.)

V. Although the errors of the judaising teachers at Ephesus, which gave rise to St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy, have long disappeared, yet "the Epistles themselves are still of great use, as they serve to show the impiety of the principles from which these errors proceeded. For the same principles are apt in every age to produce errors and vices, which, though different in name from those which prevailed in Ephesus in the apostle's days, are precisely of the same kind, and equally pernicious.—These Epistles are likewise of great use in the church, as they exhibit to Christian bishops and deacons, in every age, the most perfect idea of the duties of their function; teach the manner in which these duties should be performed; describe the qualifications necessary in those who aspire to such holy and honourable offices, and explain the ends for which these offices were originally instituted, and are still continued in the church.

"The very same things, indeed, the apostle, about the same time, wrote to Titus in Crete; but more briefly, because he was an older and more experienced minister than Timothy. Nevertheless the repetition of these precepts and charges is not without its use to the church still, as it maketh us more deeply sensible of their great importance: not to mention that, in the Epistle to Titus, there are things peculiar to itself, which enhance its value. In short, the Epistles to Timothy and Titus, taken together, containing a full account of the qualifications and duties of the ministers of the Gospel, may be considered as a complete body of divinely-inspired *eccle-*

[1] In using this expression—*Great is the mystery of godliness* (iii. 16.), the apostle is generally supposed to allude to the heathen mysteries. As those mysteries have always a reference to some deity, this circumstance greatly favours—not to say, confirms—the common reading of this text, which has been so much controverted: for, if no mention had been made in this case of a God, such an omission would have maimed the apostle's description in a most essential point, and obscured the beauty of his fine allusion. (Brekell's Discourses, p. 424. note.) On the much litigated question respecting the reading of Θεός in 1 Tim. iii. 16. the reader will find a perspicuous statement of the evidence in Mr. Holden's Scripture Testimonies to the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ, pp. 181—188. There is an elaborate essay on this passage in the Christian Observer for 1809, vol. i. pp. 271—277. See also Dr. Berriman's Critical Dissertation on 1 Tim. iii. 16. 8vo. London, 1741. Velthusen's Observations on Various Subjects, pp. 49—104. 8vo. London, 1773. Dr. Hales's Treatise on Faith in the Holy Trinity, vol. ii. pp. 67—104., and Dr. Nolan's Inquiry into the Integrity of the Greek Vulgate, pp. 274—276. But the fullest view of the evidence, both external and internal, in favour of this reading, will be found in the Rev. Dr. Henderson's "Great Mystery of Godliness incontrovertible" (London, 1830). [On the other side reference may be made to Dr. Davidson's "Biblical Criticism," ii. 382—403., and Tregelles's "Account of the Printed Text," pp. 227—231.]

siastical canons, to be observed by the Christian clergy of all communions, to the end of the world.

"These Epistles, therefore, ought to be read frequently, and with the greatest attention, by those in every age and country, who hold sacred offices, or who have it in view to obtain them: not only that they may regulate their conduct according to the directions contained in them, but that, by meditating seriously on the solemn charges delivered to all the ministers of the Gospel, in the persons of Timothy and Titus, their minds may be strongly impressed with a sense of the importance of their function, and of the obligation which lieth on them to be faithful in discharging every duty belonging to it.

"It is of importance also to observe, that, in these Epistles, there are some explications of the Christian doctrines, and some displays of St. Paul's views and expectations as an apostle of Christ, which merit our attention. For if he had been, like many of the Greek philosophers, an hypocrite who held a double doctrine, one for the vulgar, and another for the learned; and if his secret views and expectations had been different from those which he publicly professed to the world, he would have given, without all doubt, some insinuation thereof in letters written to such intimate friends. Yet, throughout the whole of these Epistles, no discovery of that kind is made. The doctrine contained in them is the same with that taught in the Epistles designed for the inspection and direction of the church in general: and the views and hopes which he expresses are the same with those which he uniformly taught mankind to entertain. What stronger proofs can we desire of the apostle's sincerity and faithfulness than these?"[1]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. XI.

CHAP. XX.

ON THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

I. THAT Paul was a prisoner when he wrote the second Epistle to Timothy, is evident from i. 8. 12. 16. and ii. 9.; and that his imprisonment was in Rome appears from i. 17., and is universally admitted. But, whether he wrote it during his first imprisonment, recorded in Acts xxviii., or during a *second* imprisonment there, is a point that has been much disputed. The former opinion is advocated by Drs. Hammond, Lightfoot, Lardner, Hug, and Davidson; and the latter, by Drs. Benson, Macknight, and Paley, Bishop Tomline, Michaelis, Rosenmüller, Neander, and others. That the last-mentioned opinion is most correct, we think will appear from the following considerations:—

1. A collation of the Epistles to the Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon (which are known to have been written during St. Paul's *first* imprison-

[1] Dr. Macknight's Pref. to 1 Tim. sect. iv.

ment), with the second Epistle to Timothy, will show that this Epistle was not written during the time when those Epistles were written. In the former Epistles, the author confidently looked forward to his liberation from confinement, and his speedy departure from Rome. He tells the Philippians (ii. 24.), "I trust in the Lord that I also myself shall come shortly." Philemon he bids to prepare for him a lodging; "for I trust," says he, "that through your prayers I shall be given unto you." (ver. 22.) In the Epistle before us he holds a language extremely different: "I am now ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand. I have fought a good fight; I have finished my course; I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day." (iv. 6—8.)

Again, when the former Epistles were written from Rome, Timothy was with Paul; and he is joined with him in writing to the Colossians, the Philippians, and to Philemon. The present Epistle implies that he was absent. Further, in the former Epistles, Demas was with Paul at Rome: "Luke, the beloved physician, and Demas, greet you." In the Epistle now before us: "Demas hath forsaken me, having loved this present world, and is gone to Thessalonica." Once more: in the former Epistle, Mark was with Paul, and joins in saluting the Colossians. In the present Epistle, Timothy is ordered to bring him with him, "for he is profitable to me for the ministry." (iv. 11.)

2. The circumstances of Paul's imprisonment, as referred to in this Epistle, are widely different from the imprisonment related in Acts xxviii. 30, 31. Then he was permitted to dwell alone in his own hired house, and receive all who came to him, and publicly to preach the Gospel, being guarded only by a single soldier. But it appears from 2 Tim. i. 16—18., that the apostle was in *close* confinement, so that Onesiphorus, on his coming to Rome, had considerable difficulty in finding him out. And that crimes were now laid to his charge very different from those formerly alleged against him, appears from ii. 9.; where he says that he *suffers evil, even unto bonds, as a malefactor;* plainly implying that he was not only abridged of all liberty, but also that he was bound, hands and feet, in a close dungeon. Dr. Macknight thinks this was probably under the pretence that he was one of those Christians whom Nero accused of having set Rome on fire. Hence the word *malefactor* (κακοῦργος), which in this passage may mean that the apostle was treated as one of the worst of criminals.

3. The situation of Paul, when he wrote this Epistle, was extremely dangerous. This appears from 2 Tim. iv. 6, 7, 8. and from verse 16. where, at his first answer, all men forsook him. Further (verse 17.), *the Lord delivered him from the mouth of the lion*, or the cruelty of Nero. And in verse 18. he hopes *the Lord will deliver him from every evil work, by preserving him unto his heavenly kingdom.* This was totally different from the gentle treatment recorded in Acts xxviii, and shows that this Epistle was written at a later period than the two years' imprisonment mentioned by Luke.

4. It appears from 2 Tim. iv. 13. 20. that when the apostle wrote, he had lately been at Troas, Miletus, and Corinth. This was a different route from that described in the Acts. Also in 2 Tim. iv. 13. he desires Timothy to bring with him a cloak and some books which he had left at Troas. But in his journey to Italy in Acts xxvii. he did not come near Troas. It is true he visited that place on his way to Jerusalem. (Acts xx. 5—7.) But as this visit to Troas happened in the year 57, and the present Epistle was not written before the year 65, these articles were not then left there; for he would hardly have delayed sending for them for seven or eight years. He would rather have sent for them to Cæsarea, where he was in prison two years; or more early on his first coming to Rome.

5. When he wrote this Epistle, he had left Trophimus sick at Miletus. (iv. 20.) But this could not have happened on the journey to Jerusalem, because Trophimus was with St. Paul at Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 29.), and in his voyage from Cæsarea to Italy he did not touch at Miletus. It is obvious, contrary to Dr. Lardner's hypothesis, that the north wind would not suffer them to proceed further north from Cnidus along the coast of Asia. (Acts xxvii. 7.)

6. Paul says (2 Tim. iv. 20.) that Erastus stayed behind at Corinth. The apostle must therefore have passed through Corinth on that journey to Rome, after which he wrote this Epistle. But from Cæsarea to Italy, in Acts xxviii. he did not pass through Corinth. Dr. Lardner's two objections to this argument are not satis-

factory. For he says that Erastus stayed behind at Corinth when St. Paul left that city to go to Jerusalem, though Timothy, who was then with St. Paul, must have known that circumstance, but St. Paul only wished to remind him of it,—or he mentions his stay, because he was sent by Paul from Ephesus into Macedonia (Acts xix. 22.); and when Paul, going there also, returned to Asia Minor, he did not return with him, not being mentioned in Acts xx. 4.

The result of the preceding observations is, that this Epistle was written by Paul at Rome, and during an imprisonment different from that recorded in Acts xxviii. Paul appears to have been released from his confinement A. D. 63, and, after visiting several churches, returned to Rome early in 65; where, after being confined rather more than a year, it is generally agreed that he suffered martyrdom A. D. 66. Now, as the apostle requests Timothy to come to him before winter (2 Tim. iv. 21.), it is probable that this Epistle was written in the month of July or August A. D. 65.[1]

II. It is generally supposed that Timothy was at Ephesus when Paul wrote his second Epistle to him. This opinion is advocated by Drs. Lardner, Benson, and Macknight, but is opposed by Michaelis; who has shown that Timothy was most probably somewhere in Asia Minor when Paul sent this letter to him, because the apostle, towards the close of the first chapter, mentions several persons who dwelt in that region, and also because (2 Tim. iv. 13.) he requests Timothy to bring with him *the cloak, books, and parchments*, which he had left behind him at Troas; and because Troas does not lie in the route from Ephesus to Rome, to which city Timothy was desired to "make haste to come to him before winter." (iv. 21.) Michaelis concludes, therefore, that Paul, not knowing exactly where Timothy was, wrote to him this Epistle, which he intrusted to a safe person (whom Dr. Benson supposes to have been Tychicus) that was travelling into Asia Minor, with an order to deliver it to him wherever he might find him.[2]

III. The immediate design of Paul in writing this Epistle to Timothy, was to apprise him of the circumstances that had befallen him during his second imprisonment at Rome, and to request him to come to him before the ensuing winter. But, being uncertain whether he should live so long, he gave him in this letter a variety of advices, charges, and encouragements, for the faithful discharge of his ministerial functions, with the solemnity and affection of a dying parent; in order that, if he should be put to death before Timothy's arrival, the loss might in some measure be compensated to him by the instructions contained in this admirable Epistle. With this view, after expressing his affectionate concern for him, he exhorts him to stir up the gift which had been conferred upon him (2 Tim. i. 2—5.); not to be ashamed of the testimony of the Lord, nor of Paul's sufferings (6—16.); to hold fast the form of sound words, and to guard inviolable that good deposit of Gospel doctrine (i. 13, 14.), which he

[1] Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, pp. 303—305.; Calmet, Preface sur la seconde Epitre à Timothée; Macknight's Preface to 2 Tim. sect. i.; Dr. Benson's Preface to 2 Tim. pp. 501—517.; Michaelis's Introd. vol. iv. pp. 165—177.; Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 338—375.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 303—321.

[2] Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 161—164

was to commit to faithful men who should be able to teach others (ii. 1, 2.); to animate him to endure, with fortitude, persecutions for the sake of the Gospel (ii. 3—13.); to suppress and avoid logomachies (14. 23.); to approve himself a faithful minister of the word (15—22.); and to forewarn him of the perils of the last days, in consequence of wicked hypocritical seducers and enemies of the truth, who even then were beginning to rise in the church. These St. Paul admonishes Timothy to flee, giving him various cautions against them. (iii.)

IV. The Epistle therefore consists of three parts; viz.

PART I. *The Inscription.* (i. 1—5.)

PART II. *An Exhortation to Timothy,*

SECT. 1. To diligence, patience, and firmness in keeping the form of sound doctrine, in which is introduced an affecting prayer in behalf of Onesiphorus. (i. 2—18.)

SECT. 2. To fortitude under afflictions and persecutions, to deliver the uncorrupted doctrine of the Gospel to others, and to purity of life. (ii.)

SECT. 3. To beware of false teachers, who were predicted to arise in the last times (whose practices are described), to be constant in his profession of the Gospel, resting on the plenary authority of Holy Scripture, and to be diligent in his ministerial labours. (iii. iv. 1—8.)

PART III. *The Conclusion, containing the Apostle's Request to Timothy to come to him as soon as possible, together with various Salutations for the Brethren in Asia Minor.* (iv. 9—22.)

V. As this Epistle was written to St. Paul's most intimate friend, under the miseries of a gaol, and the near prospect of death, it may serve to exhibit the temper and character of the apostle, and to convince us that he was no deceiver, but sincerely believed the doctrines which he preached. "This excellent writing, therefore, will be read by the disciples of Christ, to the end of the world, with the highest satisfaction. And the impression which it must have on their minds will often be recollected by them with the greatest effect, for the confirmation of their faith in the Gospel, and their consolation under all the evils which their adherence to the Gospel may bring upon them."

"Imagine," says Dr. Benson, "a pious father, under sentence of death for his piety and benevolence to mankind, writing to a dutiful and affectionate son, that he might see and embrace him again before he left the world; particularly that he might leave with him his dying commands, and charge him to live and suffer as he had done;—and you will have the frame of the apostle's mind, during the writing of this whole Epistle."[1]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. XII.

[1] Preface to 2 Tim. p. 517.

CHAP. XXI.

ON THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

I. TITUS was a Greek (Dr. Benson thinks he was a native of Antioch in Syria), and one of Paul's early converts, who attended him to Jerusalem, A. D. 49, and afterwards travelled with him. (Tit. i. 4., Gal. ii. 1—3., Acts xv. 2.) Some years after this we find that Paul sent him to Corinth (2 Cor. xii. 18.), to investigate and report to him the state of the church in that city, and particularly to report what effect had been produced by his first Epistle to the Corinthians. The intelligence brought to the apostle by Titus afforded him the highest satisfaction, as it far exceeded all his expectations. (vii. 6—13.) And as Titus had expressed a particular regard for the Corinthians, the apostle thought proper to send him back again, with some others, to hasten the collection for the poor brethren in Judæa. (viii. 6.) After this we meet with no further notice of Titus; except that he is mentioned in this Epistle as having been with Paul in Crete (Tit. i. 5.), and 2 Tim. iv. 10. (shortly before that apostle's martyrdom) as being in Dalmatia. How highly he was esteemed by the great apostle of the Gentiles, is evident from the affectionate manner in which he has spoken of him to the Corinthians.[1] Whether Titus ever quitted Crete we know not: neither have we any certain information concerning the time, place, or manner, of his death.

II. We have no certain information when or by whom Christianity was first planted in Crete. As some Cretans were present at the first effusion of the Holy Spirit at Jerusalem (Acts ii. 11.), Bishop Tomline thinks it not improbable, that, on their return home, they might be the means of introducing the Gospel among their countrymen.[2] But Michaelis, Dr. Hales, and many other critics are of opinion that Christianity was first planted there by Paul, during the year and a half that he spent at Corinth, between the latter part of A. D. 51, and the former part of A. D. 53. It appears from 2 Cor. xii. 14. and xiii. 1. (according to the view taken by some), that the apostle did make an excursion during this interval, and returned to Corinth. In this excursion it is supposed that he made a voyage to Crete, in order to preach the Gospel there, and took Titus with him as an assistant, whom he left behind to regulate the concerns of that church. (Tit. i. 5.) Josephus informs us that there were many Jews[3] in this island at the time Paul wrote this Epistle to Titus; and the apostle seems to have considered them a more dangerous people than the Cretans themselves, who were formerly notorious for piracy, luxury, debauchery, and especially for lying. So infamous were they for their habitual practice of falsehood, that *κρητίζειν, to act like a Cretan,* was a proverbial term for *telling a lie.* With these vices they where charged by Epimenides, one of their own poets; and Paul has quoted him as expressing their true character. (Tit. i. 12.)

[1] See particularly 2 Cor. ii. 13., vii. 6, 7. 13—15., viii. 16—23. and xii. 18.
[2] Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. p. 446.
[3] Ant. Jud. lib. xvii. c. 12. § 1.; De Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 7. § 1. &c.

III. No date is so controverted as that of the Epistle to Titus. Michaelis, who thinks it was written soon after his supposed visit to Crete, is of opinion that, in the chronological arrangement of Paul's Epistles, it should be placed between the second Epistle to the Thessalonians (A. D. 52) and the first Epistle to the Corinthians (A. D. 57). Hug places it between the two Epistles to the Corinthians; Dr. Hales dates this Epistle in A. D. 52; Dr. Lardner in 56; Lord Barrington in 57; Dr. Benson and Bishop Tomline in 64; and Bishop Pearson, Drs. Whitby and Paley, and the Bible chronology in A. D. 65. The subscription states this Epistle to have been written from Nicopolis of Macedonia, probably because St. Paul desired to meet him at a city called Nicopolis, but which could not be the place intended by the author of the subscription; for the Nicopolis referred to by him was situated on the river Nessus in Thrace, and was not built till *after* this period by the emperor Trajan. As Luke is totally silent concerning St. Paul's preaching at Crete, though he has noticed that he touched at the Fair Havens in his first voyage to Rome, it is most probable that this Epistle was written after his liberation from his first imprisonment, A. D. 64. [See the added note.] And this opinion is strengthened by the verbal harmony subsisting between the first Epistle to Timothy and the letter to Titus; which cannot be naturally accounted for, but by supposing that they were both written about the same time, and while the same ideas and phrases were present to the writer's mind. Among other instances that might be adduced, compare 1 Tim. i. 1—3. with Tit. i. 4, 5.; 1 Tim. i. 4. with Tit. i. 14.; 1 Tim. iv. 12. with Tit. ii. 7. 15., and 1 Tim. iii. 2—4. with Tit. i. 6—8.[1] The genuineness and authenticity of the Epistle to Titus were never questioned till subjective criticism sought to set aside evidence.[2]

[There appear to be many difficulties in the way of ascribing this Epistle to a date subsequent to the release of the apostle from his Roman imprisonment. It rather seems as if it belonged to a time not very much removed from that in which 1 Tim. was written. It *must* have been subsequent to the time mentioned in the end of Acts xviii. and the beginning of Acts xix., as is shown by the mention of Apollos. It seems probable to the present editor, that St. Paul's visit to Crete took place *between* the time when Luke leaves him (Acts xviii. 23.) and when he speaks of him in xix. 1. as reaching Ephesus after "having passed through the upper coasts." This leaves abundant room for many journeyings, such as a visit to Crete, and leaving Titus there, and then wintering at Nicopolis. Dr. Davidson, in his "Introduction," discusses the theories on this subject very fully.]

IV. Titus having been left in Crete to settle the churches in the several cities of that island according to the apostolical plan, Paul

[1] Calmet, Preface sur l'Epitre de S. Paul à Tite; Dr. Benson's Preface to his Paraphrase and Commentary on this Epistle; Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 320—324.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 294—296.; Michaelis's Introd. vol. iv. pp. 29—41.; Hug's Introd. vol. ii. §§ 95—97.; Dr. Macknight's Preface to Titus.

[2] It is cited or alluded to by all the fathers who have quoted the two Epistles to Timothy. See the references to them in p. 551. *supra*.

wrote this Epistle to him, that he might discharge his ministry among the Cretans with the greater success, and to give him particular instructions concerning his behaviour towards the judaising teachers, who endeavoured to pervert the faith and disturb the peace of the Christian church. The Epistle, therefore, consists of three parts.

PART I. *The Inscription.* (i. 1—4.)

PART II. *Instructions to Titus,*

SECT. 1. concerning the appointment of elders or bishops, and deacons, whose qualifications are enumerated. (5—9.) Further, to show Titus how cautious he ought to be in selecting men for such offices, Paul reminds him of the acts of the judaising teachers. (10—16.)

SECT. 2. That he should accommodate his exhortations to the respective ages, sexes, and circumstances of those whom he was commissioned to instruct; and, to give the greater weight to his instructions, he admonishes him to be an example of what he taught. (ii.)

SECT. 3. That he should inculcate obedience to the civil magistrate, in opposition to the Jews and judaising teachers, who, being averse from all civil governors, except such as were of their own nation, were apt to imbue Gentile Christians with a like seditious spirit, as if it were an indignity for the people of God to obey an idolatrous magistrate; and also that he should enforce gentleness to all men. (iii. 1—7.)

SECT. 4. That he should enforce good works, avoid foolish questions, and shun heretics. (iii. 8—11.)

PART III. *An Invitation to Titus, to come to the Apostle at Nicopolis, together with various Directions.* (iii. 12—15.)

V. From a comparison of the Epistle of Titus with the two Epistles to Timothy, we may learn much as to the practical character of Christian life and service in the apostolic age, the dangers and difficulties which had to be met, and the special Christian truths which met the varied circumstances.

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. XIII.

CHAP. XXII.

ON THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

I. PHILEMON was an inhabitant of Colossæ, as appears from Paul's mentioning Onesimus in his Epistle to the Colossians (iv. 9.) as *one of them*, and also from his saluting Archippus in this Epistle (ver. 2.), who appears from Col. iv. 17. to have been a pastor of that church. Philemon seems to have been a person of great worth as a man, and

of some note as a citizen in his own country. He was likewise able *by the communication of his faith*, that is, by his beneficence, to refresh the bowels of the saints. (6, 7.) According to Grotius, Philemon was an elder of Ephesus; Beausobre and Dr. Doddridge suppose him to have been one of the ministers of the Colossian church; and from Paul's requesting him (22.) to provide a lodging for him at Colossæ, Michaelis thinks that he was a deacon of that church. These opinions appear to have been founded on the inscription of this Epistle, where Paul calls him a fellow-labourer. But this appellation, Drs. Whitby, Lardner, and Macknight have remarked, is of ambiguous signification; being given not only to those who were employed in preaching the Gospel, but also to such pious individuals, of either sex, as assisted the apostles in any manner.[1]

Philemon was, most probably, a converted Gentile, and from the nineteenth verse of this Epistle, some have supposed that he was converted under the ministry of Paul; but, from the apostle's saying in the fifth verse that he had *heard* of Philemon's faith in Christ (which was his usual phrase when writing to Christians whom he had never seen[2]), Dr. Benson is of opinion that, during Paul's long stay at Ephesus, some of the Colossians had gone thither, and heard him preach the Christian doctrine (Acts xix. 10., xx. 31.); or that the apostle had sent some of his assistants who had planted the Gospel at Colossæ. If St. Paul had not come into those parts of Asia Minor, it is highly probable that Philemon would never have become a Christian; the apostle might therefore well say, that Philemon owed unto him himself, or his own soul: though the opinion that he was converted by St. Paul himself seems the more probable.

II. It appears from verses 1. 10. 13. and 23. of this Epistle, that Paul was under confinement when he wrote it; and as he expresses (22.) his expectation of being shortly released, it is probable that it was written during his first imprisonment at Rome towards the end of A. D. 62, or early in 63; and was sent, together with the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians, by Tychicus and Onesimus.

III. So early as the time of Jerome, some fastidious critics showed an inclination to expunge this Epistle from the sacred canon, as being a private letter, and consequently of very little importance to the Christian church. Unquestionably the apostles might (and, for aught we know to the contrary, did) write *private* letters as well as other persons. But we have no reason to consider the Epistle to Philemon in this light; it was wholly written with the apostle's *own* hand, which was much more than what he called the *token in all his Epistles*. (2 Thess. iii. 17.) Although from its brevity, and the private nature of its subject, it was but rarely mentioned by the primitive ecclesiastical writers, yet we know that it was alluded to, though not cited by name, by Tertullian[3], and was reckoned among St. Paul's Epistles by Caius.[4] It was likewise most expressly

[1] See instances of this in Rom. xvi. 8. and 3 John 8.
[2] See Eph. i. 15.; Col. i. 4. and ii. 1.
[3] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 465.; 4to. vol. i. p. 424.
[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 274.; 4to. vol. i. p. 482.

quoted by Origen[1], and was pronounced to be authentic by all the ancient writers cited by Eusebius[2], and also by all subsequent ecclesiastical writers; and it has always been inserted in every catalogue of the books of the New Testament. Stronger external testimony to the authenticity of any part of the Bible exists not, than that which we have for the Epistle to Philemon, the argument of which is not mean, nor is any part of it unworthy of the great apostle of the Gentiles.

"Whoever," says Dr. Benson, "will carefully study it, will discern a great number of the doctrines and precepts of Christianity expressed or insinuated: for instance, 1. In a religious view, or upon a spiritual account, all Christians are upon a level. Onesimus, the slave, upon becoming a Christian, is the apostle's dear son and Philemon's brother. 2. Christianity makes no alteration in men's civil's affairs. By Christian baptism a slave did not become a freedman; his temporal estate or condition was still the same; and, though Onesimus was the apostle's son, and Philemon's brother, upon a religious account, yet he was obliged to be Philemon's slave for ever, unless his master voluntarily gave him his freedom. 3. Servants should not be taken or detained from their own masters without their master's consent. (See ver. 13, 14.) 4. We should love and do good unto all men. We should not contemn persons of low estate, nor disdain to help the meanest slave when it is in our power. The apostle has here set us an example of benevolence, condescension, and Christian charity, which it well becomes us to follow. He took pains with and converted a slave, and in a most affectionate and earnest manner interceded with his master for his pardon. 5. We should not utterly despair of those who are wicked, but should use our best endeavours to reclaim them. Though Onesimus had robbed his master, and run away from him, the apostle attempted his conversion among others, and succeeded therein. 6. Restitution is due where an injury has been done, unless the injured party freely forgive: accordingly, the apostle Paul gives a promise, under his own hand, for Onesimus's making restitution as a matter of justice, if Philemon insisted upon it. 7. We should be grateful to our benefactors. This St. Paul touches upon very gently (ver. 19.), where he intimates to Philemon that he owed unto him himself also; and, therefore, in point of gratitude, he was obliged to grant his request. 8. We should forgive the penitent, and be heartily reconciled to them. 9. The apostle's example teaches us to do all we can to make up quarrels and differences, and reconcile those who are at variance. 10. A wise man chooses sometimes to address in a soft and obliging manner, even in cases where there is authority to command. 11. The bishops and pastors of the Christian church, and all teachers of religion, have here the most glorious example set before them, to induce them to have a most tender regard to the souls of men of all ranks and conditions; and to endeavour to convert a slave, as well as the rich and great and

[1] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii p. 472.; 4to. vol. i. p. 535.
[2] Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 25.

honourable of the earth. He who disdained not to teach a slave, a fugitive, and a thief, but preached the doctrine of salvation to him, and took pains with him, till he had restored him to his master, an honest worthy man; — how disinterested must he have been? To whom would he not condescend? or whose salvation and happiness would he not endeavour to promote? Would to God there was the same spirit in all the teachers of Christianity, at all times and in all places! 12. Here is a most glorious proof of the good effects of Christianity, where it is rightly understood and sincerely embraced. It transforms a worthless slave and thief into a pious, virtuous, amiable, and useful man; makes him not only happier and better in himself, but a better servant, and better in all relations and circumstances whatever.

"Shall an Epistle, so full of useful and excellent instructions, be rejected for its brevity? or because the occasion required that it should be written concerning one particular person? or addressed to a private man? Men would do well to examine it carefully before they reject it, or speak of it so slightly."[1]

IV. We learn from this Epistle that Onesimus was the slave of Philemon, whom he had perhaps robbed[2], and ran away from him as far as Rome. Whether he repented of what he had done, and voluntarily went to Paul, or in what other manner they came to meet there, we have no information. But the apostle, during his confinement *in his own hired house*, opened a way to the heart of the rude slave, converted him to the Christian faith, and baptized him. It also appears that Paul kept Onesimus with him for some time, to wait upon himself, until Onesimus, by his conduct, confirmed the truth and sincerity of his conversion. During his abode with the apostle, he served him with the greatest assiduity and affection: but, being sensible of his fault in running away from his master, he wished to repair that injury by returning to him. At the same time being afraid lest, on his return, his master should inflict upon him the punishment which by the law or custom of Phrygia was due to a fugitive slave[3], he entreated Paul to write to Philemon in his behalf, and requested him to forgive and receive him again into his family. The apostle therefore wrote this Epistle to Philemon, "in which, with the greatest softness of expression, warmth of affection, and delicacy of address, he not only interceded for Onesimus's pardon, but urged Philemon to esteem him and put confidence in him as a sincere Christian. And because restitution, by repairing the injury that has been done, restores the person who did the injury to the character which he had lost, the apostle, to enable Onesimus to appear in Philemon's family with some degree of reputation, bound himself in this Epistle by his hand-writing, not only to repay all that Onesi-

[1] Dr. Benson's History of the First Planting of Christianity, vol. ii. p. 311. 2d edit.

[2] Macknight and Lardner are of opinion that St. Paul's expression in the eighteenth verse does not insinuate that Onesimus had *robbed* his master of anything but his service; but the expression is only hypothetical.

[3] Grotius informs us that masters had a power to torture their slaves who behaved ill, and even to put them to death, without applying to the magistrate; and that this was agreeable not only to the Roman but also to the Grecian law.

mus owed to Philemon, but to make full reparation also to Philemon for whatever injury he had done to him by running away."[1] To account for the solicitude expressed by Paul in this Epistle in order to obtain Onesimus's pardon, and procure a thorough reconciliation, it is not necessary to suppose, with some critics, that Philemon was keen and obstinate in his resentments, or of that rough and intractable disposition for which the Phrygians were proverbial. The contrary is insinuated by the apostle, who has in other places commended his benevolence and charity. It is most probable, as Dr. Macknight has conjectured, that Philemon had a number of slaves, on whom the pardoning of Onesimus too easily might have had a bad effect; and therefore he might judge some punishment necessary as an example to the rest. At least Paul could not have considered the pardoning of Onesimus as an affair that merited so much earnest entreaty, with a person of Philemon's piety, benevolence, and gratitude, unless he had suspected him to have entertained some such intention.

V. Whether Philemon pardoned or punished Onesimus, is a circumstance concerning which we have no information. From the earnestness with which the apostle solicited his pardon, and from the generosity of Philemon's disposition, the critic above cited conjectures that he actually pardoned Onesimus, and even gave him his freedom, in compliance with the apostle's insinuation, as it is interpreted by some, *that he would do more than he had asked.* It seems as though the apostle would let readers in future ages *understand* this to be the natural result of his request. It was no uncommon thing, in ancient times, to bestow freedom on those slaves whose faithful services had procured for them the esteem and good will of their masters. The primitive Christians preserving this Epistle, and placing it in the sacred canon (Dr. Benson remarks), are strong arguments to induce us to believe that Philemon granted the apostle's request, and received Onesimus into his house and favour again. As Onesimus was particularly recommended by St. Paul to the notice of the Colossians (iv. 9.), it cannot be doubted that they cheerfully received him into their church. In the Apostolical Constitutions[2], Onesimus is said to have been bishop of Berœa; but they are a compilation of the fourth century, and consequently of no authority. When Ignatius wrote his Epistle to the Ephesians (A. D. 107)[3], their bishop's name was Onesimus; and Grotius thought that he was the person for whom St. Paul interceded. But this, as Dr. Lardner[4] remarks, is not certain. Dr. Mill[5] has mentioned a MS., at the conclusion of which it is said that Onesimus suffered martyrdom at Rome by having his legs broken.

The whole of this Epistle is indeed a most beautiful composition. Such deference and respect for Philemon, such affection and concern for Onesimus, such distant but just insinuation, such true feeling and

[1] Macknight's Preface to Philemon, sect. 2.

[2] Lib. viii. c. 46.

[3] This passage is contained in the Ignatian Epistles even in their shortest form: see Cureton's Corpus Ignatianum, pp. 17, 18.; and for the English Translation, pp. 229.

[4] Works, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 381.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 324.

[5] Nov. Test. Millii et Kusteri, p. 513.

fine address pervade the whole, that this alone might be sufficient to convince us that Paul was not unacquainted with the world, and was not that weak and visionary enthusiast which the enemies of revelation have sometimes represented him to be. It is, indeed, impossible to peruse this admirable Epistle without being touched with the delicacy of sentiment and the masterly address that appear in every part of it. We see here, in a most striking light, how perfectly consistent true politeness is, not only with all the warmth and sincerity of the friend, but even with the dignity of the Christian and the apostle. Every word has its force and propriety. With what dignity and authority does Paul entreat, though a prisoner! With what condescension and humility does he command, though an apostle! And if this letter were to be considered in no other point of view than as a mere human composition, it must be allowed to be a masterpiece in its kind. As an illustration of this remark, it may not be improper to compare it with an Epistle of the younger Pliny[1], that seems to have been written on a similar occasion; which, though composed by one who has always been reckoned to excel in the epistolary style, and though it undoubtedly has many beauties, yet it must be acknowledged by every impartial reader to be vastly inferior to this animated composition of the apostle. Pliny seems desirous of saying something; the apostle has urged every thing that can be said upon the occasion. Pliny is too affected to be affecting; the apostle takes possession of our heart, and excites our compassion whether we will or not.[2]

On the *undesigned coincidences* between this Epistle and the Acts of the Apostles, see Dr. Paley's Horæ Paulinæ, Chap. XIV.

CHAP. XXIII.

ON THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

I. AFTER the thirteen Epistles avowedly written by Paul, with his name prefixed to them, succeeds what we call the Epistle to the Hebrews; the nature and authorship of which has been more controverted, perhaps, than any other book of the New Testament. As the initiatory formula usual in the other apostolical letters is wanting in this Epistle (notwithstanding the superscription terms it *the Epistle to the Hebrews*), it has been questioned whether it was really an Epistle sent to a particular community, or only a discourse or dissertation intended for general readers. Michaelis determines that it *is* an Epistle, and remarks that not only the second person plural *ye* incessantly occurs in it, which alone indeed would be no proof, but also that the author alludes to special circumstances in this writing,

[1] Lib. ix. ep. 21.

[2] Doddridge, Introd. to Philemon.

in chapters v. 11, 12., vi. 9., x. 32—34., and above all in chapter xiii. 23, 24., which contains the promise of a visit, and various salutations; all which circumstances taken together show that it really is an apostolical Epistle.

Who the Hebrews were, to whom this letter was addressed, learned men are by no means agreed. Sir Isaac Newton was of opinion that by "the Hebrews" in this Epistle we are to understand those Jewish believers who had left Jerusalem a short time before its destruction, and were now dispersed throughout Asia Minor[1]; but of this we have no authentic record. Others again have imagined that it was addressed to the Hebrew Christians in Spain, Galatia, Macedonia, or at Corinth or Rome, or to those who resided in Palestine. Clement of Alexandria, Jerome, Euthalius, Chrysostom, Theodoret, Theophylact, and other Fathers, were of opinion that the Epistle to the Hebrews was sent to the converted Jews living in Judæa; who in the apostle's days were called Hebrews, to distinguish them from the Jews in the Gentile countries, who were called Hellenists or Grecians. (Acts vi. 1., ix. 29., xi. 20.) The opinion of these learned Fathers is adopted by Beza, Louis Cappel, Carpzov, Drs. Lightfoot, Whitby, Mill, Lardner, and Macknight, Bishops Pearson and Tomline, Hallet, Rosenmüller, Hug, Scott, and others. Michaelis considers it as written for the use of the Jewish Christians at Jerusalem and in Palestine; and Professor Stuart[2], (who is followed by M. La Harpe[3],) that it was directed to Hebrews in Palestine, and probably to the church at Cæsarea. The very ancient opinion that it was addressed to Jews in the Holy Land, and more especially at Jerusalem, is corroborated by the contents of the Epistle itself, in which we meet with many things peculiarly suitable to the believers in Judæa.

1. It is evident, from the whole tenor of this Epistle, that amongst the persons to whom it was addressed, some were in imminent danger of falling back from Christianity to Judaism, induced partly by some peculiar oppositions, and partly by the false arguments of the rabbins. This could hardly have happened to several communities at the same time in any other country than Palestine, and, therefore, we cannot suppose it of several communities of Asia Minor, to which, in the opinion of some commentators, the Epistle was addressed. Christianity at this time enjoyed, from the tolerating spirit of the Roman laws and the Roman magistrates, throughout the empire in general, so much religious liberty, that out of Palestine it would have been difficult to have effected a general persecution.[4] But, through the influence of the Jewish sanhedrin in Jerusalem, the Christians in that country underwent several severe persecutions, especially during the high priest-

[1] Observations on the Apocalypse of St. John, p. 244.

[2] Stuart's Comm. on the Epistle to the Hebrews, vol. i. pp. 67—73. (Andover, N. Am. 1827.) In pp. 8—67. he has discussed the various hypotheses of Dr. Storr, who supposes it to have been written to the Hebrew church at Galatia; of Noesselt, who considered it as addressed to the church at Thessalonica; of Bolten, who imagined that it was directed to Hebrews who were sojourners in Asia Minor; of Michael Weber, who advanced and endeavoured to support the opinion that it was addressed to the church at Corinth; and of the ancients (whose opinion he adopts), that this Epistle was written to the Hebrew Church in Palestine.

[3] La Harpe, Essai Critique sur l'Authenticité de l'Epitre aux Hebreux, p. 136. (Toulouse, 1832.)

[4] This is evident from the Acts of the Apostles. See also Lardner's Credibility, chap. vii. (Works, 8vo. vol. i. pp. 164—201.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 90—110.)

hood of the younger Ananus, when St. James and other Christians suffered martyrdom.

2. Further, if we examine the Epistles of St. Paul, especially those to the Ephesians, Philippians, and Colossians, and compare them with the two Epistles of St. Peter, which were addressed to the Christians in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia, we shall find, though mention is made of seducers, not the smallest traces of imminent danger of an apostasy to Judaism, and still less of blasphemy against Christ, as we find in the sixth and tenth chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The passages of this Epistle which relate to this subject are peculiarly adapted to the situation of communities in Palestine; and it is difficult to read these passages without inferring that several Christians had really apostatised and openly blasphemed Christ; for it appears from Acts xxvi. 11. that violent measures were taken in Palestine for this very purpose, of which we meet with no traces in any other country at that early age. Neither the Epistles of St. Paul, nor those of St. Peter, furnish any instance of a public renunciation of Christianity and return to Judaism: and yet, if any such instances had happened in the communities to which they wrote, these apostles would hardly have passed them over in silence, or without cautioning other persons against following such examples. The circumstance, likewise, to which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews alludes (x. 25.), that several, who still continued Christians, forsook the places of public worship, does not occur in any other Epistle, and implies a general and continued persecution, which deterred the Christians from an open confession of their faith.

The Jews at Jerusalem had before their eyes the ordinances of the Law of Moses and the services of the Temple continually displayed; and to them there was a special danger lest they should turn back in heart, feeling, or practice to those ordinances, the typical purport of which had been fully answered in the one offering of our Lord.

3. From ch. xii. 7. we may see that *peculiar* suffering seemed to impend over those who were addressed. If this inference be just, and if persecution be specially contemplated, the Hebrews, to whom this Epistle was written, seem to have been inhabitants of Palestine; for in no other part of the Roman empire, before the year 65, had the enemies of Christianity the power of persecuting its professors in such a manner as to deprive them of their lives, because no Roman court of justice would have condemned a man to death merely for religious opinions; and the pretence of the Jews, that whoever acknowledged Jesus for the Messiah was guilty of treason against the emperor, was too sophistical to be admitted by a Roman magistrate. But, in Palestine, Stephen and the elder James had already suffered martyrdom (Acts vii. xiii.); both St. Peter and St. Paul had been in imminent danger of undergoing the same fate (Acts xii. 3—6., xxiii. 11—21. 26. 30.); and, according to Josephus[1], several other persons were put to death, during the high-priesthood of the younger Ananus, about the year 64 or 65.[2]

4. The declarations in Heb. i. 2. and iv. 12., and particularly the exhortation in ii. 1—4., are peculiarly suitable to the believers of Judæa, where Jesus Christ himself first taught, and his disciples after him, confirming their testimony with very numerous and conspicuous miracles.

5. The people to whom this Epistle was sent were well acquainted with our Saviour's sufferings, as those of Judæa must have been. This appears in Heb. i. 3.; ii. 9. 18.; v. 7, 8.; ix. 14. 28.: x. 12.; xii. 2, 3.; and xiii. 12.

6. The censure in v. 12. is most properly understood of Christians in Jerusalem and Judæa, to whom the Gospel was first preached.

---

[1] Ant. Jud. lib. xx. c. 9. § 1. The words of Josephus are as follow:—"The younger Ananus, who had obtained the office of high-priest, was a man of desperate character, of the sect of the Sadducees, who, as I have observed in other places, were in general severe in their punishments. This Ananus embraced the opportunity of acting according to his inclination, after the death of Festus, and before the arrival of his successor Albinus. In this interval he constituted a court of justice, and brought before it James, a brother of Jesus, who was called Christ, and several others, where they were accused of having violated the law, and were condemned to be stoned to death. But the more moderate part of the city, and they who strictly adhered to the law, disapproved highly of this measure."

[2] Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 193—197.

7. Lastly, the exhortation in Heb. xiii. 12—14. is very difficult to be explained, on the supposition that the Epistle was written to Hebrews who lived out of Palestine; for neither in the Acts of the Apostles, nor in the other Epistles, do we meet with an instance of expulsion from the synagogue merely for a belief in Christ; on the contrary, the apostles themselves were permitted to teach openly in the Jewish assemblies. But if we suppose that the Epistle was written to Jewish converts in Jerusalem, this passage becomes perfectly clear, and, Dr. Lardner observes, must have been very suitable to their case, especially if it was written only a short time before the commencement of the Jewish war, about the year 65 or 66. The Christians, on this supposition, are exhorted to endure their fate with patience if they should be obliged to retire, or should even be ignominiously expelled from Jerusalem, since Christ himself had been forced out of this very city, and had suffered without its walls. It was a city devoted to destruction, and they who fled from it had to expect a better in heaven. The disciples of Christ had been already warned by their Master to flee from Jerusalem (Luke xxi. 20, 21.), and the time assigned for their flight could, when this Epistle was written, be not far distant. That they actually followed his advice appears from the relation of Eusebius[1]; and, according to Josephus[2], the most sensible inhabitants of Jerusalem took similar measures after the retreat of Cestius Gallus, which happened in November 66, and likewise left the city. If we suppose, therefore, that the Epistle was written to the Hebrews of Jerusalem, the passage in question is clear; but on the hypothesis that it was written to Hebrews, who lived in any other place, the words, "*Let us go forth with him out of the camp, bearing his reproach*," lose this meaning.

This exhortation, regarded in another point of view, has a special force when addressed to Christian Jews in Jerusalem. They are called on to take their place in separation from that ordered system of ritual religion which God *no longer* owned; and in this connection we may see the importance of the teaching respecting a *heavenly* sanctuary, a High Priest *above*, *one* finished sacrifice, &c.

To these clear and decisive evidences, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was addressed to Jewish Christians resident in Palestine, it has been objected,

1. That the words in Heb. xii. 4. (*ye have not resisted unto blood, combating against sin,*) cannot apply to the church of Jerusalem, where there had already been two martyrs, viz. Stephen and James. But this objection is of no weight, if it was to the *people* of that church alone this Epistle was directed, and not to the *rulers;* and few, if any, of the common people had hitherto been put to death, though they had been imprisoned, pillaged, and defamed. Compare Acts viii. 1—3. xxvi. 10, 11., and 1 Thess. ii. 14. James, too, may have not yet suffered, and Stephen belonged almost to a former generation.

2. That the remark in Heb. vi. 10. (*God is not unrighteous to forget your work and labour of love, in that ye have ministered to the saints, and do minister,*) is not suitable to the state of the church at Jerusalem, at that time, because, though the members of that church at *first* were in a state of affluence, when they had all things in common, yet afterwards they became so poor that they were relieved by the contributions of the Gentile Christians in Macedonia, Galatia, Corinth, and Antioch. There is, however, no force in this objection. Ministering to the saints in those days did not consist solely in helping them with money. Attending on them in their imprisonment—rendering them any little offices of which they stood in need—speaking to them in a kind and consolatory manner—these and such other services as may be performed without money were, and still are, as much ministering to the saints as affording them pecuniary aid. And, doubtless, the members of the church at Jerusalem ministered in that manner to one another in their afflictions. But, though the generality of the members of that church were reduced to poverty by the sufferings they had sustained, yet in all probability there were some among them in better circumstances who might have deserved the com-

[1] Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 25.

[2] Bell. Jud. lib. ii. c. 20. § 1.

mendation, that they *had administered and did minister to the saints*, by giving them a share of their worldly goods.[1]

Upon a review, therefore, of all the circumstances, we shall be justified in adopting the opinion of the ancient church, that this Epistle was addressed to Hebrew Christians in Palestine; but it is (as Michaelis has observed) a question of little or no importance, whether it was sent to Jerusalem alone, or to any other city in Palestine; because an Epistle, intended for the use of Jewish converts at Jerusalem, must equally have concerned the other Jewish converts in that country.[2]

II. The next question concerning this Epistle relates to the LANGUAGE in which it was written. On this subject there have been two principal opinions; one, that it was originally written in Hebrew, and translated into Greek by Luke or Barnabas; and the other, that it was written in Greek. The former opinion is entertained by the Fathers, Clement of Alexandria, Euthalius, Theodoret, Theophylact, Jerome, and (as some have supposed) Origen, and also by Bahrdt, Michaelis, and others among the moderns. The latter opinion — that it was originally composed in Greek — is held by Fabricius, Beausobre, Cappel, Owen, Basnage, Mill, Leusden, Pictet, Wetstein, Braunius, Heidegger, Van Til, Calmet, Carpzov, Pritius, Moldenhawer, Lardner, Doddridge, Macknight, Rosenmüller, Rumpæus, Viser, Alber, Bishop Tomline, Dr. Hales, Professor Stuart, and, we believe, by almost every modern commentator and critic who has treated on this book.

The arguments for the Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic original of this Epistle may be reduced to the two following: —

1. As this Epistle was written for the use of Hebrew Christians, it was proper that it should be written in their own language. To this argument, it has been replied, *first*, That if it was proper that the apostle should write to them in the Hebrew tongue, it must have been equally proper for him to write his letter to the Romans in their own language; yet we know that St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans was not written in Latin, the language of Rome, but in Greek: nay, that all his Epistles, and those of the other apostles, were written in Greek, and not in the languages of the churches and persons to whom they were addressed. *Secondly*, the Apostolical Epistles being intended for the use of the whole Christian world in every age, as well as for the persons to whom they were sent, it was more proper that they should be written in Greek than in any provincial dialect; because the Greek language was then universally understood. The arguments adduced to show that Greek was the original language of the New Testament generally, are equally applicable to prove that the Epistle to the Hebrews was never written in Hebrew.

2. It is objected, that this Epistle has been originally written in Hebrew, because its Greek style is superior to that of St. Paul's other Epistles. To which Rosenmüller, after Carpzov, has replied by observing, that the difference in style may be readily accounted for, by considering, that this was one of the apostle's last Epistles, and that from his extensive intercourse with men of various ranks and conditions, during his numerous journeys, "Paul the aged" would naturally write in a different style from Paul when a young man. To this remark we may add, that there are such coincidences of expression between this Epistle and St. Paul's other letters, which were in Greek, as plainly show that he was its author, and consequently did not write it in Hebrew; but as this topic is discussed more at length in a subsequent page we proceed to remark, that, as the Syriac version of this Epistle was made from the *Greek* in an early age, it is evident that no Hebrew original was

[1] Macknight's Preface to the Epistle to the Hebrews, sect. 2. § 1.
[2] Michaelis, Introd. vol. iv. p. 193.

then current; and consequently that Michaelis's hypothesis, respecting the blunders committed by the supposed translator, has no foundation whatever. Again, the Epistle is said to have been translated by Clement of Rome, but where or when, we are not informed. Was this translation executed in Italy before it was sent to the Hebrews? If so, what purpose could be answered by writing it in Hebrew when it was only to be used in Greek? Was it sent in Hebrew before the supposed translation? In what language was it communicated to others by the Christians who first received it? And if all the first copies of it were dispersed in Hebrew, how came they to be so utterly lost, that no authentic report or tradition concerning them, or any one of them, ever remained: besides, if it were translated by Clement in the West, and that translation alone were preserved, how came it to pass, that it was so well known and generally received in the East before the Western churches received it into their canon of Scripture? This tradition, therefore, respecting its translation by Clement, is every way groundless and improbable. That it was not translated by Clement is certain; for he has himself misunderstood chap. xi. 5.

Independently of the preceding considerations, which show that the Epistle to the Hebrews was never extant in the Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic dialect, the Epistle itself furnishes us with decisive and positive evidence that it was originally written in the language in which it is now extant.

1. In the first place, the style of this Epistle, throughout, manifests that it is no translation. It has altogether the air of an original. There is nothing of the constraint of a translator, nor do we meet with those Hebraisms which occur so constantly in the Septuagint version.[1]

2. Hebrew names are interpreted: as *Melchizedeck* by *King of Righteousness* (vii. 2.), and *Salem* by *Peace*, which interpretation would have been superfluous if the Epistle had been written in Hebrew. If this Epistle be a translation, and not an original, because the interpretation of a few words is added, we may with equal propriety affirm that St. Paul wrote his Epistles to the Galatians and Romans in Hebrew, because he has added the interpretation of the Syriac word *Abba*, — father (Rom. viii. 15., Gal. iv. 6.), or that John wrote his Gospel in Hebrew, because (i. 47., xx. 16.) he has explained the meaning of the Hebrew word Rabboni. The same remark may be extended to the other three Evangelists, all of whom, we have seen, wrote in Greek, as the whole current of Christian antiquity also attests. A further proof that the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Greek, and consequently was not a translation, is, that the argument of the author is founded on the interpretation which he has given us of the words above cited.

3. The passages cited from the Old Testament in this Epistle, are not quoted from the Hebrew but from the Septuagint, where that sufficiently represented the Hebrew text. Frequently the stress of the argument taken from such quotations relies on something peculiar in that version, which could not possibly have taken place if the Epistle had been written in Hebrew. And in a few instances, where the Septuagint did not fully render the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, the author of the Epistle has substituted translations of his own, from which he argues

[1] The numerous paronomasias, or occurrences of words of like sound, but which cannot be rendered in English with due effect, that are to be found in this Epistle, have been urged as a clear proof that it is not a translation. See instances of such paronomasias in Hebrews v. 8. 14., vii. 3. 19. 22., ix. 10., x. 34., xi. 37., and xiii. 14. (Gr.) But of these paranomasias, Prof. Stuart observes that the instance from Heb. x. 34. is the only one which appears to betray any marks of design; and even here the marks are by no means of a decisive nature. "If they are altogether accidental, they may have occurred in the Epistle to the Hebrews, even if its present language is merely that of a *translation*. In fact, even designed paronomasias may, not unfrequently, occur in a translation. The argument in favour of the Greek being the original language of the Epistle to the Hebrews built on such instances of paranomasia as those above cited (where, in most" examples "it is a mere homophony of like tenses or cases,) is too uncertain and too slender to be rested on, as a proper support of the opinion in question." Stuart's Comm. on the Hebrews, vol. i. p. 282.

in the same manner, whence it is manifest that this Epistle never was extant in Hebrew.[1]

Independently of these (we think indisputable and positive) arguments for the Greek original of the Epistle to the Hebrews, which Michaelis has attempted to answer, but without success, the hypothesis that it was written in Hebrew is attended with several difficulties, and particularly the two following:—

1. That at the time the author (Paul, as is shown in a subsequent page,) could not determine in what dialect he should write to the Hebrews, which they might all understand; for the pure Hebrew then existed in the Old Testament, though it was not in popular use. Among the Jews there were several dialects spoken, as the East Aramæan or Chaldee, and the West Aramæan or Syriac; which suffered various alterations from the places where the Jews were dispersed; so that the original Hebrew was known comparatively to few, and those who were conversant in Syriac might not be acquainted with the Chaldee. If therefore this Epistle had been written in biblical Hebrew, the *learned few* only could have read it; and had it been written in either of the other dialects, a part only of the Jews could have perused it.

2. By writing in Hebrew, the author of this Epistle could have instructed only his own nation; and his arguments would have availed only with the pious few, while the unbelieving multitude would in all probability have ridiculed his doctrines, and misrepresented them to the uninformed and to strangers. But, by writing the Epistle in Greek, which language, we have seen, was at that time universally known and understood, he instructed his own countrymen, and also explained the Christian covenant to the Gentiles.[2]

The preceding is a summary of the arguments adduced on this much litigated point: and upon the whole, we are compelled to draw the conclusion, that the original language of the Epistle to the Hebrews must have been GREEK. The reader, however, will adopt which opinion he deems best supported concerning the Hebrew or Greek original of this Epistle. If he prefer the *former*, it may be satisfactory to him to be reminded that the circumstance of this Epistle being *first* written in Hebrew, and then translated into Greek, by no means affects its genuineness and authenticity.

III. The next object of inquiry respects the AUTHOR of this Epistle, some ascribing it to Barnabas, the companion of Paul; others to Clement of Rome, to the evangelist Luke, to Silas or Silvanus, or to Apollos; and the Christian church generally to the apostle Paul.

Tertullian[3] was the first who ascribed this Epistle to Barnabas,

[1] Dr. Owen has ably treated this topic in his fifth exercitation on the Hebrews, vol. i. pp. 46—53. folio edition. Calmet, Comment. Literal. tom. viii. pp. 631, 632. Stuart's Commentary, vol. i. pp. 282—285. Calvin and several other divines have laid much stress upon the rendering of the Hebrew word בְּרִית by διαθήκη, which denotes either testament or covenant: and Michaelis has acknowledged that this is the most specious of all the arguments adduced to prove that the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Greek. But Braunius affirms that it proves nothing either way. Proleg. in Ep. ad Hebr. p. 25. The objections to this Epistle of Drs. Schulz and Seyffarth, grounded on the mode in which its author quotes and appeals to the Old Testament (and also on particular phrases and expressions), are examined in detail, and most satisfactorily refuted by Professor Stuart. (Commentary, vol. i. pp. 205—252., or pp. 236—290. of the London edition.)

[2] Francisci Junii Parallela Sacra, lib. 3. c. 9. in Ep. ad Hebr. tom. i. p. 1595. edit. Genevæ, 1613.

[3] De Pudicitia, c. 20.

and his opinion was adopted by Cameron, and subsequently by Dr. Storr; but it rests on mere conjecture, for Tertullian cites no authority, and does not even say that this opinion was received by the church. He is also contradicted by Clement of Alexandria[1], who mentions the Epistle to the Hebrews as St. Paul's; to which we may add, that the style of the Epistle ascribed to Barnabas differs so widely from that of the letter to the Hebrews, as to prove that they could not have been written by the same person. Further, it appears from Heb. xiii. 24. that this Epistle was written from Italy, where there is no evidence that Barnabas ever went. Philastrius[2] relates, that at the end of the fourth century many persons attributed this Epistle to Clement of Rome; but this notion is contradicted by the fact that Clement has himself repeatedly quoted this Epistle.

The same author also informs us that some ascribed it to Luke; and this hypothesis has been adopted by Grotius and by Janssens, on account of a supposed resemblance of style between the Epistle to the Hebrews and the writings of Luke, and especially on account of the greater elegance of style and choice of words discoverable in this Epistle than is to be found in Paul's other letters. But to this hypothesis there are several objections. For, 1. Luke was a Gentile by birth, and could not have acquired that intimate knowledge of the Hebrew literature and religion which Paul possessed, who was instructed by Gamaliel and other celebrated Jewish teachers. 2. If Luke wrote this Epistle, why did he not rather inscribe it to the Greeks, who were his countrymen? 3. Ecclesiastical antiquity is totally silent concerning this Epistle as being written by that Evangelist, to whom all the primitive Christian writers unanimously ascribe the Gospel which bears his name, and also the Acts of the Apostles. 4. The author of this Epistle addresses the Hebrews (xiii. 18, 19.) as persons among whom he had preached the Gospel: and as it no where appears that Luke had preached to the converted Jews, it follows that he could not be the author of this Epistle.

Among the modern writers, C. F. Boehme, in his Latin translation of this Epistle, ascribes it to Silas or Silvanus (by whom he imagines it was directed to the church at Antioch)[3]; and the illustrious reformer Luther thought that this Epistle was written by Apollos, who is mentioned in Acts xviii. 24. 28. as being an eloquent man, mighty in the Scripture, fervent in spirit, and one that convinced the Jews out of the Scripture itself; all which characters unquestionably are found in the Epistle to the Hebrews. But both these conjectures are totally unsupported by historical testimony, no mention whatever being made of any Epistle or other writing as being composed either by Silas or by Apollos. Some weight would certainly have attached to Luther's conjecture, if the excellent qualities ascribed to Apollos had been peculiar to him, or if they had not all been found in Paul in a more eminent degree than in Apollos. But Paul being endowed

[1] Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 34. See the passage also in Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 211.; 4to. vol. i. p. 394.

[2] Hær. c. 89. Lardner, 8vo. vol. iv. p. 500; 4to. vol. i p. 522.

[3] Epistola ad Hebræos, Præfat. pp. xl.—xlviii. (Lipsiæ, 1825. 8vo.)

with more ample gifts and excellencies than Apollos, and being also a divinely constituted apostle, the conjecture of Luther necessarily falls to the ground.[1]

We are now to consider the evidence, both external and internal, for the opinion which has generally prevailed in the Christian church, viz. that the Epistle to the Hebrews is the genuine production of the great Apostle to the Gentiles.

1. EXTERNAL EVIDENCE OR HISTORICAL TESTIMONY.

[i.] *In the* first place, *it is acknowledged to be the production of Paul by the apostle Peter in his second Epistle* (iii. 15, 16.); *from which passage it is evident,*

(1.) That Peter had read all Paul's letters.

(2.) That Paul had written to those Christians to whom Peter was then writing, that is, to the believing Jews in general (2 Pet. i. 1.), and to those of the dispersion mentioned in 1 Pet. i. 1. Now, since there is no evidence to prove that this Epistle was lost, it follows that it must be that which is now inscribed *to the Hebrews.*

(3.) That Paul wrote to them concerning the same topics which were the subjects of Peter's Epistle. Thus Peter writes, that *by Christ are given to us all things pertaining to life and godliness* (2 Pet. i. 3, 4.), and that Jesus Christ is the *Son of God, in whom the Father is well pleased with us, of whom the prophets spoke.* These very topics are copiously discussed in Heb. i. to x. 19. Again, Peter exhorts them to faith *and holiness* (2 Pet. i. 5—16., ii. 15.); so also does Paul. (Heb. ii. 1—5., iii. 1. 6—19.) Peter shows the danger of apostasy (2 Pet. ii. 20, 21.), and so does the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. (Heb. vi. 4—9.) Also as Peter, in the connection in which this sentence occurs, is speaking of the coming again of Christ, and the accompanying events, it may be pointed out that this Epistle speaks of the same hope. (x. 35—38.)

(4.) In the Epistle mentioned by Peter, he seems to ascribe to Paul an eminency of wisdom. It was, he says, *written according to the wisdom given to him.* As Paul made use of that wisdom which had been conferred on him in writing all his other Epistles, so there is no doubt that he exerted the same wisdom, zeal, and love in writing the Epistle to the Hebrews: but, in the passage now under consideration, Peter eminently distinguishes that apostle's wisdom. He does not refer to Paul's spiritual wisdom in general, in the knowledge of the will of God and of the mysteries of the Gospel; but he particularly alludes to the especial holy prudence which Paul has displayed in the composition of the Epistle to the Hebrews, whom the structure of his arguments was singularly adapted to convince, if unbelievers: while his warnings and encouragements were admirably calculated to animate the believing Hebrews to constancy and fortitude in the faith of the Gospel. At the same time, nothing more clearly shows the singular wisdom which Peter asserts to be manifest in this letter, than Paul's condescension to the capacities, prejudices, and affections of those to whom he wrote and whom he constantly urged with their own principles and concessions.

(5.) That Peter affirms there were *some things* discussed in the Epistle to the Hebrews which were *hard or difficult to be understood* (δυσνόητά τινα). Now Paul explicitly states (Heb. v. 11.) that some of the topics which he was to discuss in that Epistle were δυσερμήνευτα, *hard to be uttered,* or difficult to be interpreted, and consequently hard to be understood; particularly the topic he immediately had in view, viz. the *typical* nature of the person of Melchisedek. Or if it refer to the priesthood of Christ, that would be still more "hard to be uttered," because it implies not only his being constituted a priest after this *typical* order, but also his paying down the ransom for the sins of the whole world, and his satisfaction of divine justice by this sacrifice, and thus opening the kingdom of heaven to all believers. Topics like these it would be difficult for the apostle to explain in a proper manner to the Hebrews; not because they were in themselves abstruse, but

[1] It is adopted, however, by Dindorf, in his Excursus ad J. A. Ernesti Lectiones Academicas in Epistolam ad Hebræos, p. 1180. 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1815.

because the Hebrews were dull of apprehension, through their prejudiced attachment to the Levitical law and priesthood.[1]

The preceding considerations will show that the Epistle to the Hebrews was the identical letter which Peter had in view. We have insisted the more strenuously upon his testimony, because, as he was an inspired apostle, we think his evidence sufficient to determine the controversy respecting this Epistle, and to demonstrate (notwithstanding the sceptical declaration of Michaelis to the contrary) that it is a genuine and inspired production of the illustrious apostle Paul. There are, however, many other testimonies to prove the same point, which we shall now proceed to state; each of them singly outbalancing the weight of the conjectures advanced against it, but all of which, taken collectively, furnish such a body of evidence in favour of Paul being the author of this Epistle as can be adduced for no other ancient anonymous writing whatever. We therefore proceed to remark,

[ii.] Secondly, *that the testimony of ecclesiastical antiquity decidedly ascribes this Epistle to Paul.*

(1.) Among the Fathers of the GREEK or EASTERN CHURCH, who wrote in the Greek language, we find allusions to it in Justin Martyr, in his dialogue with Trypho the Jew, A.D. 140. It is often cited *as Paul's*, without any hesitation, by Clement of Alexandria, about the year 194. It is received and quoted as Paul's by Origen about 230.[2] It was also received as the apostle's by Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, in 247. It is plainly referred to by Theognostus of Alexandria about 282. It appears to have been received by Methodius about 292, by Pamphilus about 294, and by Archelaus bishop of Mesopotamia at the beginning of the fourth century, by the Manicheans in the fourth, and by the Paulicians in the seventh century. It was received and ascribed to Paul by Alexander bishop of Alexandria in the year 313, and by the Arians in the fourth century. Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, about 315, says, "There are fourteen Epistles of Paul before the public and well known: but yet there are some who have rejected (τινες ἠρνήσαντο) that to the Hebrews, alleging, in behalf of their opinion, that it was not

[1] To the preceding argument it has been objected, that the Epistle particularly intended by Peter may be that written to the Romans, in which St. Paul speaks to the Jews by name (ii. 17.), and in which there is an exhortation to account the long-suffering of God to be salvation, or that which leads to repentance. But to this objection Whitby has well replied, (1.) That what is written in the Epistle to the Romans is addressed to the unbelieving Jews only, whereas Peter writes to the brethren (2 Pet. iii. 12.), the *beloved* (verses 1. 14. 17.), to those who *had received like precious faith.* (i. 1.) He therefore could not mean the Jews of whom Paul speaks in the Epistle to the Romans. Nor (2.) can that Epistle with propriety be said to be written to the dispersed Jews, because it is addressed to those at Rome only (Rom. i. 7.), and chiefly to the Gentiles there (i. 13., xi. 13., xv. 15. 16.) —(3.) The words of Paul in Rom. ii. are not an exhortation to count the long-suffering of God salvation, but a *reproof* for despising this long-suffering: whereas in the Epistle to the Hebrews (xii.) he commends their patience under sufferings, and assures them that it would obtain salvation; and that, if they lived by faith, their Lord would come, and would not tarry. To which we may add, that in the Epistle to the Hebrews (iv. 9., xii. 14. 18. 24.) mention is made of the introduction of the righteous into the heavenly country, which is one of the topics mentioned in the second Epistle of Peter.

[2] The words of Origen (who was of opinion that the ideas were those of Paul, though not the style,) are very remarkable. He says that "not without cause did the ancients transmit this [epistle] as Paul's." (Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. c. 25.) Now, it is very certain that the churches and writers, who were ancients with respect to Origen, must have conversed with the apostles themselves, or at least with their successors. And since this tradition was *ancient* in the times of Clement of Alexandria and Origen, about one hundred and thirty years after the Epistle was written, it must have had its rise in the days of Paul himself, and so cannot reasonably be contested.

received by the church of the Romans as a writing of Paul."[1] It is often quoted by Eusebius himself as Paul's and as sacred Scripture. This Epistle was received by Athanasius without any hesitation. In his enumeration of Paul's fourteen Epistles, this is placed next after the two to the Thessalonians and before the Epistles to Timothy, Titus, and Philemon. The same order is observed in the Synopsis of Scripture ascribed to him. This Epistle is received as Paul's by Adamantius, author of a dialogue against the Marcionites, in 330, and by Cyril of Jerusalem in 348. This Epistle is also received as Paul's by Epiphanius about 368; by the Apostolical Constitutions about the end of the fourth century; by Basil about 370; by Gregory Nazianzen in 370; by Amphilochius also. But he says it was not universally received as Paul's. It was received by Gregory Nyssen about 371; by Didymus of Alexandria about the same time; by Ephræm the Syrian in 370, and by the churches of Syria; by Diodorus of Tarsus in 378; by Hierax, a learned Egyptian, about the year 302; by Serapion, bishop of Thmuis in Egypt, about 347; by Titus, bishop of Bostra in Arabia, about 362; by Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia, about the year 394; by Chrysostom in the year 398; by Severian, bishop of Gabala in Syria, in 401; by Victor of Antioch about 401; by Palladius, author of a life of Chrysostom, about 408; by Isidore of Pelusium about 412; by Cyril, bishop of Alexandria, in 412; by Theodoret in 423; by Eutherius, bishop of Tyana in Cappadocia, in 431; by Socrates, the ecclesiastical historian, about 440; by Euthalius in Egypt about 458; and, probably, by Dionysius, falsely called the Areopagite; by the author of the *Quæstiones et Responsiones*, once ascribed to Justin Martyr, but rather written in the fifth century. It is in the Alexandrian manuscript written in the fifth century, and in the Stichometry of Nicephorus about 806; and is received as Paul's by Cosmas of Alexandria about 535; by Leontius of Constantinople about 610; by John Damascen in 730; by Photius about 858; by Œcumenius about the year 950; and by Theophylact in 1070.

(2.) Among the Fathers of the LATIN or WESTERN CHURCH, we may first cite Clement, who was bishop of Rome, though he wrote his Epistle to the Corinthians in Greek A.D. 96, or, according to some critics, about the year 70. In this Epistle there are several allusions or references to the Epistle to the Hebrews.[2] Irenæus, bishop of Lyons about 178, we are assured by Eusebius, cited some passages out of this Epistle in a work now lost; nevertheless it does not appear that he received it as St. Paul's. By Tertullian, presbyter of Carthage, about the year 200, this Epistle is ascribed to Barnabas. Caius, about 212, supposed to have been presbyter in the church of Rome, reckoning up the Epistles of St. Paul, mentioned thirteen only, omitting that to the Hebrews. Hippolytus, who flourished about 220, did not receive the Epistle to the Hebrews as St. Paul's. This Epistle is not quoted by Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, about 248 and afterwards, nor does it

---

[1] Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. lib. iii. c. 3. It does not follow that the τινες of Eusebius were writers; but even if they were, they did not appeal to older Greek writers, but only to the Roman church. This word τινες — SOME — indicates merely an exception to the general opinion of the Greeks, there being some who were influenced by respect or prepossession for the Romans: and this exception is itself a proof that the Greek Church at large acknowledged this Epistle as a production of the apostle Paul, according to the well known principle *exceptio firmat regulam*. The fact, that the Arians were the first in the Greek churches, whom history charges with denying Paul to be the author of this Epistle, adds no ordinary degree of weight to the declarations of Eusebius; and recommends his character as a historian, whom no predilection for a party could betray into a departure from historical truth. Hug's Introduction, ii. § 146. Schmucker's Biblical Theology, vol. i. p. 109.

[2] It is a singular circumstance that no book of the New Testament has been so frequently quoted by Clement as the Epistle to the Hebrews. Prof. Stuart has arranged his quotations under four different classes; viz. 1. Passages in which the exact words, or nearly so, of the Epistle, are cited;—2. Passages containing the same sentiment, with more or less contraction of the expression, or an exchange of the original word for a synonymous one;—3. Passages which are a paraphrastic imitation of the Epistle to the Hebrews; or in which the style or phraseology of this Epistle is more or less exhibited;—and, 4. Passages similar to texts in the Old Testament, but which Clement probably quoted from the Epistle to the Hebrews. These different classes of quotations Prof. Stuart has elucidated with many valuable observations, for which the reader is necessarily referred to his Commentary, vol. i. pp. 77—84., or pp. 94—105. of the London edition.

appear to have been received by Novatus, or Novatian, presbyter of Rome, about 251; nevertheless, it was in after-times received by his followers. It may be thought by some that this Epistle is referred to by Arnobius about 306, and Lactantius about the same time. It is plainly quoted by another Arnobius in the fifth century. It was received as Paul's by Hilary of Poictiers about 354; and by Lucifer, bishop of Cagliari in Sardinia, about the same time, and by his followers; it was also received as Paul's by C. M. Victorinus. Whether it was received by Optatus of Milevi in Africa, about 370, is doubtful. It was received as Paul's by Ambrose, bishop of Milan, about 374; by the Priscillianists about 378. About the year 380 was published a commentary upon thirteen Epistles of Paul only, ascribed to Hilary, deacon of Rome. It was received as Paul's by Philaster, bishop of Brescia in Italy, about 380; but he takes notice that it was not then received by all. His successor Gaudentius, about 387, quotes this Epistle as Paul's; it is also readily received as Paul's by Jerome about 392; and he says it was generally received by the Greeks, and the Christians in the East, but not by all the Latins.[1] It was received as Paul's by Ruffinus in 397; it is also in the catalogue of the third council of Carthage in 397. It is frequently quoted by Augustine as Paul's. In one place he says, "It is of doubtful authority with some, but he was inclined to follow the opinion of the churches in the East, who received it among the canonical Scriptures." It was received as Paul's by Chromatius, bishop of Aquileia in Italy, about 401; by Innocent, bishop of Rome, about 402; by Paulinus, bishop of Nola in Italy, about 403. Pelagius about 405 wrote a commentary upon thirteen Epistles of Paul, omitting that to the Hebrews; nevertheless it was received by his followers. It was received by Cassian about 424; by Prosper of Aquitaine about 434, and by the authors of the works ascribed to him; by Eucherius, bishop of Lyons, in 434; by Sedulius about 818; by Leo, bishop of Rome, in 440; by Salvian, presbyter of Marseilles, about 440; by Gelasius, bishop of Rome, about 496; by Facundus, an African bishop, about 540; by Junilius, an African bishop, about 556; by Cassiodorus in 556; by the author of the imperfect work upon Matthew, about 560; by Gregory, bishop of Rome, about 590; by Isidore of Seville about 596; and by Bede about 701, or the beginning of the eighth century.[2]

From the preceding testimonies it is evident, that within about thirty years at most after this Epistle was written, "it had acquired

[1] The non-recognising of this Epistle as St. Paul's production "by all the Latins," according to Jerome, and the circumstance of its being "of doubtful authority with some" in the Latin Church, according to Augustine, are thus accounted for by Hug. The Western Church was kept actively employed by the Montanists. In vindication of their tenet, that those guilty of grievous transgressions should be irrevocably cut off from the church, they relied especially on Hebrews vi. 4, 5. as we learn from Tertullian (de Pudicitia, c. 20.) and Jerome (adv. Jovinian, l. ii. c. 3.): on which account the ministers of the Latin Church made cautious and sparing use of this Epistle. Not long probably after the death of Irenæus, the presbyter Caius assumed the tone of clamorous opposition against this Epistle, in a work which he published against the Montanists: and from that time this opinion was adopted by the greater part of the Latin Church. Even the Montanists themselves receded from their original position on this subject, and in their polemical works received this Epistle only as far as its authority was acknowledged by their opponents, namely, as a production of an apostolical teacher, Barnabas, or Clement, &c. About forty years after Caius's attack, arose the Novatians; who, as we learn from Jerome, Augustine, Epiphanius, Theodoret, and others, also used the passage Heb. vi. 4, 5. as the principal defence of their tenets. While the Greeks were calm spectators of the contest, and evaded the argument from Heb. vi. by their interpretations, the Latin churches were led by the pressure of circumstances to deny the authority of the book, whose contents they were unable to refute. But the Latin churches had no ecclesiastical tradition, no authority of earlier churches to which they could appeal: the whole controversy proceeded on the ground of internal evidence. It was for this reason that Jerome and Augustine could not adopt the opinion of the church to which they belonged; because they were convinced of the contrary by the testimony of the ancients: and their influence tended to give, at a subsequent day, a different turn to the opinion of the Latin Church. Schmucker's Biblical Theology, vol. i. pp. 115, 116. Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. §§ 144—149.

[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 391—395.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 329—331. In his notes there are references to the various parts of the preceding volumes, in which the extracts from the above-named Fathers are to be found.

such currency and credit, that the church at Rome, the metropolitan of the world, in a letter addressed by Clement their bishop to the church at Corinth, made repeated appeals to it as a book of divine authority, and in such a way as to imply a knowledge and acknowledgment of it by the Corinthian church, similar to their own. Further, Justin Martyr has evidently appealed to its contents as sacred, A.D. 140; about which time, or not long after, it was inserted among the canonical books of the New Testament by the churches of the East and West: and consequently it must have had, at a period very little after the apostolic age, a currency and a credit not at all or at most very little inferior to that of other acknowledged books of the New Testament."[1]

2. INTERNAL EVIDENCE THAT THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS IS THE GENUINE PRODUCTION OF ST. PAUL.

[i.] In the first place, *Paul cherished an ardent zeal and affection towards his kinsmen according to the flesh.* (Rom. ix. 1—4. &c.)

And can we think it likely that he should never write to those who were so exceedingly dear to him? Knowing their prejudices concerning the Levitical law, what subject could he select more appropriate for their instruction and edification than the abrogation of the Levitical priesthood, and the surpassing excellence of Christ's person and office, especially of his true, spiritual, and eternal priesthood, of which the Levitical priesthood was but a shadow, and of which the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews has treated so largely?

[ii.] Secondly, *If an author's method of treating his subjects, together with his manner of reasoning, is a sure mark by which he may be ascertained (as all good judges of composition allow), we shall without hesitation pronounce Paul to be the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews.*

(1.) *The general arrangement or method pursued in this Epistle corresponds with that of Paul in his other Epistles.*

His method of procedure is the same with that of his other Epistles, which was also peculiar to him. He first lays down the doctrinal mysteries of the Gospel, vindicating them from oppositions and exceptions; and then he descends to exhortations to obedience, deduced from them, with an enumeration of those moral duties of which it was necessary to remind those Christians to whom he wrote. In this respect the Epistle to the Hebrews bears the greatest resemblance to the Epistle to the Galatians, and especially that addressed to the Romans. Like them, the former half of this Epistle (ch. i.—x. 19.) is principally doctrinal, but with occasional exhortations intermixed, which the strength of the writer's feelings plainly appears to have forced from him. From ch. x. 20. to the end, the Epistle is hortatory and practical. "In the Epistle to the Romans, just before the salutatory part begins, the writer earnestly asks for a special interest in the prayers of those whom he addressed, in order that he may be delivered from the power of persecution; and he follows this request with a petition, that the *God of Peace*—ὁ θεος τῆς εἰρηνης—might be with them, and concludes with an *Amen.* (Rom. xv. 30—33.) The very same order, petition, style, and conclusion, appear at the close of the Epistle to the Hebrews. (xiii. 18—21.) The writer begs an interest in their prayers, that he may be restored to them the sooner; commends them to the *God of Peace* (an expression used no where else but in St. Paul's writings and in the Epistle to the Hebrews); and concludes with an *Amen.*"[2] Similar coincidences as to method occur in the Epistles

[1] Stuart's Commentary, vol. i. p. 109.

[2] Stuart's Commentary on the Epistle to the Hebrews, vol. i. pp. 152, 153.; or pp. 185—187. of the London edition. Schmidii Hist. et Vindicatio Canonis, pp. 665, 666. Owen on the Hebrews, vol. i. Exercitation 2.

to the Ephesians and Colossians (Professor Stuart adds, to the Philippians and Thessalonians also); which conclude with an Amen before the salutation.

(2.) *In this letter, we find that overflowing of sentiment, briefly expressed, which distinguishes Paul from every other sacred writer.*

"Therein also are abrupt transitions from the subject in hand to something subordinate, but at the same time connected with it; which, having pursued for a little while, the writer returns to his subject[1] and illustrates it by arguments of great force, couched sometimes in a short expression, and sometimes in a single word,—all which are peculiar to Paul. In this Epistle, likewise, contrary to the practice of other writers, but in Paul's manner, we meet with many elliptical expressions, which are to be supplied either from the foregoing or from the following clauses. In it also, as in Paul's acknowledged Epistles, we find reasonings addressed to the thoughts of the reader, and answers to objections not proposed; because, being obvious, the writer knew they would naturally occur, and therefore needed to be removed. Lastly, after Paul's manner, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews has subjoined to his reasonings many exhortations to piety and virtue; all which, to persons who are judges of writing, plainly point out the apostle Paul as the author of this Epistle."[2]

(3.) *Many things in this Epistle (too numerous and indeed too obvious to require any enumeration) evidently manifest that its author was not only mighty in the Scriptures, but also exceedingly well skilled in the customs, practices, opinions, traditions, expositions, and applications of Scripture, then received in the Jewish church.*

"In the Epistle to the Hebrews, we find such enlarged views of the divine dispensations respecting religion; such an extensive knowledge of the Jewish Scriptures, according to their ancient and true interpretation, which Paul, no doubt, learned from the celebrated doctors under whose tuition he studied in his younger years at Jerusalem; such a deep insight also into the most recondite meanings of these Scriptures, and such admirable reasonings founded thereon for the confirmation of the Gospel revelation, as, without disparagement to the other apostles, seem to have exceeded, not their natural abilities and education only, but even that degree of inspiration with which they were endowed. None of them but Paul[3], who was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, and who profited in the Jewish religion and learning above many of his fellow-students, and who, in his riper years, was intimately acquainted with the learned men of his own nation (Acts ix. 1, 2. 14., xxvi. 4, 5.), and who was called to the apostleship by Christ himself, when for that purpose he appeared to him from heaven,—nay, who was caught up by Christ into the third heaven,—was equal to the subjects treated of in this most admirable Epistle."[4]

[iii.] *In the* third place, *Not only does the general scope of this Epistle tend to the same point, on which St. Paul lays so much stress in his other Epistles, namely, that we are justified and obtain salvation only through Jesus Christ, and that the Mosaic institutions cannot effect this object; but there are various* DOCTRINAL PROPOSITIONS *in this Epistle, which are found in the other acknowledged Epistles of Paul.*

Professor Stuart and M. De Groot have discussed this subject at length, especially the former: our limits will only permit a very few

[1] Of these parentheses see an example in Heb. i. 2—4., in which the truth of the Gospel is argued from the dignity of Christ's person; in verse 5. the discourse is continued from the first verse. See other instances in Heb. iii. 7—11. 14. and iv. 2. &c.

[2] Macknight's Preface to the Epistle to the Hebrews. Sect. I. § iii.

[3] [In these remarks Macknight seems to leave all proper *inspiration* out of sight; his argument is therefore so far affected.]

[4] Macknight's Preface to the Epistle to the Hebrews. Sect. I. § iii.

examples to be given, showing the superiority of the Gospel over the Mosaic dispensation: —

1. *As to the superior degree of* RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE *imparted by the Gospel.*

"In his acknowledged Epistles, Paul calls Judaism τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κοσμοῦ (Gal. iv. 3.), the *elements* or *rudiments of the world*, that is, the elements or principles of a religion accommodated to the ignorant and imbecile men of the present age or world; and again, τὰ ἀσθενῆ καὶ πτωχὰ στοιχεῖα (Gal. iv. 9.), *weak and beggarly elements*, to denote its imperfection. He represents it as adapted to *children*, νήπιοι (Gal. iv. 3.), who are in a state of nonage and pupilage, or in the condition of servants rather than that of heirs. (Gal. iv. 1.) On the other hand, Christains attain to a higher knowledge of God (Gal. iv. 9): they are no more as servants, but become sons, and obtain the privileges of adoption. (Gal. iv. 5, 6.) They are represented as τέλειοι (1 Cor. xiv. 20.); as being furnished with instruction adequate to make them ἀνδρὰς τελείους. (Eph. iv. 11—13.) Christianity leads them to see the glorious displays of himself which God has made, with an unveiled face, that is, clearly (2 Cor. iii. 18.); while Judaism threw a veil over these things. (2 Cor. ii. 13.) Christianity is engraven on the hearts of its votaries, διακονία τοῦ πνεύματος (2 Cor. iii. 8.), while Judaism was engraven on tablets of stone, ἐντετυπωμένη ἐν τοῖς λίθοις. (2 Cor. iii. 7.)"

Let us now compare the preceding sketch of the apostle's views on this point, as contained in his acknowledged Epistles, with those which are developed in the Epistle to the Hebrews.

"This Epistle commences with the declaration, that God, who in times past spake to the fathers by the prophets, hath in these last days spoken to us by his Son. (Heb. i. 1., ii. 1.) Judaism was revealed only by the mediation of angels (ii. 2.), while Christianity was revealed by the Son of God, and abundantly confirmed by miraculous gifts of the Holy Ghost. (ii. 3, 4.) The ancient covenant was imperfect with respect to the means which it furnished for the diffusion of knowledge; but the new covenant provides that all shall know the Lord from the least to the greatest. (viii. 9—11.) The law was only a sketch or imperfect representation of religious blessings; while the Gospel proffers the blessings themselves. (x. 1.) The worthies of ancient times had only imperfect views of spiritual blessings, while Christians enjoy them in full measure. (xi. 39, 40.)"[1]

2. *As to the views which the Gospel displays concerning* GOD *the Father, in the bestowment of the gifts of the Holy Spirit.*

No one has spoken so frequently as St. Paul concerning the Holy Spirit, nor has any one of the inspired writers adduced the gifts of the Holy Spirit as an argument for the truth of the Gospel, besides St. Paul and the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews. (See 1 Cor. xiv. 22. &c.) The apostle expressly uses the word μερίζω, to *distribute*, with regard to these gifts, in Rom. xii. 3. and 2 Cor. vii. 17.; and in Heb. ii. 4. he says that the mission of the apostles was confirmed by God with divers miracles, and Πνεύματος Ἁγίου μερισμοις, *distributions* or *gifts of the Holy Spirit*. These gifts, St. Paul exclusively affirms, are variously imparted according to the *will* of God (Rom. xii. 3—6., Eph. iv. 7., and especially 1 Cor. xii. 4. 7—11. 28.); and in the Epistle to the Hebrews these gifts are conferred κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ θέλησιν, according to his will.

3. *Concerning the person and mediatorial office of the* LORD JESUS CHRIST.

He is the Creator of all things (Col. i. 16., Eph. iii. 9., 1 Cor. viii. 6.), and by Him all things subsist. (Col. i. 17.) He is the *image or likeness of God*, εἰκων τοῦ Θεοῦ (2 Cor. iv. 4.); *the image of the invisible God*, εἰκων τοῦ Θεοῦ τοῦ ἀοράτου. (Col. i. 15.) He *being in the form* of God, ἐν μορφῇ Θεοῦ,—that is, in the condition of God,—

[1] Stuart's Commentary, vol. i. pp. 143, 144. (174, 175. of the London edition.) In pp. 144—148. (175—178. of the London edition) he admirably illustrates the superiority of the motives to piety contained in the Gospel, as well as its superior efficacy in ensuring the happiness of mankind, and the perpetuity of the Christian dispensation.

humbled himself, assumed an inferior or humble station,—taking the condition of a servant, being made after the similitude of men, and being found in fashion as a man, he exhibited his humility by obedience, even to the death of the cross; wherefore God highly exalted him to supreme dignity; and he must reign till he hath put all things under his feet. (Phil. ii. 6—9., 1 Cor. xxv. 25—27.)

Correspondent to these representations are the declarations in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The Son of God is affirmed to be the reflected splendour of the glory of God, that is, one in whom the divine majesty is conspicuous, the χαρακτὴρ ὑποστάσεως τοῦ Πατρὸς, the *exact image*, representation, or counterpart of the Father (i. 3.), by whom God made all things (i. 2.), and upholds the universe by his word. Yet he was in a state of humiliation, being *made a little lower than the angels* (ii. 9.); he assumed flesh and blood, "in order that he might by his own death render null and void the destructive power of the devil. (ii. 14.) On account of the suffering of death he is exalted to a state of glory and honour. (ii. 9.) He endured the suffering of the cross, making no account of its disgrace, but having a regard to the reward set before him, which was a seat at the right hand of God. (xii. 2.) All things are put under his feet (ii. 8., x. 13.); where the very same passage from the Old Testament is quoted which Paul quotes in 1 Cor. xv. 25—28., and it is applied in the same manner."[1]

But chiefly does St. Paul expatiate in his acknowledged Epistles on the death of Christ as a propitiatory sacrifice for sin, and the reconciliation of sinners to God by means of this sacrifice. He is there said to have come into the world to save sinners (1 Tim. i. 15.); to have died for us and for our sins (Tit. ii. 14., 1 Cor. xv. 3.), and to be a propitiation for our sins. (Rom. iii. 25.) In him we have redemption through his blood. (Eph. i. 7.) This salvation it was impossible to obtain by the law; it could only be effected by Jesus Christ, who accomplished what the law could not do. (Rom. iii. 20—28., viii. 3., Gal. ii. 16. 21.) Finally, Jesus is our constant Mediator and Intercessor with God. (1 Tim ii. 5., Rom viii. 34.) In the Epistle to the Hebrews we find the same sentiments urged with the same ardour, particularly in chapters vii.—x. To adduce a few instances: Christ was offered to bear the sins of many. (Heb. ix. 28.) He tasted death for every man. (Heb. ii. 9.) He put away sin by the sacrifice of himself. (Heb. ix. 26.) The Jewish offerings being altogether insufficient to make expiation, Christ has by his own blood once for all made expiation for sin. (ix. 9—15., x. 10—12. 14. 19.) He is the Mediator of a new covenant (ix. 15., xii. 24.), which is better than the ancient one. (vii. 22., viii.) Exalted to the throne of the universe (ii. 6—10.), he appears in the presence of God for us (ix. 24.); he ever lives to make intercession for all that come unto God by him (vii. 25.); and he is ever able and ready to assist us. (iv. 14—16.) Many of the doctrines explained in this Epistle, particularly those concerning the mediation and intercession of Jesus Christ, are not mentioned by any of the inspired writers, except Paul.

[iv.] Fourthly, *There is such a similarity between the modes of quotation and style of phraseology of this Epistle, and those which occur in the apostle's acknowledged Epistles, as clearly shows that the Epistle to the Hebrews is his undoubted production.*

Braunius, Carpzov, Langius, Schmidt, Lardner, Macknight, De Groot, and above all Professor Stuart, have adduced numerous instances at considerable length, from which the following have been abridged:—

(1.) *Modes of quotation and interpretations of some passages of the Hebrew Scriptures which are peculiarly Pauline, because they are to be found only in the writings of St. Paul.*

That the apostle should more abound with testimonies and quotations out of the Old Testament in this than his other Epistles, is nothing more than the subject of

[1] De Groot, de Epist. ad Hebræos, pp. 240, 241. Stuart's Commentary, vol. i. p. 149. (or p. 182. of the London edition.)

which he treats, and the persons to whom he wrote, necessarily required. Thus, Psal. ii. 7. "*Thou art my Son: to-day I have begotten thee;*" is quoted and applied to Jesus (Heb. i. 5.), just as Paul, in his discourse to the Jews, in the synagogue of Antioch in Pisidia, cited and applied the same passage of Scripture to him. (Acts xiii. 23.) In like manner, the quotation and explanation of Psal. viii. 4. and of Psal. cx. 1., given by Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 25. 27. are found in Heb. ii. 7, 8. So also the explanation of the covenant with Abraham (Heb. vi. 14. 18.) is nowhere found but in Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. (iii. 8, 9. 14. 18.)[1]

(2.) *Instances of agreement in the style and phraseology of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in the acknowledged Epistles of Paul.*

i. PARTICULAR WORDS, PECULIAR TO PAUL, OR WHICH ARE MOST FREQUENT IN HIS WRITINGS.

Wetstein enumerates eleven instances, to which Schmidt has added forty-eight others. De Groot has considerably enlarged the list, which he refers to certain classes; as also does Professor Stuart, who has given upwards of sixty examples.[2] Our limits will allow a few only to be subjoined.

The word of God, in Paul, is a *sword*, μάχαιρα. (Eph. vi. 17., Heb. iv. 12.)[3]

Children in religion, that is, those who are comparatively ignorant and uninformed, are termed νήπιοι in 1 Cor. iii. 1., Eph. iv. 14., Rom. ii. 20., Gal. iv. 3., and Heb. v. 13.; and instruction for such persons is termed *milk;* and for strong persons (τέλειοι), or those who are well-taught, it is βρῶμα, *meat*, and στερεὰ τροφὴ, or *strong* meat, in 1 Cor. iii. 2. and Heb. v. 14.; and their advanced or mature state of Christian knowledge is called τελειότης.

Μεσιτης or *Mediator*, to denote Jesus Christ, is exclusively Pauline. (Gal. iii. 19, 20., 1 Tim. ii. 5., Heb. viii. 6.)

Ἁγιάζειν, *to separate* or *sanctify*, by the atonement of Christ, occurs in Eph. v. 26., Heb. ii. 11., x. 10., and xiii. 12.

Σκία, a *shadow*, that is, a shadowing forth, or adumbration, as opposed to the perfect image, or delineation. (Col. ii. 17., Heb. viii. 5., x. 1.)

Ὁμολογία, *religious* or *Christian profession*. (2 Cor. ix. 13.; Heb. iii. 1., iv. 14., x. 23.)

Οἶκος Θεοῦ, *the house of God*, that is, the Church. (1 Tim. iii. 15., Heb. iii. 6.)

Κληρονόμος, *Lord* or *possessor*. (Heb. i. 2., Rom. viii. 17.)

Καταργεῖν, *to annul*, abolish, or abrogate. (Rom. iii. 3. 31., vi. 6., 1 Cor. i. 28., Gal. v. 11., Heb. ii. 14.)

Σπέρμα τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, *the seed of Abraham*, or Christians, occurs in Gal. iii. 29. and Heb. ii. 6.

ii. AGONISTIC EXPRESSIONS OR ALLUSIONS TO THE GAMES AND EXERCISES WHICH WERE THEN IN GREAT REPUTE, AND WERE FREQUENTLY SOLEMNISED IN GREECE AND OTHER PARTS OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, AND PARTICULARLY AT JERUSALEM AND CÆSAREA BY HEROD. (1 Cor. ix. 24., Phil. iii. 12—14., 2 Tim. ii. 5., iv. 6—8. compared with Heb. vi. 18., and xii. 1—3, 4. 12.)

(3.) *Coincidences between the exhortations in this Epistle and those in Paul's other letters.*

See Heb. xii. 3. compared with Gal. vi. 9., 2 Thess. iii. 13., and Eph. iii. 13.; Heb. xii. 14. with Rom. xii. 18.; Heb. xiii. 1. 3, 4. with Eph. v. 2—4.; Heb. xiii. 16. with Phil. iv. 18. See also Rom. xv. 26., 2 Cor. viii. 24. and ix. 13.

---

[1] Macknight's Pref. to Ep. to the Hebrews. Sect. I. § iii. De Groot gives instances not only of the formulæ of quotation, but also of the design with which the apostle introduces his quotations. (pp. 245, 246.) Prof. Stuart principally elucidates the mode of appealing to the Jewish Scriptures, and the apostle's manner of reasoning. Commentary, vol. i. pp. 153—160., or pp. 187—195. of the London edition.

[2] Wetstein, Nov. Test. tom. ii. p. 386. Schmidii Hist. Canonis, pp. 662—664. De Groot, pp. 247—250. Stuart, vol. i. pp. 160—168., or pp. 196—204. of the London edition.

[3] [But Eph. vi. 17. says τὴν μάχαιραν τοῦ πνεύματος ὅ ἐστι ῥῆμα Θεοῦ, while in Heb. iv. 12. ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ is τομώτερος ὑπὲρ πᾶσαν μάχαιραν δίστομον.]

(4.) *Coincidences between the conclusion of this Epistle and the conclusions of Paul's Epistles, in several respects.*

Compare Heb. xii. 18. with Rom. xv. 30., Eph. vi. 18, 19., Col. iv. 3., 1 Thess. v. 25., and 2 Thess. iii. 1.; Heb. xiii. 20, 21. with Rom. xv. 30—33., Eph. vi. 19—23., 1 Thess. v. 23., and 2 Thess. iii. 16.; Heb. xiii. 24. with Rom. xvi. 21—23., 1 Cor. xvi. 19—21., 2 Cor. xiii. 13., Phil. iv. 21, 22.; Heb. xiii. 25. with 2 Thess. iii. 18., Col. iv. 18., Eph. vi. 24., 1 Tim. vi. 21., 2 Tim. iv. 22., and Tit. iii. 15.

[v.] Lastly, *There are several circumstances, towards the close of this Epistle, which evidently prove that it was written by Paul.* Thus,

(1.) Heb. xiii. 23. The departure of Timothy is mentioned; and we know from the commencement of the Epistles to the Philippians, Colossians, and to Philemon, that he was with Paul during his imprisonment at Rome.

(2.) Heb. xiii. 24. *They of Italy salute you:* the writer, therefore, was then in Italy, whither Paul was sent a prisoner, and where he resided two years (Acts xxviii. 30.); where also he wrote several Epistles which are still extant.

(3.) Heb. x. 34. The apostle makes mention of his bonds, and of the compassion which the Hebrew Christians showed him in his sufferings, and during his imprisonment.

Now it is scarcely credible, that any other person in Italy, where Paul then was, should write to the Hebrew Christians, and therein make mention of his own bonds, and of Timothy being with him, who was a man unknown to them except through Paul, and not once intimate anything concerning his condition. Besides, the constant sign and token of Paul's Epistles, which himself had publicly signified to be so (2 Thess. iii. 17, 18.), is subjoined to this:—*Grace be with you all.* (Heb. xiii. 25.) That this was originally written with his own hand there is no ground to question; but rather appears to be so because it was written: for he affirms that it was his custom to subjoin that salutation with his own hand. Now this was an evidence to the persons to whom the original of the Epistle first came, but not to those who had only transcribed copies of it. The *salutation* itself was their token, being peculiar to Paul. And all these circumstances will yet receive some additional force from the consideration of the *time* when this Epistle was written.[1]

Is it possible that all these coincidences (which are comparatively a small selection) can be the effect of mere accident? The arrangement and method of treatment, the topics discussed, and the peculiarity of sentiments, words, and phrases, are all so exclusively Pauline, that no other person could have been its author, except the great apostle of the Gentiles. Yet, notwithstanding this strong chain of proof for the authenticity of this Epistle, doubts have still been entertained whether it is a genuine production of St. Paul. These doubts rest principally on the omission of the writer's name, and the superior elegance of the style in which it is written.

1. It is indeed certain that all the acknowledged Epistles of Paul begin with a salutation in his own name, and that most of them were directed from some particular place, and sent by some special messengers; whereas the Epistle to the Hebrews is anonymous, and is not directed from any place, nor is the name of the messenger introduced by whom it was sent to Judæa. These omissions, however, can scarcely be considered as conclusive against the positive testimony already adduced. And they are satisfactorily accounted for by Clement of Alexandria, and by Jerome, who intimate that as Jesus Christ himself was the peculiar *apostle to the Hebrews* (as acknowledged in this Epistle, iii. 1.), Paul declined, through humility, to assume the title of an apostle. To which Theodoret adds, that Paul being peculiarly the apostle of the *uncircumcision*, as the rest were of the *circumcision* (Gal. ii. 9., Rom. xi. 13.), he scrupled to assume any public character when

[1] Schmidii Hist. Canonis, p. 665. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 402, 403.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 335. Owen on the Hebrews, part i. exercitation 2.

writing to the people of their charge. He did not mention his name, messenger, or the particular persons to whom it was sent, because (as Dr. Lardner judiciously remarks) such a long letter might give umbrage to the ruling powers at this crisis, when the Jews were most turbulent, and might endanger himself, the messenger, and those to whom it was directed. But they might easily know the author by the style, and also from the messenger, without any formal notice or superscription. But the absence of the apostle's name is no proof that the Epistle to the Hebrews was not written by Paul, or that it is a treatise or homily[1], as some critics have imagined; for, in our canon of the New Testament, there are Epistles universally acknowledged to be the productions of an inspired apostle, notwithstanding his name is nowhere inserted in them. The three Epistles of John are here intended, in all of which that apostle has omitted his name, for some reasons not now known. The first Epistle begins in the same manner as the Epistle to the Hebrews; and in the other two, he calls himself simply the elder or presbyter. That Paul, however, did not mean to conceal himself, we learn from the Epistle itself:—"Know ye," says he, "that our *brother Timothy has been sent abroad*, with whom, if he come shortly, *I will see you*."[2] (Heb. xiii. 23.) The objection, therefore, from the omission of the apostle's name, necessarily falls to the ground.

2. With regard to the objection, that this Epistle is superior in point of style to Paul's other writings, and therefore is not the production of that apostle, it is to be observed, that "there does not appear to be such a superiority in the style of this Epistle as should lead to the conclusion that it was not written by Paul. Those who have thought differently have mentioned Barnabas, Luke, and Clement, as authors or translators of this Epistle. The opinion of Jerome was, that "the sentiments are the apostle's, but the language and composition of some one else, who committed to writing the apostle's sense, and, as it were, reduced into commentaries the things spoken by his master." Dr. Lardner conjectures that Paul dictated the Epistle in Hebrew, and that another, who was a great master of the Greek language, immediately wrote down the apostle's sentiments in his own elegant Greek; but who this assistant of the apostle was is altogether unknown. But surely the writings of Paul, like those of other authors, may not all have the same precise degree of merit; and if, upon a careful perusal and comparison, it should be thought that the Epistle to the Hebrews is written with greater elegance than the acknowledged compositions of this apostle, it should also be remembered that the apparent design and contents of this Epistle suggest the idea of more studied composition, and yet that there is nothing in it which amounts to a marked difference of style."[3] Besides the sublime subject of this Epistle, the grand ideas which the apostle developes with equal method and warmth, did not permit him to employ the negligent style of a familiar letter. On the other hand, there are the same construction of sentences, and the same style of expression, in this Epistle, which occur in no part of the Scriptures, except in St. Paul's Epistles.[4]

Upon the whole, we conclude with Braunius, Langius, Carpzov, Pritius, Whitby, Lardner, Macknight, Hales, Rosenmüller, Bengel, Bishop Tomline, Janssens, De Groot, Professor Stuart, and almost every other modern commentator and biblical critic, that the weight of evidence, both external and internal, preponderates so greatly in favour of Paul, that we cannot but consider the Epistle to the Hebrews as written by that apostle; and that, instead of containing "far-fetched analogies and inaccurate reasonings" (as the opponents of our Saviour's divinity and atonement affirm), its composition is

[1] The hypothesis of Berger, that the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally an homily, is examined and refuted by Prof. Stuart. Commentary, vol. i. pp. 4—7., or pp. 4—9. of the London edition.

[2] Michaelis thinks it highly improbable that Paul would visit Jerusalem again, and expose his life to zealots there. But surely, Dr. Hales remarks, he might revisit Judæa without incurring that danger. Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. p. 1130.

[3] Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. pp. 455, 456.

[4] The objections of Bertholdt and others, taken from the style of the Epistle to the Hebrews, are examined in detail, and refuted by Professor Stuart, vol. i. p. 180. *et seq.*

more highly wrought, and its language more finished, than any of Paul's other Epistles, and that it affords a finished model of *didactic* writing.

[The view taken above of the authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the arguments by which it is supported, stand just in the form in which they were placed by the author, as the editor judged that it would be best to give *separately* his own view respecting the canonical authority of this Epistle, and the evidence respecting its authorship. There were two special reasons for this arrangement; 1st, That this Epistle is the first of the books of the New Testament mentioned as yet which requires a *special* statement of the evidence in its favour, as meeting *early* doubts and difficulties, and not merely modern subjective notions; and, 2nd, Because the view taken by the editor of the evidence relative to the authorship is by no means as positive and definite as that of the author of the above remarks, and as to some of the arguments used they appear to the editor to prove no point of the case.

Thus it is by no means certain that it was to this Epistle that Peter referred (2 Eph. iii. 15, 16.); the testimony of ecclesiastical antiquity is by no means decisive that it was written by St. Paul; the points of internal evidence differently affect different readers; similarity of doctrinal statements and identity of sentiment only *proves* the unity of Christian truth laid down in the inspired Epistles. And those who are competent to form a judgment have not in general agreed with Professor Stuart, in opposition to the ancients, to whom Greek was vernacular, respecting the *style* of this Epistle. Indeed it was rather a bold step on the part of the Andover Professor to advance such positive statements before it was possible for him to have attained that apprehension of Greek which could alone qualify him to advance definite opinions.

The *authority* of this Epistle was recognised in the earliest sub-apostolic writing which we possess—the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians: he uses its language so frequently as to show that he was very familiar with it, and he seems also to assume that it was similarly known to the Corinthians. Now the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews claims *authority*, and thus he who approvingly used it as a basis of Christian teaching owned that he admitted and enforced that *authority*. And this in the case of Clement is all the more important, seeing that he wrote at Rome in the name of "the Church that sojourneth in Rome;" so that this Epistle was known and admitted then fully in the *West*, the region in which it was *afterwards* looked on in a different light. And thus in the second century it is not mentioned at all by the writer of the Canon in Muratori. Other Western writers did not know it, or else doubted as to its authorship or authority. Tertullian ascribed it to Barnabas; and others, not admitting that it was Paul's, seemed to have denied its authority. But whatever be said as to the *authorship*, Clement is an excellent witness that the apostolic church admitted its *authority*.

So, too, Justin Martyr, in the second century, though he does not name any writer; while Clement of Alexandria seems to be the first

with whom we are acquainted who mentioned any name as that of its author. "He says that the Epistle to the Hebrews is Paul's, but that it was written to the Hebrews in the Hebrew dialect, and that Luke, having carefully translated it, published it for the use of the Greeks. And that it is owing to the fact that he translated it that the complexion of this Epistle and that of the Acts is found to be the same." He then accounts for the non-insertion of Paul's name at the beginning. (See Euseb. H. E. vi. 14.) Clement may have had much better ground for ascribing this Epistle to Paul than he had for saying that it was a translation (which, indeed, seems to have been but an inference of his own mind), and *his* opportunities in the East and amongst Greeks were probably far greater than those of Tertullian a few years later.

Origen plainly stated the difference of style between this Epistle and those which bear Paul's name, but he says that it was not causelessly that the ancients had transmitted this Epistle as *Paul's* — that is, in a general sense; for he adds, "but who it was who WROTE the Epistle God only knoweth." (See Euseb. H. E. vi. 25.) I do not know how we can arrive at greater certainty *now* than was attainable sixteen hundred years ago. The canonical authority of this Epistle is *proved;* that it is *Pauline* in a general sense seems just as certain; while the conclusions, which must be formed in a great measure on internal grounds, will differ according to the character and habit of mind of individual investigators, who will find that they see with the eyes of others the important point that its authority does not depend on our knowing the writer.]

IV. With regard to the time when this Epistle was written, critics and commentators are not agreed, some referring it to A. D. 58, but the greater part placing it between A. D. 61 and 64. If (as we believe) Paul was its author, the time when it was written may easily be determined; for the salutations from the saints in Italy (Heb. xiii. 24.), together with the apostle's promise to see the Hebrews shortly (23.), plainly intimates that his imprisonment was then either terminated, or on the point of being so. It was therefore written from Italy, perhaps from Rome, soon after the Epistles to the Colossians, Ephesians, and Philemon, and not long before Paul left Italy, viz. at the end of A. D. 62, or early in 63. It is evident from several passages, as Lardner and Macknight have observed, that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem, and probably, Professor Stuart thinks, but a short time before that event; for in Heb. viii. 4., ix. 25., x. 11., and xiii. 10., the temple is mentioned as *then* standing, and the Levitical sacrifices are noticed as being *then* offered.

V. The occasion of writing this Epistle will be sufficiently apparent from an attentive review of its contents. The Jews did every thing in their power to withdraw their brethren who had been converted from the Christian faith. To persecutions and threats, they added arguments derived from the excellency of the Jewish religion. They observed, we may infer, that the law of Moses was given by the ministration of angels; that Moses was far superior to Jesus of Nazareth, who suffered an ignominious death; that the public

worship of God, instituted by their great legislator and prophet, was truly splendid, and worthy of Jehovah: while the Christians, on the contrary, had no established priesthood, no temple, no altars, no victims, &c. In opposition to such arguments, the apostle shows, what the learned doctors, scribes and elders at Jerusalem strongly denied, viz. that Jesus of Nazareth, whom they had lately put to death, was the Messiah, the Son of God, and far superior to the angels, to Moses, to the high-priest of the Old Testament, and to all other priests; that from his sufferings and death, which he endured for us, much greater and more lasting benefits have resulted to the whole human race, than the Jews ever derived from their temple service, and from the numerous rites and ordinances of the Levitical laws, which were absolutely inefficacious to procure the pardon of sin. The reality of the sacrifice of himself, which Christ offered for sin, is clearly demonstrated. From these and other arguments, the apostle proves that the religion of Jesus is much more excellent and perfect than that of Moses, and exhorts the Christian converts to constancy in the faith, and to the unwearied pursuit of all godliness and virtue.

The great object of the apostle, therefore, in this Epistle, is to show the deity of Jesus Christ, and the excellency of his sacrifice in itself and in its results, when compared with the institutions of Moses; to prevent the Hebrews or Jewish converts from relapsing into those rites and ceremonies which were now abolished; and to point out their total insufficiency, as means of reconciliation and atonement. The reasonings are interspersed with numerous solemn and affectionate warnings and exhortations, addressed to different descriptions of persons. At length St. Paul shows the nature, efficacy, and triumph of faith, by which all the saints in former ages, having been accepted by God, were enabled to obey, suffer, and perform exploits, in defence of their holy religion; from which he takes occasion to exhort them to steadfastness and perseverance in the true faith.

The Epistle to the Hebrews consists of three parts; viz.,

PART I. *demonstrates the Deity of Christ by the explicit Declarations of Scripture.* (ch. i.—x. 18.)

The proposition is, that *Christ is the true God.* (i. 1—3.) The proofs of this are,

SECT. 1. His superiority to angels, by whom he is worshipped as their Creator and Lord. (i. 4—14.)

Inference.—Therefore we ought to give heed to him. (ii. 1—4.)

The superiority of Christ over angels asserted, notwithstanding his temporary humiliation in our nature (ii. 5—9.); without which he could not have accomplished the work of man's redemption (10—15.); and for this purpose he took not upon him the nature of angels, but that of his "brethren" (in God's purpose), seeing that he took not hold of angels, but of the seed of Abraham. (16—18.)

SECT. 2. His superiority to Moses, who was only a servant, whereas Christ is Lord. (iii. 1—6.)

Application of this argument to the believing Hebrews, who are solemnly warned not to copy the example of their unbelieving ancestors who perished in the wilderness. (iii. 7—19., iv. 1—13.)

SECT. 3. His superiority to Aaron and all the other high priests demonstrated. Christ is the true high priest, adumbrated by Melchizedek and Aaron. (iv. 14—16., v.—viii.) In ch. v. 1—14. and ch. vi. the apostle inserts a parenthetical digression, in which he reproves the Hebrew Christians for their ignorance of the Scriptures, and of the truth revealed by God.

SECT. 4. The typical nature of the tabernacle and its furniture, and of the ordinances there observed. (ix. 1—10.)

SECT. 5. The sacrifice of Christ is that true and only sacrifice by which all the Levitical sacrifices are abolished. (ix. 11—28., x. 1—18.)

PART II. *The Application of the preceding Arguments and Proofs,* (x. 19—39.—xiii. 1—19.) *in which the Hebrews are exhorted,*

SECT. 1. To faith, prayer, and constancy in the Gospel. (x. 19—25.) This exhortation is enforced by representations of the danger of wilfully renouncing Christ, after having received the knowledge of the truth, and is interspersed with warnings, expostulations, and encouragements, showing the nature, excellency, and efficacy of faith, illustrated by examples of the most eminent saints, from Abel to the end of the Old Testament dispensation. (x. 26—39., xi.)

SECT. 2. To patience and diligence in their Christian course, from the testimony of former believers, and by giving particular attention to the example of Christ, and from the paternal design and salutary effect of the Lord's corrections. (xii. 1—13.)

SECT. 3. To peace and holiness, and to a jealous watchfulness over themselves and each other, enforced by the case of Esau. (xii. 14—17.)

SECT. 4. To an obedient reception of the Gospel, and a reverential worship of God, from the superior excellency of the Christian dispensation, and the proportionably greater guilt and danger of neglecting it. (xii. 18—29.)

SECT. 5. To brotherly love, hospitality, and compassion; to charity, contentment, and the love of God. (xiii. 1—3.)

SECT. 6. To recollect the faith and examples of their deceased pastors. (4—8.)

SECT. 7. To watchfulness against false doctrines in regard to the sacrifice of Christ. (9—12.)

SECT. 8. To willingness to bear reproach for him, and thanksgiving to God. (xiii. 13—15.)

SECT. 9. To subjection to their pastors, and prayer for the apostle. (xiii. 16—19.)

PART III. *The Conclusion, containing a Prayer for the Hebrews, and Apostolical Salutations.* (xiii. 20—25.)

The Epistle to the Hebrews, Dr. Hales observes, is a masterly supplement to the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians, and also a luminous commentary on them; showing that all the legal dispensation was originally designed to be superseded by the new and better covenant of the Christian dispensation, in a connected chain of argument, evincing the profoundest knowledge of both. The internal excellence of this Epistle, as connecting the Old Testament and the New in the most convincing and instructive manner, and elucidating both more fully than any other Epistle, or perhaps than all of them, places its divine inspiration beyond all doubt. We here find the great doctrines, which are set forth in other parts of the New Testament, stated, proved, and applied to practical purposes, in the most impressive manner.[1]

CHAP. XXIV.

ON THE CATHOLIC EPISTLES IN GENERAL.

I. THE Epistles of Paul are followed in the modern arrangement of the canon of the New Testament by seven Epistles, bearing the names of the apostles James, Peter, Jude, and John.[2] For many centuries these Epistles have been generally termed *Catholic Epistles*, —an appellation for which several conjectures have been assigned.

1. Salmeron and others have imagined that they were denominated *Catholic* or general *Epistles*, because they were designed to be transcribed and circulated among the Christian churches, that they might be perused by all; for they contain that one catholic or general doctrine, which was delivered to the churches by the apostles of our Saviour, and which might be read with advantage by the universal church of Christ. In like manner they might be called canonical, as containing *canons* or general rules and precepts which concern all Christians. Unquestionably, the doctrines they contain are truly catholic and excellent; and they also contain general rules and directions that concern all Christians, as well as precepts that are

[1] Heidegger, Enchiridion Biblicum, pp. 600—611. Dr. Owen's Exercitations on the Epistle to the Hebrews, pp. 1—44. fol. edit. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 381—415.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 324—341. Macknight's Preface to the Hebrews, vol. iii. pp. 321—341. 4to. edit. or vol. v. pp. 1—27. 8vo. edit. Braunii Comment. in Epist. ad Hebræos, pp. 1—36. Carpzovii Exercitationes in Epist. ad Hebræos, pp. lxii.—cvi. Schmidii Hist. et Vindicatio Canonis, pp. 655—673. Langii Commentatio de Vita et Epistolis Apostoli Pauli, pp. 153—160. J. A. Ernesti Lectiones Academicæ in Epist. ad Hebræos, pp. 1—8. 1173—1185. 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1815. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 192—269. Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. pp. 1128—1137. Pritii Introd. ad Lectionem Nov. Test. pp. 38—61. 312—318. Rosenmüller, Scholia in Nov. Test. vol. v. pp. 142—148. Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Libros Canonicos Vet. et. Nov. Test. pp. 332—340. Alber, Institutiones Hermeneuticæ Nov. Test. tom. i. pp. 244—250. Hug's Introduction, *in loc.* Janssens, Hermeneutique Sacrée, tom. ii. pp. 61—68. Whitby's and Scott's Commentaries on the Epistle to the Hebrews.

[2] In MSS., a common place for these Epistles is immediately after the Acts of the Apostles; and there they therefore are placed by Scholz, Lachmann, Tischendorf, and Tregelles.

binding upon all, so far as their situations and circumstances are similar. But these remarks are equally applicable to the other books of the New Testament, and Paul's Epistles may, for the same reasons, with equal propriety, be termed catholic or canonical Epistles; for the doctrines there delivered are as catholic and excellent as those comprised in the seven Epistles now under consideration. They likewise contain many general precepts that are obligatory upon all Christians; and the particular precepts are binding so far as the circumstances of Christians in later ages are similar to those referred to by the great apostle of the Gentiles.

2. Others are of opinion that they received the appellation of catholic or general Epistles, because they were not written to one person, city, or church, like the Epistles of Paul, but to the *catholic church*, Christians in general, or to Christians of several countries, or at least to all the Jewish Christians wherever they were dispersed over the face of the earth. Œcumenius, Leontius, Whitby, and others, have adopted this opinion, which, however, does not appear to be well founded. The Epistle of James was, indeed, written to the Christians of the twelve tribes of Israel in their several dispersions; but it was not inscribed to the Christians in Judæa, nor to Gentile Christians in any country whatever. The two Epistles of Peter were written to Christians in general, but primarily and particularly those who had been converted from Judaism. The first Epistle of John and the Epistle of Jude were perhaps written to Jewish Christians; and the second and third Epistles of John were unquestionably written to particular persons.

3. A third opinion is that of Dr. Hammond, adopted by Dr. Macknight and others, which we think is the most probable. It is this:—The first Epistle of Peter and the first Epistle of John, having from the beginning been received as authentic, obtained the name of *catholic* or universally acknowledged (and therefore canonical) Epistles, in order to distinguish them from the Epistle of James, the second of Peter, the second and third of John, and the Epistle of Jude, concerning which doubts were at first entertained, and they were considered by many as not being a rule of faith. But their authenticity being at length acknowledged by the generality of the churches, they also obtained the name of catholic or universally received Epistles, and were esteemed of equal authority with the rest.[1] These Epistles were also termed *canonical* by Cassiodorus in the middle of the sixth century, and by the writer of the prologue to these Epistles, which is erroneously ascribed to Jerome. The propriety of this latter appellation is not satisfactorily ascertained. Du Pin says that some Latin writers have called these Epistles canonical, either confounding the name with catholic, or to denote that they are a part of the canon of the books of the New Testament.

[1] This opinion has been very frequently adopted in this country. There seems to be some difficulty in identifying the passage of Hammond to which Macknight referred. This opinion has of late years been received as if it were some new suggestion of Noesselt.

II. The denomination of *Catholic Epistles* is of very considerable antiquity, for Eusebius uses it as a common appellation in the fourth century, and it is probably earlier; for John's first Epistle is repeatedly called a catholic Epistle by Origen, and by Dionysius bishop of Alexandria. Of these Epistles, two only, viz. the first Epistle of Peter and the first Epistle of John, were universally received in the time of Eusebius; though the rest were then well known. And Athanasius, Epiphanius, and later Greek writers, received seven Epistles which they called *catholic.* The same appellation was also given to them by Jerome.

Although the authenticity of the Epistle of James, the second of Peter, the Epistle of Jude, and the second and third Epistles of John, was questioned by some ancient fathers, as well as by some modern writers, yet we have every reason to believe that they are the genuine and authentic productions of the inspired writers whose names they bear. The claims to authenticity of these disputed Epistles are discussed in the following sections. We may, however, here remark, that the primitive Christians were extremely cautious in admitting any books into their canon, the genuineness and authenticity of which they had any reason to suspect. They rejected all the writings forged by heretics in the names of the apostles; and, therefore, most assuredly, would not have received any without previously subjecting them to a severe scrutiny. Now, though these five Epistles were not immediately acknowledged as the writings of the apostles, this only shows that the persons who doubted had not received complete and incontestable evidence of their authenticity. But, as they were afterwards universally received, we have every reason to conclude that, upon a strict examination, they were found to be the genuine productions of the apostles. Indeed, the ancient Christians had such good opportunities for examining this subject, they were so careful to guard against imposition, and so well founded was their judgment concerning the books of the New Testament, that, as Dr. Lardner has remarked, no writing which they pronounced genuine has yet been proved spurious; nor have we at this day the least reason to believe any book to be genuine which they rejected.

III. The order in which these Epistles are placed is the same in MSS. in general, though it seems to vary in ancient authors; but it is not very material in what manner they are arranged. Could we fix with certainty the date of each Epistle, the most natural order would be according to the time when they were written. Some have placed the three Epistles of John first, probably because he was the beloved disciple of our Lord. Others have given the priority to the two Epistles of Peter, because they considered him as the prince of the apostles. Some have placed the Epistle of James last, possibly because it was later received into the canon by the Christian church in general. By others, this Epistle has been placed first, either because it was conjectured to have been the first written of the seven Epistles, or because St. James was supposed to have been the first bishop of Jerusalem, the most ancient and venerable, and the first of

all the Christian churches; or because the Epistle was written to the Christians of the twelve tribes of Israel, who were the first believers. In the following sections the usual order has been retained.[1]

CHAP. XXV.

ON THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF JAMES.

I. CONSIDERABLE doubts have existed respecting the author of this Epistle. Two apostles of the name of James are mentioned in the New Testament.[2]

[1] Benson's Preface to the Catholic Epistles. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 269—271. Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 62—65. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 465—468.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 366, 367. Rosenmüller, Scholia, vol. v. pp. 317, 318.

[2] [Who were the *Jameses*, and who "the brethren of the Lord," are among the *quæstiones vexatæ* of the Biblical student. The real question here is, whether "James the Lord's brother," Gal. i. 19., is identical with James the son of Alphæus, and whether by the expression, "other of the apostles saw I none save James the Lord's brother," St. Paul means to include him amongst the apostles or not. The most obvious opinion would be that he does term him an apostle; though it may be objected that in Luke iv. 26, 27. εἰ μή is used not to include the city of Sarepta amongst the cities of Israel, nor Naaman the Syrian amongst the Israelitish lepers. All, perhaps, that we can say *certainly* from the passage in Gal. i. is, that besides Peter and also James of Jerusalem (whether the latter were an apostle or no), Paul saw none of the apostles. εἶδον does apply to James; the question to be determined is, whether τῶν ἀποστόλων be similarly connected or not. The latter seems the more obvious connection; and in Luke iv. it may be said that in each the person marked out by εἰ μή belonged to a general class, *widows* in the one case, and *lepers* in the other, though not of Israel. It has been long a question whether James the son of Alphæus and James the Lord's brother were or were not identical; and if not, *which* of the two was the one who took the lead for many years in the church of Jerusalem, *which* was called James the Just, and *which* was the author of this Epistle? All these points are discussed by Dr. Davidson (Introd. iii. 302—312.): he shows that there were early opinions opposed to identifying these Jameses, and with these he agrees; but he considers that those were mistaken who did this by identifying James the Lord's brother with the president of the church of Jerusalem, whom he supposed to have been an apostle. It is clear that "James the Just," of whom early Christian writers speak, was the leading person in the Hierosolymitan church, and that by this name they designated that James who was also called the Lord's brother; so that, in separating *this* James from James the son of Alphæus, they regarded this president as not having been one of the original twelve, and thus either not an original apostle at all, or else (as Eusebius said) a fourteenth apostle. It may be taken as certain that James the Just and James the president of the Jerusalem church were identical; but then Josephus (Ant. xx. 8. 1.) gives such an account of the manner in which "James the brother of Jesus who is called Christ" was put to death, as to show that *that person* was the leading individual of the Jewish church. Thus it is difficult to avoid identifying the president James the Just with the Lord's brother: indeed Davidson, in oppposing that view, avowedly rejects the testimony of the early writers who distinguished between James the son of Alphæus and the Lord's brother.

The question then would recur, Who is the James spoken of in the latter half of the book of Acts? If these Jameses be separated, then some reply, the apostle, the son of Alphæus, some "the Lord's brother," the president in the church at Jerusalem. If these persons were not the same, it is at least remarkable that the indefinite name *James* is alone used: for prior to the beheading of James the brother of John, we do find a distinction (as in Acts xii. 1., Gal. i. 19.), which was afterwards as needful if there were more than one of leading importance. It should be added, that it is by no means clear that Hegesippus, one of Dr. Davidson's witnesses for dividing the Jameses, should be so understood: what he says is that James the brother of the Lord (called by all the Just) governed the church with the apostles; which may mean no more than that this was his special charge.

The latter part of the book of Acts *seems* to recognise but one James; and had we no

The first was the son of Zebedee, a fisherman upon the lake of Galilee, and the brother of the Evangelist John; and, as he is uniformly mentioned by the Evangelists (in the common text) before John (except in Luke ix. 28.), he is supposed to have been the elder of the two. As he was put to death by Herod Agrippa, A.D. 44 (Acts xii.), it appears that he was not the author of the Epistle which bears the name of James, because it contains passages which seem to refer to a later period.

The other James was the son of Alpheus or Cleopas; he is called the brother or near relation of our Lord (Gal. i. 18, 19.), and is also generally termed "the Less," partly to distinguish him from the other James, and probably, also, because he was lower in stature. We find no account of his *call* by Christ in the New Testament; but he is mentioned in each list of the apostles (Matt. x. 3.; Mark iii. 18.; Luke vi. 15.) He was honoured by Jesus Christ with a separate interview soon after his resurrection. (1 Cor. xv. 7.) He was distinguished as one of the apostles of the circumcision (Acts. i. 13.); and soon after the death of Stephen, A.D. 34, he seems to have been appointed president or bishop of the Christian church at Jerusalem, to have dwelt in that city, and to have presided at the council of the apostles, which was convened there A.D. 49. On account of his distinguished piety and sanctity, he was surnamed "the Just." But, notwithstanding the high opinion that was generally entertained of his character, his life was prematurely terminated by martyrdom, according to the account of Hegesippus, an ecclesiastical historian who flourished towards the middle of the second century. Having made a public declaration of his faith in Christ, the Scribes and Pharisees excited a tumult among the Jews, which began at the temple: or at least they availed themselves of a general disturbance, however it might have originated, and demanded of James an explicit and public declaration of his sentiments concerning the character of Christ. The apostle, standing on an eminence or battlement of the temple, whence he could be heard by the assembled multitude, avowed his faith, and maintained his opinion, that Jesus was the Messiah. The Jews were exasperated, and precipitated him from the battlement where he was standing; and, as he was not killed by the fall, they began to cast stones at him. The holy apostle, kneeling down, prayed to God to forgive his murderers, one of whom at length struck him with a long pole, which terminated his life. According to Hegesippus, this event took place about the time of the passover A.D. 62. At this time the procurator Festus is supposed to have been dead, and his successor Albinus had not arrived; so that the province was left without a governor. Such a season left the Jews at liberty to gratify their licentious and turbulent passions; and, from their known character and sentiments about this time,

farther information, I suppose that we should simply regard him as the apostle, the son of Alphæus, and as the author of this Epistle.

I must be content to refer as to who were intended by "the brethren of the Lord" to Mr. Alford's note on Matt. xiii. 55., and the remarks which it has called forth from the Rev. Charles Anthony Swainson, M.A., in the Journal of Sacred Literature for July 1855, pp. 394—401.]

they were very likely to embrace the opportunity. We may therefore date the apostle's death about the time assigned by Hegesippus, viz. A.D. 62, in which year it is placed by most learned men [1], who are agreed in dating the Epistle of James in the year 61.[2]

II. [" The Epistle of James is the first book that we have to consider of those described by Eusebius as *opposed by some.* We are not to feel surprise that Epistles not addressed to a particular church should be for a time comparatively unknown; this would be especially what we might expect as to an Epistle to those from amongst the Israelitish nation who had believed in Christ.

" The first who makes *express* mention of this Epistle *by name* is Origen, in the former part of the third century: he quotes it as the Epistle attributed to James (*ὡς ἐν τῇ φερομένῃ Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολῇ ἀνέγνωμεν.* Ed. De la Rue, iv. p. 306.) Hence it is *probable* that Origen's teacher, Clement of Alexandria, knew of this Epistle. This supposition is confirmed by a statement of Cassiodorus, a writer of the sixth century, that Clement gave a summary of this Epistle (together with others) in a work of his which is now lost: it has, however, been doubted whether the name of *James,* in the passage of Cassiodorus, is not put by mistake for *Jude.* Irenæus says of Abraham that " *he was called the friend of God.*" (C. H. iv. 16. 2.) This looks like an acquaintance with this Epistle. A strong testimony to this writing is given by the old Syriac version of the New Testament, in which, although the other books *opposed by some* are absent, this Epistle is contained." [3]

In the writings of Dionysius of Alexandria there are *two* citations from this Epistle,—chap. i. 17. and iv. 1. (Dionysii Opera, Romæ, 1796, p. 32. et 200.)

In the beginning of the following century the reception of this Epistle was, as we see from Eusebius, opposed by some, but afterwards it became general, as may be learned from Jerome and others; and thus it finds its place in the lists of the New Testament. " This is just what we might expect: a writing, little known at first, obtains a more general circulation, and the knowledge of the writing and its reception go almost together. The contents entirely befit the antiquity which the writing claims; no *evidence* could be given for rejecting it; it differs in its whole nature from the foolish and spurious writings put forth in the name of this James; and thus its gradual

[1] Hegesippus, cited by Eusebius, Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 23. Eusebius also quotes a passage from Josephus, that is no longer extant in his works, in which the Jewish historian considers the miseries which shortly after overwhelmed his countrymen as a judgment for their murder of James, whom he calls a most righteous person. The genuineness of Josephus's testimony has been questioned, so that no reliance can be placed upon it. Origen and Jerome cite it as authentic, and they are followed by Bishop Pearson, who has defended its genuineness. Dr. Doddridge considers the testimony of Josephus as unworthy of credit; and Dr. Benson thinks that both the accounts of Josephus and Hegesippus are extremely dubious.

[2] Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 468—502.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 368—384. Dr. Benson's History of Saint James, prefixed to his Paraphrase, pp. 1—13. 2d. edit. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 273—292.

[3] Tregelles's " Lecture on the Historic Evidence of the Authorship and Transmission of the Books of the New Testament," pp. 56, 57.

reception is to be accounted for from its having, from early times, been known by some to be genuine (as shown by the Syriac version), and this knowledge having afterwards spread more widely."[1]]

III. Commentators and critics are by no means agreed concerning the persons to whom this Epistle was addressed. Beza, Cave, Scott, Fabricius, Bishop Tomline, and others, are of opinion that it was addressed to the believing Jews who were dispersed all over the world. Grotius and Dr. Wall think that it was written to all the people of Israel living out of Judæa. Michaelis considers it certain that James wrote to persons already converted from Judaism to Christianity; but at the same time he believes, as the apostle was highly respected by the Jews in general, that he wished and designed that it should also be read by the unbelieving Jews, and that this design and intention had some influence on the choice of his materials. Dr. Benson is of opinion that this Epistle was addressed to the converted Jews out of Palestine; but Whitby, Lardner, and after them Macknight, think it was written to the whole Jewish nation, both within and without Judæa, whether believers or not. This opinion is grounded on some expressions in the first ten verses of the fourth chapter, and in the first five verses of the fifth chapter, which they suppose to be applicable to unbelievers only: but we think, with Bishop Tomline and others, that in these passages the apostle alludes merely to the great corruptions into which the Hebrew Christians had fallen at that time.

It does not appear probable that James would write part of his Epistle to believers, and part to unbelievers, without any mention or notice of that distinction. It should also be remembered, that this Epistle contains no general arguments for the truth of Christianity, nor any reproof of those who refused to embrace the Gospel; and, therefore, though Bishop Tomline admits that the inscription "to the twelve tribes that are scattered abroad" might comprehend both unbelieving and believing Jews, yet he is of opinion that it was intended for the believing Jews only, and that St. James did not expressly make the discrimination, because neither he nor any other apostle ever thought of writing to any but Christian converts. "The object of the apostolical Epistles," he further observes, "was to confirm, and not to convert; to correct what was amiss in those who did believe, and not in those who did not believe. The sense of the above inscription seems to be limited to the believing Jews by what follows almost immediately, 'The trial of your faith worketh patience.' (i. 3.) And again, 'My brethren, have not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Lord of glory, with respect of persons.' (ii. 1.) These passages *could not* be addressed to unbelievers."[2]

[1] Tregelles's "Historic Evidence," p. 57.

It is well known that Martin Luther, in the earlier part of the Reformation, spoke in a slighting manner of this Epistle, which he called *straminea epistola*, a strawy epistle, and excluded it at first from the sacred canon on account of its supposed contradiction of St. Paul concerning the doctrine of justification by faith, but more mature experience and deeper research induced him subsequently to modify his expressions. Others followed him in this judgment, formed wholly on *subjective* grounds.

[2] Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology, p. 472.

IV. The design of the apostle James, in writing this Epistle, we may collect, from a consideration of its contents, to be as follows:—

First, to prevent the Jewish Christians from falling into the vices which abounded among the Jews; such as pride in prosperity, impatience under poverty, or any other affliction; unworthy thoughts of God, and more particularly the looking upon him as the author of moral evil; a valuing themselves on their faith, knowledge, or right opinion, without a virtuous practice; a very criminal partiality for the rich, and a contempt for the poor; an affectation of being doctors or teachers; indulging passion and rash anger, envy and uncharitableness, strife and contention; abusing the noble faculty of speech, and being guilty of the vices of the tongue, such as cursing and swearing, slander and backbiting, and all rash and unguarded speeches whatever. So, likewise, he wrote to caution them against covetousness and sensuality, distrusting the divine goodness, neglecting prayer, or praying with wrong views, and the want of a due sense of their constant and immediate dependence upon God.

Secondly, to set the Jewish Christians right as to the doctrine of *justification by faith*. For as they were not to be justified by the *law*, but by the method proposed in the Gospel, and that method was said to be *by faith without the works of the law;* they, some of them, weakly, and others, perhaps, wilfully, perverted that discovery; and were for understanding, by faith, a bare assent to the truth of the Gospel, without that living, fruitful, and evangelical faith, which "worketh by love," and is required of all that would be saved.

Thirdly, to intimate unto such of them as laboured under sickness or any bodily disorders occasioned by their crimes, that if they were penitent, they might hope for a miraculous cure.

Fourthly, another and a principal reason of St. James's writing this Epistle to the Jewish Christians at this time was, to prevent their being impatient under their present persecutions or dark prospects; and to support and comfort them, by assuring them that *the coming of the Lord was at hand*, and thus impressing on them what their true hope was,—a point, the apprehension of which was difficult to many who had belonged to God's ancient earthly people.

V. Conformably with this design, the Epistle divides itself into three parts, exclusive of the introduction (i. 1.); viz.

PART I. *contains Exhortations,*

1. To joyful patience under trials. (i. 2—4.)
2. To ask wisdom of God, in faith, and with an unwavering mind. (5—8.)
3. To humility. (9—11.)
4. To constancy under temptations, in which part of the Epistle the apostle shows that God is not the author of sin, but the source and giver of every good. (12—18.)
5. To receive the Word of God with meekness, and to reduce it to practice. (19—27.)

PART II. *censures and condemns,*

1. Undue respect of persons in their religious assemblies, which is contrary to the law of love. (ii. 1—9.) It is then shown that the wilful transgression of one commandment violates the whole law of God. (10—12.)
2. Their mistaken notions of justification by faith without works: these mistakes are corrected and illustrated by the examples of Abraham and Rahab. (ii. 13—26.)
3. The affectation of being doctors or teachers of their religion; for as all are offenders, more or less, so vices in such a station would be the more aggravated. (iii. 1, 2.) Hence the apostle takes occasion to show the fatal effects of an unbridled tongue, together with the difficulty and duty of governing it (3—12.); and contrasts in a most beautiful manner the nature and effects of earthly and heavenly wisdom. (13—18.)
4. Those who indulge their lusts and passions. (iv. 1—5.)
5. The proud, who are exhorted to repentance and submission to God. (6—10.)
6. Censoriousness and detraction; annexed are exhortations to immediate and constant dependence upon God, enforced by considerations of the shortness and uncertainty of the present life. (11—17.)
7. Those who placed undue reliance upon their riches. (v. 1—6.)

PART III. *contains Exhortations and Cautions;* viz.

1. An exhortation to patience and meekness under trials, in the hope of a speedy deliverance. (v. 7—11.)
2. A caution against swearing, and an admonition to prayer and praise. (12, 13.)
3. Concerning visiting the sick, and the efficacy of prayer. (14—18.)
4. An encouragement to attempt the conversion of sinners, and the recovery of their offending brethren. (19, 20.)

VI. This Epistle of James is one of the most pathetic and instructive in the New Testament. Its style possesses all that beautiful and elegant simplicity which so eminently characterises the sacred writers. Having been written with the design of refuting particular errors which had been introduced among the Jewish Christians, it is not so replete with the peculiar doctrines of Christianity as the Epistles of Paul, or indeed as the other apostolical Epistles; but it contains an admirable summary of those practical duties which are incumbent on all believers, and which it enforces in a manner equally elegant and affectionate.[1]

[1] Benson's Preface to Saint James, pp. 14—20. Macknight's Preface, sect. 2—4. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 292—314. Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 67—79. Harwood's Introd. to the New Test. vol. i. pp. 216—220. Heidegger, Enchirid. Bibl. pp. 612—617. Janssens, Herméneutique Sacrée, tom. ii. pp. 68—72. See also Hug's Introduction, *in loc.*

CHAP. XXVI.

ON THE FIRST GENERAL EPISTLE OF PETER.

I. SIMON, surnamed Cephas or Peter, which appellation signifies a stone or rock, was the son of Jonas or Jonah, and was born at Bethsaida, on the coast of the sea of Galilee. He had a brother, called Andrew, and they jointly pursued the occupation of fishermen on that lake. These two brothers were hearers of John the Baptist; from whose express testimony, and their own personal conversation with Jesus Christ, they were fully convinced that he was the Messiah (John i. 35—42.); and from this time it is probable that they had frequent intercourse with our Saviour, and were witnesses of some of the miracles wrought by him, particularly that performed at Cana in Galilee. (John ii. 1, 2.) Both Peter and Andrew seem to have followed their trade until Jesus Christ called them to "follow him," and promised to make them both "fishers of men." (Matt. iv. 18, 19.; Mark i. 17.; Luke v. 10.) From this time they became his companions, and when he completed the number of his apostles, they were included among them. Peter, in particular, was honoured with his Master's intimacy, together with James and John. With them Peter was present, when our Lord restored the daughter of Jairus to life (Mark v. 37., Luke viii. 51.); when he was transfigured on the mount (Matt. xvii. 1., Mark ix. 2., Luke ix. 28.), and during his agony in the garden (Matt. xxvi. 36—56., Mark xiv. 32—42.); and on various other occasions Peter received peculiar marks of his Master's confidence. At the time when Peter was called to the apostleship, he was married, and seems to have removed, in consequence, from Bethsaida to Capernaum, where his wife's family resided.[1] It appears also that when our Lord left Nazareth and came and dwelt at Capernaum (Matt. iv. 13.), he took up his occasional residence at Peter's house, whither the people resorted to him.[2]

In the evangelical history of this apostle, the distinguishing features in his character are very signally portrayed; and it in no small degree enhances the credibility of the sacred historians, that they have blended without disguise several traits of his precipitance and presumption, with the honourable testimony which the narration of facts affords to the sincerity of his attachment to Christ, and the fervour of his zeal in the cause of his blessed Master. His ardour and forwardness are apparent on many occasions. He is the first to reply to all questions proposed by our Lord to the whole collective body of disciples, of which we have a memorable instance in Matt. xvi. 13—16. He hesitates not to rebuke our Lord himself, when he first announced his future sufferings. The ardour of his spirit is strikingly evinced in his venturing to walk on the sea to meet his Master (Matt. xiv. 28—31.); and still more decisively in his conduct towards the high-

[1] But see as to this, and on the juxta-position of Bethsaida and Capernaum, and their true localities, a paper by S. P. Tregelles in the Cambridge Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology for June 1856.

[2] Luke iv. 40.; Matt. viii. 16., xvii. 24—27.; Mark i. 32. 34.

priest's servant, whom he smote with his sword, and whose right ear he cut off, when the Jewish officers were about to apprehend our Lord.[1] His presumption and self-confidence sufficiently appear in his solemn asseverations that he would never abandon his Master (Matt. xxvi. 33.); and his weakness, in his subsequent denial of Christ: for, though Peter followed him afar off to the high-priest's palace, when all the other disciples forsook him and fled, yet he thrice disowned him, each time under circumstances of peculiar aggravation.[2] It does not appear that Peter followed Christ any further; probably remorse and shame prevented him from attending the crucifixion, as we find St. John did. On the day of Christ's resurrection, after appearing to Mary Magdalen and some other women, the next person to whom he showed himself was Peter. On another occasion (John xxi.) our Lord afforded him an opportunity of thrice professing his love for him, and charged him to feed the flock of Christ with fidelity and tenderness.

After our Saviour's ascension, Peter took an active part in the affairs of the infant church. It was he who proposed the election of a successor to the traitor Judas (Acts i. 15—26.), and on the ensuing day of Pentecost he preached Christ so effectually, that three thousand souls were added to the church. (Acts ii. 14—41.) We next find him, in company with John, healing a lame man at the gate of the temple, which was followed by an address to the people, many of whom were convinced, and embraced the Gospel. (Acts iii.) He was next imprisoned, brought before the sanhedrin, threatened and dismissed. (iv.) After the death of Ananias and Sapphira, whose fraud Peter detected and reprehended (v.), Peter and John preached successively at Samaria (viii.), and performed various miracles. (ix. x.) During his apostolical travels in Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee, he converted Cornelius the Roman centurion, the first Gentile convert who was admitted into the church without circumcision, or any injunction to comply with the Mosaic observances (x.); and, on his return to Jerusalem, he satisfied the Jewish Christians that God had granted repentance unto life to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews. (xi. 18.) Soon after this, being apprehended by Herod Agrippa, A. D. 44., who designed to put him to death, Peter was miraculously delivered by an angel. (xii.) In the apostolic council held at Jerusalem, A. D. 49, Peter took an active part, declaring his opinion most explicitly, that the yoke of the ceremonial law ought not to be imposed on the Gentiles. (Acts xv. 7—11.) From this time Peter is not mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, nor have we any certain information respecting his subsequent labours. It appears, however, that he afterwards preached at Antioch (Gal. ii. 11.); and from his inscribing his first Epistle to the Hebrew Christians dispersed in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia Minor, and Bithynia (1 Pet. i. 1, 2.), he is supposed to have preached in those countries. At length

[1] Matt. xxvi. 51—54.; Matt. xiv. 46, 47.; Luke xxii. 50, 51.; John xviii. 10, 11.

[2] Matt. xxvi. 69—75.; Mark xiv. 66—72.; Luke xxii. 54—62.; John xviii. 15—18. 26, 27.

he arrived at Rome, not before the year 63[1], subsequently to Paul's departure from that city, during the reign of the emperor Nero; and, after preaching the Gospel for some time, he was crucified there with head downwards. Clement of Alexandria adds, from an ancient tradition current in his time, that Peter's wife suffered martyrdom a short time before him.[2]

II. The genuineness and canonical authority of the first Epistle of Peter have never been disputed, except by recent subjective criticism. It is repeatedly distinctly quoted by Polycarp[3]; Papias also, as we learn from Eusebius, cited testimonies from it; and it is once cited in the Epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons.[4] It was quoted by name by Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian; and Eusebius informs us that it was universally acknowledged to be the production of St. Peter in the fourth century[5], since which time its authenticity has never been questioned on grounds of evidence.

III. Concerning the persons to whom this Epistle was sent, different opinions have prevailed. Beza, Grotius, Cave, Mill, Tillemont, Dr. Hales, Rosenmüller, Hug, and others, suppose that it was addressed to the Jewish Christians who were scattered through the countries mentioned in the inscription; while Lord Barrington and Dr. Benson think that it was written to proselytes of the gate; and Michaelis is of opinion that it was directed to those native heathens in Pontus, &c. who were first proselytes to Judaism, and then were converted to Christianity. But Estius, Whitby, Pott, Lardner, Macknight, and Bishop Tomline, think that it was written to Christians in general, whether Jews or Gentiles, residing in the countries above noticed.

In this diversity of opinion, the only rule of determination must be the inscription, together with such other circumstances as may be collected from the apostolical history or the Epistle itself. The inscription runs thus:—*Peter, an apostle of Jesus Christ, to the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia.* (1 Pet. i. 1.) That the persons here addressed were believing Jews, and not believing Gentiles, we apprehend will appear from the following considerations:—

1. We learn from Acts ii. 5. 9. that there were at the feast of Pentecost, waiting at Jerusalem, *Jews, devout men, out of every nation under heaven, dwellers in Judæa, Cappadocia, in Pontus and Asia.* Whence it is evident that there were Jews *dispersed* in those countries.

---

[1] We have seen (p. 495. *suprà*,) that St. Paul quitted Rome in the early part of A. D. 63, at which time it is evident that St. Peter had not arrived there; for if these two eminent servants of Christ had met in that city, Peter would have been mentioned by St. Paul in some of the Epistles, which he wrote thence, towards the close of his imprisonment.

[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 509—561.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 388—414. Scaliger, Salmasius, Frederick Spanheim, and others, have denied that St. Peter was ever at Rome; but the contrary opinion has been advocated by Cave, Bishop Pearson, Le Clerc, Basnage, and particularly by Dr. Lardner, who has clearly shown that Peter never was bishop of Rome. The pretended primacy of Peter, on which the Romanists insist so much, has been unanswerably refuted by Dr. Barrow in his Treatise on the Pope's supremacy, forming vol. i. of the folio edition of his works.

[3] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 98, 99.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 331, 332.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 152.; 4to. vol. i. p. 362.

[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 562, 563.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 415.

2. Peter had the *ministry of the circumcision* peculiarly committed to him. (Gal. ii. 8.) It is, therefore, more probable that he wrote to Jews than to Gentiles.

3. The persons to whom the apostle writes are termed *Strangers, scattered,* Παρεπιδημοι; which word properly denotes strangers from another country. Such were the Jews, who, through persecution in Judæa, fled into foreign countries; whereas believing Gentiles were rather called Proselytes. (Acts ii. 10.)

4. They are said to be *redeemed from their vain conversation received by tradition from their fathers* (1 Pet. i. 18.): in which description the apostle plainly refers to the traditions of the Jewish rabbins and elders.

5. The persons to whom Peter writes are styled *A chosen generation, a royal priesthood, an holy nation, a peculiar people* (1 Pet. ii. 9.), which are the terms used conditionally of the Jewish people (Exod. xix. 6.), now applied to the *spiritual* portion of them.

On these grounds we conclude that this Epistle was addressed to the dispersed Hebrew Christians.

IV. It appears from 1 Pet. v. 12, 13. that this Epistle was written from Babylon, and sent to the Jews by "Silvanus, a faithful brother," but whether Babylon is to be understood here, literally or mystically; as the city of the same name in Mesopotamia or Egypt, or rather Rome, or Jerusalem, has been long and warmly contested by the learned. Bishop Pearson, Mill, and Le Clerc, are of opinion, that the apostle speaks of Babylon in Egypt. Erasmus, Drusius, Beza, Dr. Lightfoot, Basnage, Beausobre, Dr. Cave, Wetstein, Drs. Benson and A. Clarke, think that Peter intended Babylon in Assyria; Michaelis, that it was Babylon in Mesopotamia, or rather Seleucia on the Tigris. And Grotius, Drs. Whitby, Lardner, Macknight, and Hales, Bishop Tomline, and all the learned of the Romish communion, are of opinion that by Babylon Peter meant, figuratively, *Rome,* which city is called Babylon by the apostle John. (Rev. xvii. xviii.)

From a careful examination of the evidence adduced for the literal meaning of the word Babylon, and of the evidence for its figurative or mystical application to Rome, we think that the *latter* was intended, and for the following reasons:—

1. This opinion is confirmed by the general testimony of antiquity, which, Dr. Lardner remarks, is of no small weight. Eusebius[1] relates, on the authority of Clement of Alexandria and Papias bishop of Jerusalem, that Mark's Gospel was written at the request of Peter's hearers in Rome; and that "Peter makes mention of Mark in his first Epistle, which was written at Rome itself. And that he (Peter) signifies this, calling that city figuratively Babylon, in these words, *The church which is at Babylon, elected jointly with you, saluteth you. And so doth Mark my son.*" This passage of Eusebius is transcribed by Jerome[2], who adds positively, that "Peter mentions this Mark in his first Epistle, figuratively denoting Rome by the name of Babylon; *the church which is at Babylon,*" &c. Œcumenius, Bede, and other Fathers, also understand Rome by Babylon. It is generally thought that Peter and John gave to Rome the name of Babylon, figuratively to signify that it would resemble Babylon in its idolatry, and in its opposition to and persecution of the church of God; and that, like Babylon, it will be utterly destroyed. But these things the inspired writers did not think fit to say plainly concerning Rome, for a reason which every reader may understand.

2. From the total silence of ecclesiastical history, it is not probable that Peter ever visited Babylon in Chaldæa; and Babylon in Egypt was too small and insignificant to be the subject of consideration.

[1] Hist. Eccl. lib. ii. c. 15. [2] De Viris Illust. c. 8.

3. Silvanus or Silas, the bearer, was *the faithful brother*, or associate of Paul in most of the churches which he had planted. And though he was not at Rome with the apostle when he wrote his last Epistle to Timothy, he might naturally have come hither soon after, and have been sent by Paul and Peter jointly, to confirm the churches in Asia Minor, &c. which he had assisted in planting. But Silvanus, Paul, and Peter, had no connection with Babylon, which lay beyond their district; and, therefore, they were not likely at any time to build upon another's foundation. The Gospel was preached in Persia or Parthia, by the apostle Thaddeus, or Jude, according to Cosmas; and Abulfaragi reckons that the ancient Syriac version of the New Testament was made in his time, and probably by his authority, for the use of the Oriental churches.[1]

4. The Jews, to whom this Epistle was written, were fond of mystical appellations, especially in their captivities. Edom was a frequent title for their Heathen oppressors; and, as Babylon was the principal scene of their first captivity, it was highly probable that Rome, the principal scene of their second, and which so strongly resembled the former in her "abominations, her idolatries, and persecutions of the saints," should be denominated by the same title. And this argument is corroborated by the similar usage of the Apocalypse, where the mystical application is unquestionable. (Rev. xiv. 8., xvi. 19., xviii. 2. &c.) It is highly probable, indeed, that John borrowed it from Peter; or, rather, that both derived it, by *inspiration*, from the prophecy of Isaiah. (xxi. 9)

5. The second Epistle is generally agreed to have been written *shortly* before Peter's death; but a journey from Babylon to Rome (where he unquestionably suffered) must have employed a long time, even by the shortest route that could be taken. And Peter must have passed through Pontus, &c., in his way to Rome, and therefore it would have been unnecessary for him to write. Writing from Rome, indeed, the case was different, as he never expected to see them more.

[The editor may here express his deliberate judgment that this Epistle was written from the ancient Babylon in Chaldæa. So, too, Dr. Davidson (Introd. iii. 366.), who states the evidence pretty fully for the different opinions, and Dr. Wordsworth "On the Canon."]

If Peter suffered martyrdom at Rome, A. D. 64 or 65, and we have no evidence that he arrived there before the year 63, we are warranted in dating this Epistle in A. D. 64 [if written at Rome].

V. It appears from the Epistle itself that it was written during a period of general calamity, when the Hebrew Christians were exposed to severe persecutions. The design of this Epistle, therefore, is partly to support them under their afflictions and trials, and also to instruct them how to behave under persecution. It likewise appears, from the history of that time, that the Jews were uneasy under the Roman yoke, and that the destruction of their polity was approaching. On this account the Christians are exhorted to honour the emperor (Nero), and the presidents whom he sent into the provinces, and to avoid all grounds of being suspected of sedition or other crimes that would violate the peace and welfare of society. And, finally, as their character and conduct were liable to be aspersed and misrepresented by their enemies, they are exhorted to lead a holy life, that they might stop the mouths of their enemies, put their calumniators to shame, and win others over to their religion, by their holy and Christian conversation.

The Epistle may be conveniently divided into four sections, exclusive of the introduction and conclusion.

[1] Lardner, 8vo. vol. v. p. 272.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 55. Michaelis, vol. ii. p. 30.

The Introduction. (i. 1, 2.)

SECT. 1. contains an exhortation of the Jewish Christians to persevere steadfastly in the faith with all patience and cheerfulness, and to maintain a holy conversation, notwithstanding all their sufferings and persecutions. This is enforced by the consideration of the peculiar blessings and privileges which were freely bestowed upon them. (i. 3—25., ii. 1—10.)

SECT. 2. comprises an exhortation,

i. To a holy conversation in general. (ii. 11, 12.)
ii. To a particular discharge of their several duties, as
Dutiful subjects to their sovereign. (13—15).
Servants to their masters. (16—25.)
Husbands to their wives. (iii. 1—13.)

SECT. 3. contains an exhortation to patience, submission, and to holiness of life, enforced,

i. By considering the example of Christ. (iii. 14—18.)
ii. By reminding them how God punished the disobedient in the days of Noah. (19—22.)
iii. By reminding them of the example of Christ, and that by their conversion they became dead to the flesh. (iv. 1—6.)
iv. By showing them the approaching destruction of the Jewish polity. (7—11.)
v. By showing them that, under the Gospel, they should consider afflictions as their portion, and as matter of joy. (12—19.)

SECT. 4. Directions to the ministers of the churches, and the people, how to behave towards each other. (v. 1—11.)

The Conclusion. (v. 12—14.)

VI. As the design of this Epistle is excellent, so its excellence, in the judgment of the best critics, does not fall short of its design. Erasmus pronounces it to be worthy of the prince of the apostles, and adds that it is sparing in words, but full of sense. That great critic, Joseph Scaliger, calls it majestic; and Ostervald[1] says that the first Epistle of Peter is one of the finest books in the New Testament, that the second is written with great strength and majesty, and that both of them evidently show their divine origin. Every part, indeed, of Peter's writings indicates a mind that felt the *power* of the doctrines he delivered, and a soul that glowed with the most ardent zeal for the spread of the Gospel. His style expresses the noble vehemence and fervour of his spirit, his perfect knowledge of the Gospel, and his strong assurance of the truth and certainty of its doctrines. Little solicitous about the choice or harmonious disposition of words, his thoughts and his heart were absorbed with the grand truths which he was divinely commissioned to proclaim, and the indispensable obligation of Christians to adorn their profession by a holy life. Hence, in his first Epistle, he writes with such energy and rapidity of style, that we can scarcely perceive the pauses of his discourse, or the distinction of his periods. And in his second Epistle he exposes with holy indignation and vehemence the abandoned principles and practices of those false teachers and false prophets, who in those early times sprang

[1] Nouv. Test. pp. 276. 281. edit. Neufchatel, 1772. folio.

up in the Christian church, and disseminated their pernicious tenets with so much art and cunning. His prophetic description of the general conflagration, and of the end of all terrestrial things (2 Pet. iii. 8—12.), is very awful. We see the planetary heavens, and this our earth, enveloped in the devouring flames: we hear the groans of an expiring world, and the crash of nature tumbling into universal ruin. How solemn and affecting is this practical inference! (2 Pet. iii. 11.) "*Seeing then that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness.*" The meanest soul and lowest imagination cannot think of that time, and the awful description of it, which we meet with in this place, and in several other passages of Holy Writ, without the greatest emotion and the deepest impressions.[1]

CHAP. XXVII.

ON THE SECOND GENERAL EPISTLE OF PETER.

I. THIS Epistle has been received as the genuine production of Peter ever since the fourth century[2], except by the Syrian church, who have it not as part of their old version, though some of their writers have used and cited it. In the fourth and following centuries, it was acknowledged by Athanasius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Epiphanius, Jerome, Rufinus, Augustine, and all subsequent writers. Eusebius[3] places it among the Ἀντιλεγόμεναι Γραφαί, or books whose canonical authority was doubted by *some*, but he plainly distinguishes it from such as were confessedly spurious. He also relates[4], from the tradition of his predecessors, that, though it was not acknowledged as part of the New Testament, yet, because to many it seemed useful, it was diligently read together with the other Scriptures. On this statement of Eusebius, Le Clerc forcibly remarks, that if it had not been Peter's it would not have seemed useful to any man of tolerable prudence,

[1] Blackwall's Sacred Classics, vol. i. pp. 302—304. Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 79—89. Macknight's Preface to 1 Peter. Benson's History of St. Peter and his First Epistle, pp. 137—159. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 562—583.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 414—425. Dr. Hales's Analysis, vol. ii. book ii. pp. 1144—1147. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 315—346. See also Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. §§ 166—171.

[2] The second Epistle of Peter was placed among the disputed writings of the New Testament by Origen. (Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. c. 25.) It is natural to suppose, that if, from incidental causes, the second Epistle of Peter did not become known so early as the first, some churches, which had for a length of time been accustomed to read only one Epistle of Peter, might hesitate to receive another. Suspicion might also have arisen against the genuineness of this Epistle, from the fact that it was brought from Asia Minor, the abode of the Montanists, who were accused of a disposition to fabricate new writings. (Eusebius, Eccl. Hist. lib. vi. c. 20.) More especially may this have been the case, as the passage, 2 Pet. ii. 20., could be urged in vindication of the rigour of the Montanistic discipline: or, the departure of the Christians in Asia Minor from the customary mode of celebrating the Easter solemnities, may have produced in the Eastern and Western Christians an indisposition to receive this book. Schmucker's Biblical Theology, vol. i. p. 122., where various writers are enumerated who have vindicated the genuineness of this Epistle.

[3] Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. c. 25.

[4] Ibid. lib. iii. c. 8.

seeing the writer in many places pretends to be Peter himself; for it would be *noxious* on account of its being a forgery, as well as unpardonable in any man to forge another's name, or pretend to be the person he is not.[1]

[The second Epistle of Peter demands a very particular attention, because it must at once be admitted that the *quantity* of evidence in its favour, in the early centuries, is *less* than that which we possess with regard to any of the other writings of the New Testament. This resulted in part from its having been but little known.

"The Catholic Epistles were not formed into a collected volume at an early period: they were only known and used individually. *Two* only of these writings stand in Eusebius's catalogue of books universally acknowledged."[2]

And thus it was a considerable time before these seven writings passed as a whole from the condition of individual use and acknowledgment into the sphere of recognised church use. And even of those two of the Catholic Epistles which were universally acknowledged, we find that the first Epistle of Peter was in some regions but little used. Nothing can be more certain than the manner in which it was acknowledged by Tertullian; and yet in the writings of the African presbyter, we find but once a passage quoted from it: had we not this one portion of his works, we might have judged either that he did not know of that Epistle, or that he did not own its authority. So little can we, in the case of the Catholic Epistles, argue from the silence of some writers of the first three centuries.

Origen, in the former part of the third century, mentions definitely that such an Epistle as the second of Peter was *known*, but still he mentions that it was doubted by some (ἔστω δὲ καὶ δευτέραν· ἀμφιβάλλεται γάρ. Ap. Euseb. H. E. vi. 25.). In the same age, Firmilianus, bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, in writing to Cyprian of Carthage, accuses the bishop of Rome of "abusing the holy apostles *Peter* and Paul, who in their *Epistles* have execrated heretics, and admonished us to avoid them." ("Adhuc infamans *Petrum* et Paulum beatos apostolos, quasi hoc ipsi tradiderint: qui in epistolis suis hæreticos execrati sunt, et ut eos evitemus, monuerunt." Epist. Cypr. 75.) It is *this* Epistle alone that can be intended in connection with the name of Peter. Now the second of Peter professes to be addressed to the same persons to whom the first had been. (chap. iii. 1.) One of the countries mentioned in the salutation of the former is *Cappadocia*, and to that very region did Firmilianus belong. We thus get, in the third century, our decisive testimony as to this Epistle, from the very region where it ought to have been best known, the part to which we should most naturally turn in search of conclusive evidence.

We learn from Eusebius, that Clement of Alexandria commented on the Catholic Epistles, both those which were universally owned, and those that were opposed by some: hence, it seems probable that he was acquainted with *this* Epistle, since this is one to which by

[1] Clerici, Hist. Eccl. p. 442. note. [2] Tregelles's "Historic Evidence." p. 54.

that expression Eusebius was accustomed to allude. It belongs, of necessity, to an age prior to that of Firmilianus and Origen, and thus it must have been in circulation in the time of Clement of Alexandria.

There are, in the extant works of still earlier writers, such coincidences of expression and thought as seem to exhibit an acquaintance with this Epistle; and indirect as these testimonies may seem, it must be borne in mind that a Christian teacher who uses the statements of a writing *claiming to be authoritative*, so far shows that he admits and enforces that claim.

Clement of Rome (1 Cor. xi.) thus writes: — "On account of hospitality and godliness, Lot was delivered out of Sodom, when all the region round about was condemned with fire and brimstone. The Lord made it manifest that He doth not forsake those who trust in Him; but those who turn to other ways, He appoints to punishment." Let this, as to the connection of words and thoughts, be compared with 2 Pet. ii. 6—9.: "Turning the cities of Sodom and Gomorrah into ashes, condemned them with an overthrow, making them an ensample unto those that after should live ungodly; and delivered just Lot. . . . The Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptations, and to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment to be punished." It certainly looks as if the one passage were in the mind of the writer of the other.

In 2 Pet. iii. 15, 16. the writer speaks of *Paul* and his *Epistles*, which he *wrote* according to the *wisdom* given to him; in the Epistle of Polycarp (ch. iii.) there is a passage in which the words and thoughts seem to be moulded on what is there found. *2 Pet.* Καθὼς καὶ ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς Παῦλος κατὰ τὴν δοθεῖσαν αὐτῷ σοφίαν ἔγραψεν ὑμῖν, ὡς καὶ ἐν πασαῖς ἐπιστολαῖς λαλῶν κ.τ.λ. *Polyc.* Οὔτε γὰρ ἐγὼ οὔτε ἄλλος ὅμοιος ἐμοὶ δύναται κατακολουθῆσαι τῇ σοφίᾳ τοῦ μακαρίου καὶ ἐνδόξου Παύλου· ὃς γενόμενος, ἐν ὑμῖν κατὰ πρόσωπον τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἐδίδαξεν. . . ὃς καὶ ἀπὼν ὑμῖν ἔγραψεν ἐπιστολάς κ.τ.λ. It *looks* as though Polycarp alluded to something well known as a statement, and this is found in this Epistle alone.[1]

Irenæus, in the latter part of the second century, uses an expression about St. Peter, which in this Epistle he employs with regard to himself. 2 Pet. i. 15. σπουδάσω δὲ καὶ ἑκάστοτε ἔχειν ὑμᾶς μετὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἔξοδον τὴν τούτων μνήμην ποιεῖσθαι. Irenæus (C. H. iii. 1.) after speaking of the preaching of Peter and Paul, adds, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων ἔξοδον; Mark, the disciple and interpreter of Peter, wrote down the things which he had taught. If this be a *mere* coincidence,

[1] [It is right to add, that the Rev. B. F. Westcott, to whom this seeming connection was pointed out, remarks on it in a foot-note to a passage stating that in the first period of his inquiry respecting the Canon (*i. e.* up to A. D. 170) "no trace has been found of the existence of the second Epistle of Peter," in the following manner: "One coincidence has been pointed out to me which deserves notice. The language of the well-known reference to St. Paul in Polycarp's Epistle (c. 3.) bears considerable resemblance to the corresponding passage in 2 Pet. iii. 15. (σοφία, ἐπιστολαί), but in the absence of all other evidence it is impossible to insist on this." (On the Canon of the New Testament, p. 367.) But still each *apparent* allusion must rest on its own ground, and the evidence furnished by each separately and by all combinedly, must be considered. We do find *single* allusions to books which must have been well known.]

it is a remarkable one; it seems rather as if the name of Peter had suggested the use of this unaccustomed expression to denote his decease: how little it has been considered a usual or probable term is shown by its having been doubted whether Irenæus might not mean only departure from Rome. In connection with the evidence on this subject it should be remembered that Irenæus and Polycarp were two persons, who connected in their own lives and teaching the apostolic age with the close of the second century.

The Syriac version of the oration of Melito of Sardis to Antoninus Cæsar has recently been published by the Rev. W. Cureton in his "Spicilegium Syriacum:" this apology supplies us with a notice of this Epistle intermediate in point of time between Polycarp and Irenæus. Melito uses the sequence of statements and illustrations so that the coincidence of what he says with 2 Pet. iii. 5, 6., and 10—12., could not be deemed accidental. "At another time there was a flood of waters, and the just were preserved in an ark of wood by the ordinance of God. So also it will be at the last time; there shall be a flood of fire, and the earth shall be burnt up .... and the just shall be delivered from the fury, like their fellows in the ark from the waters of the deluge."[1]

Theophilus, in the latter part of the second century, seems to have used this Epistle; the following words ὁ λόγος αὐτοῦ φαίνων ὥσπερ λύχνος ἐν οἰκήματι συνεχομένῳ deserve comparison with 2 Pet. i. 19.; and οἱ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄνθρωποι πνευματοφόροι πνεύματος ἁγίου καὶ προφῆται γενόμενοι with 2 Pet. i. 21.

Such then are the early notices of this Epistle, or of what may seem to be allusions to it.

In the former part of the fourth century this Epistle was, as we learn from Eusebius[2], "known and acknowledged by most," together with the other disputed Epistles.

From the fourth century, and onwards, the genuineness of this Epistle was more discussed on internal than on external grounds: the principal points to which attention was directed were the *difference of style* in this Epistle from the first, and the resemblance of part of the second chapter to the Epistle of Jude.

Now as to the first point, on which some have always rested, and which was a known ground of doubt up to and at the time even of the Reformation, it must always be remembered that *the subject forms the style*, unless indeed the latter is wholly artificial. A work may be known occasionally to be written by a particular author, or may be judged to be an imitation of his style and manner, from the

[1] [Spicilegium Syriacum: containing remains of Bardesan, Meliton, Ambrose, and Mara bar Serapion: now first edited with an English translation, and notes by the Rev. William Cureton, M.A. F.R.S., Chaplain in ordinary to the Queen, Rector of St. Margaret's, and Canon of Westminster, MDCCCLV. (See for the above passage the Syriac text near the close, and for the translation, p. 51.)]

[2] [Mr. Westcott says, "Though Eusebius has made use of the Epistle of St. James in many places, yet I am not aware that he ever quotes the Epistle of St. Jude, *the second Epistle of St. Peter*, or the two shorter Epistles of St. John." (On the Canon, p. 489.) But Eusebius appears to me to use the *words* of 2 Pet., where he says, δεδωρημένῃ θείᾳ καὶ παραδοξοποιῷ δυνάμει (H. E. iii. 24.). Compare τῆς θείας δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸς ζωὴν καὶ εὐσέβειαν δεδωρημένης, 2 Pet. i. 3.]

expressions, the arrangement, and the kind of illustrations and mode of reasoning; and when there are particulars which would *not* be imitated, or they appear in such a manner as to be clearly undesigned, the identification may be regarded as very certain.[1] But when a person is writing at a different time and on other subjects, it would be strange to expect uniformity of mere style. As well might stern and solemn rebuke be couched in the language of gentle entreaty. If Peter preaching in the Acts, if his addresses to Ananias and Sapphira, and to Simon Magus, and his answer before the council of the Jews, be compared with the different parts of this Epistle, they will be found to be more in accordance with it as to *style* than they are to the first Epistle, the genuineness of which is incontrovertible.

But though the style of these two Epistles is different, in some particular points there are resemblances, as will be shown in connection with what may be alleged as internal evidence.

That the Epistle of Jude is used by the writer of this Epistle seems to be now the more general opinion rather than *vice versâ:* this seems to be well-grounded, for in 2 Peter there is a certain amplification and illustration of what they had in common. But the use of the Epistle of Jude is no argument against the genuineness or the authority of this. Nor there can be no reason why one inspired writer should not use the same language which had been employed by another; to deny this would be to limit the acting of the Holy Ghost in the inspiration of the writers of Scripture, and to affirm that he might not do that which may be done by all human authors. And farther, this very use of the Epistle of Jude is a strong evidence that 2 Peter is genuine; for would a forger have been likely to make his work differ so much from the rest of the New Testament books as would be the case if he introduced so much of another Epistle into it?

The modern subjective feeling of many scholars is that this Epistle is not genuine: this is an opinion which is not easy to discuss, when tangible reasons are not assigned. Bunsen does not go so far as many of his countrymen; he does not reject this Epistle altogether, but he regards the first eleven verses of the first chapter and the doxology at the end of the third to be a genuine Epistle written *before* that which we call the first of Peter, and that it is alluded to there (chap. v. 12.), where he does not consider ἔγραψα as relating to that Epistle itself. It is not easy to discuss these theories, of which many more might be just as easily suggested. Other modes of mutilating this Epistle had been previously proposed, but for none of them is there any *authority.* The Epistle comes to us as *one;* this point is proved by the MSS. and early versions, and the diplomatic

[1] [In illustration of this I may mention, that I formed a decided judgment that "The Restoration of Belief" was the work of Isaac Taylor after reading the earlier parts, though I had no intimation or suggestion who the writer might be prior to the appearance of the author's name in the advertisement of the completed work. The style, form of sentences, kind of reasoning, &c. in that work exhibit clear traces of those points in which it is clear that Isaac Taylor would not be intentionally imitated.]

transmission must be deemed as *so far* of importance on the question of its genuineness. It was adopted and used as part of a collection of books at and before the time of our oldest codices. We must gather up the scattered early notices, which, though not so ample as those of other New Testament books, are, I judge, *sufficient;* and we must look at the Epistle itself, and say whether it is not what it claims to be, and what those who knew it in early times owned it to be, a document containing that apostolic teaching that no impostor could or would have devised. He who has studied the teaching and sentiments falsely ascribed to Peter in the Clementines, will be able most fully to apprehend from *how different* a source must this writing have proceeded.]

Let us now briefly consider the internal indications of the authorship.

1. The writer styles himself Symeon Peter (i. 1. Gr.); from which circumstance we conclude that this Epistle was written by the apostle Peter. Should it be objected that the apostle's name was *Simon* not *Simeon*, Dr. Macknight replies, that though his name was commonly written Simon in Greek, yet its Hebrew form was Simeon; and so it is written in the Old Testament history of Jacob's sons, and so Peter is expressly termed in Acts xv. 14. (Gr.) It has further been objected, that in the first Epistle, which is unquestionably genuine, he has styled himself simply *Peter*, and not Simon Peter. But it is worthy of observation, that St. Luke has called this apostle *Simon Peter*, and that St. John has given him that name not less than seventeen times in his Gospel,—perhaps (Dr. Macknight thinks) to show that he was the author of the Epistle which begins with *Symeon Peter, a servant and an apostle*, &c. The same critic is further of opinion, that though Peter's surname only is mentioned in the inscription of the first letter, because he was sufficiently known by it, yet he might, for the greater dignity, insert his name complete in the second Epistle, because he intended authoritatively to rebuke the false teachers who had already arisen, or might thereafter arise. Since, therefore, *Symeon Peter* is the same as Simon Peter, no objection can be raised against the authenticity of this Epistle on account of the name; neither does it afford any countenance to the opinion of Grotius, that this Epistle was written by Simeon bishop of Jerusalem, who succeeded James the Lord's brother,—an opinion that is not only destitute of all authority, but is also inconsistent with the whole tenor of the Epistle itself.

2. There are several incidental allusions to particular circumstances in this Epistle which answer to no other person but Peter. Thus, the writer of it testifies that he *must shortly put off his tabernacle, even as our Lord Jesus had shown him.* (2 Pet. i. 14.) Now Christ foretold or showed this to none of his apostles besides Peter. (John xxi. 19.) Again, the writer of this Epistle was with Christ upon the mount at his transfiguration, beheld his majesty, and heard the voice of the Father, from heaven, when he was with Christ, on the holy mount. (2 Pet. i. 16—18.) Now there were only three of Christ's apostles permitted to witness this transfiguration (Matt. xvii. 1, 2.), viz. Peter, James, and John. The Epistle in question, therefore, must claim to be written by one of them, and, consequently, to be of apostolical authority; but as it never was ascribed to James or John, nor is there any reason for attributing it to them, it follows that this Epistle is the production of Peter.—Once more, the author of it calls this his *second Epistle* (iii. 1.), and intimates that he wrote both his letters to the same persons, viz. the believing Hebrews. Compare 1 Pet. i. 1. and 2 Pet. i. 1. with 2 Pet. iii. 1, 2. Consequently, as the authenticity of the first Epistle was never disputed, the second identifies itself as written by the same person, viz. Peter.

3. Whoever wrote this Epistle calls Paul his beloved brother (iii. 15, 16), commends him, and approves the authority of his Epistles, in which an apostolical place is decidedly claimed.

4. A holy and apostolical spirit breathes throughout the whole of this Epistle; in which we find predictions of things to come, and admonitions against false teachers and apostasy, together with exhortations to a godly life, and condemnations of sin,

delivered with an earnestness and feeling which make it improbable in the extreme that the author would have imposed a forged writing upon the world: and thus it is not to be believed that he was personating the apostle.[1]

5. Lastly, there are certain resemblances of style in both Epistles. The sentences in the second Epistle are seldom fluent and well rounded, but they have the same extension as those in the first. There are also repetitions of the same words, and allusions to the same events. Thus the word *ἀναστροφή, conversation* or behaviour, which is so peculiar to the first Epistle[2], likewise occurs in the second[3], though less frequently than in the former. So, the deluge, which is not a common subject in the apostolical Epistles, is mentioned in 1 Pet. iii. 20., and also in 2 Pet. ii. 5.; and in both places the circumstance is noted, that eight persons only were saved, though in neither place does the subject require that the number should be particularly specified. Michaelis observes, that Peter was not the only apostle who knew how many persons were saved in the ark; but he only, who by habit had acquired a familiarity with the subject, would ascertain the precise number, where his argument did not depend upon it.

The result of all these evidences, both external and internal, is, that the second Epistle of Peter has sufficient testimony to be regarded as the production of that apostle, and claims to be received and studied with the same devout care and attention as the rest of the inspired writings of the New Testament.

II. That Peter was old and near his death when he wrote this Epistle, is evident from ch. i. 14.; and that it was written soon after the first Epistle, appears from the apology he makes (i. 13. 15.) for writing this second Epistle to the Hebrew Christians. Dr. Lardner thinks it not unlikely that, soon after the apostle had sent away Silvanus with his first letter to the Christians in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia Minor, and Bithynia, some persons came from those countries to Rome (whither there was a frequent and general resort from all parts), who brought him information concerning the state of religion among them. These accounts induced him to write a second time, most probably at the beginning of A. D. 65, in order to establish in the faith the Christians among whom he had laboured.

III. The scope of this Epistle is to confirm the doctrines and instructions delivered in the former; to establish the Hebrew Christians in the truth and profession of the Gospel; to caution them against false teachers, whose tenets and practices he largely describes; and to warn them to disregard those profane scoffers, who should make a mock of Christ's second coming, and who should seek to set it at nought as though it were a vain hope; which having asserted and described, and illustrated by the judgment of the universal deluge, he exhorts them to prepare for that event by a holy and unblameable conversation. The Epistle consists of three parts; viz.

PART. I. *The Introduction.* (i. 1, 2.)

PART II. *Having stated the Blessings to which God had called them, the Apostle,*

SECT. 1. Exhorts the Christians, who had received these precious

[1] [Few moral arguments in favour of this Epistle can be stronger than those derived from the prediction (chap. iii.) that scoffers should come walking after their own lusts, saying, "Where is the promise of His coming?" men who are willingly ignorant that the old world was destroyed by the water of the flood.]

[2] See 1 Pet. i. 15, 18., ii. 12., iii. 1, 2. 10.

[3] 2 Pet. ii. 7., iii. 11.

gifts, to endeavour to improve in the most substantial graces and virtues. (i. 3—11.)

SECT. 2. To this he incites them,

i. From the firmness of true teachers (i. 12—21.), and the testimony of prophecy.
ii. From the wickedness of false teachers, whose tenets and practices he exposes, and predicts the Divine judgments against them. (ii.)

SECT. 3. He guards them against scoffers and impostors, who, he foretells, would ridicule their expectation of Christ's coming:—

i. By confuting their false assertions. (iii. 1—7.)
ii. By showing the reason why that great day was delayed, and describing its circumstances and consequences, adding suitable exhortations and encouragements to diligence and holiness. (iii. 8—14.)

PART III. *The Conclusion, in which the Apostle,*

SECT. 1. Declares the agreement of his doctrine with that of St. Paul. (iii. 15, 16.)

SECT. 2. And repeats the sum of the Epistle. (iii. 17, 18.)

On account of the similarity of style and subject between the second chapter of this Epistle and that of Jude, Dr. Benson and Michaelis place the latter immediately after the second Epistle of Peter.[1]

CHAP. XXVIII.

ON THE FIRST GENERAL EPISTLE OF JOHN.

I. ALTHOUGH no name is prefixed to this book, its authenticity as a genuine production of the apostle John is unquestionable. It was almost universally received as his composition in the Eastern and Western churches, and appears to be alluded to by Hermas.[2] It is distinctly cited by Polycarp[3], and in the Epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons[4], and is declared to be genuine by Papias[5], Irenæus[6], Clement of Alexandria[7], Tertullian[8], Origen[9], Cyprian, Eusebius, Athanasius, and all subsequent ecclesiastical writers.[10] A still more decisive testimony is the fact that it is found in the Syriac version of the New Testament, which omits some of those books

[1] Pritii Introd. ad Lect. Nov. Test pp. 90—99. Moldenhawer, Introd. ad Libros Biblicos, pp. 352—355. Heidegger, Enchirid. Bibl. pp. 624—628. Benson on the Catholic Epistles, pp. 321—329. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 562—583.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 414—425. Macknight's Preface to 2 Peter. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 346—363.
[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 61.; 4to. vol. i. p. 311.
[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 99.; 4to. vol. i. p. 332.
[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 152.; 4to. vol. i. p. 362.
[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 108, 109. 113.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 337. 340.
[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 168.; 4to. vol. i. p. 370.
[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 227.; 4to. vol. i. p. 403.
[8] Ibid. 8vo vol. ii. p. 275.; 4to. vol. i. p. 429.
[9] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 481.; 4to. vol. i. p. 540.
[10] Ibid. 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 584, 585.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 525, 526.

of the New Testament respecting whose authenticity doubts were entertained. But, besides this external proof, we have the strongest internal evidence that this Epistle was written by the apostle John, in the very close analogy of its sentiments and expressions to those of his Gospel. There is also a remarkable peculiarity in the style of this apostle, and particularly in this Epistle. His sentences, considered *separately*, are exceedingly clear and intelligible; but when we search for their connection, we frequently meet with greater difficulties than we experience even in the Epistles of Paul. Artless simplicity and benevolence, blended with singular modesty and candour, together with a wonderful sublimity of sentiment, are the characteristics of this Epistle; in which John appears to have delivered his conceptions as they arose in his mind, and in the form of aphorisms, in order that they might produce the greater effect. In his Gospel John does not content himself with simply affirming or denying a thing, but denies its contrary to strengthen his affirmation; and in like manner, to strengthen his denial of a thing, he affirms its contrary. See John i. 20., iii. 36., v. 24., vi. 22. The same manner of expressing things strongly occurs in this Epistle. See ii. 4. 27. and iv. 2, 3. In his Gospel also, St. John frequently use the pronoun or οὗτος, αὕτη, τουτο, *this*, in order to express things emphatically. See i. 19., iii. 19., vi. 29. 40. 50., and xvii. 3. In the Epistle the same emphatical mode of expression obtains. Compare i. 5., ii. 25., iii. 23., v. 3, 4. 6. and 14.[1]

II. With regard to the date of this Epistle, there is a considerable diversity of opinion. Drs. Benson, Hales, and others, place it in the year 68; Bishop Tomline in 69; Lampe, after the first Jewish war, and before the apostle's exile in Patmos; Dr. Lardner, A. D. 80 or even later; Mill and Le Clerc, in A. D. 91 or 92; Beausobre, L'Enfant, and Du Pin, at the end of the first century; and Grotius, Hammond, Whitby, Michaelis, and Macknight, place it before the destruction of Jerusalem, but without specifying the precise year. The most probable of these various opinions (in the *author's* opinion) is that which assigns an early date to this Epistle, viz. before the destruction of Jerusalem and the subversion of the Jewish polity.

In that case we conclude that St. John wrote his first Epistle in 68, or at the latest in 69; though it is impossible to ascertain from what place he sent it, whether from Patmos, as Grotius supposes, or from some city in Judæa, as Dr. Macknight supposes, or from Ephesus, as Irenæus and Eusebius relate from ancient tradition, which has been generally received.[2]

[The arguments which have been advanced in proof of an early date of this Epistle do not in fact demonstrate anything, and we may

[1] Lampe, Commentarius in Evangelium Johannis, tom. i. Prolegomena, p. 104. Macknight's Preface to 1 John, sect. 2. Langii, Hermeneutica Sacra, pars ii. De Interpretatione Epistolarum Johannis, pp. 167—175.

[2] Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 587—589.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 426—428. Lampe, tom. i. p. 106 Pritius, p. 106. Benson's Paraphrase on the Catholic Epistles, pp. 505—510. Macknight's Preface to 1 John, sect. 4. Pritii, Introd. in Nov. Test. pp. 99—108. Hales's Sacred Chronology, vol. iii. p. 452. second edition.

say that it is a point on which we have to form our opinion rather on what may seem *probable* than as relying on the alleged proofs.

It has been thought that ἐσχάτη ὥρα (ii. 18.) means the concluding period of the Jewish state, and that it was therefore written prior to the destruction of Jerusalem. But it should be noticed that this expression is simply parallel to the "last times" mentioned by Paul, Peter, James, and Jude, as characterised by spreading evil. As ye have heard that Antichrist shall come (in the full development of the evil of the last times), so even now there are many Antichrists (many who in measure bear the character of him who shall be thus destroyed by the Lord), whereby we know that it is the last time. This simply teaches us that "the mystery of iniquity" (as St. Paul teaches) was already working.

The expression ἐγνώκατε τὸν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς (ii. 13, 14.) was imagined by Macknight and his followers to mean, "ye have known Him from the beginning;" *i.e.* "ye knew Christ during his earthly ministry:" and that therefore many such were still living. But, besides the wrong construction thus given to the sentence, it affixes a sense to ἀπ' ἀρχῆς utterly inconsistent with that assigned to it in the first verse of the Epistle: "Ye have known him that is from the beginning," is the simple, literal, and only true rendering of the words: none of these should be marked as Italic supplements, as is unhappily done in some of our English Bibles.

The argument of Hales, that John must have written to Hebrew Christians, as James, Jude, Paul, and Peter had done so, and that therefore he wrote about the same time, would take us away from ground of discussion into pure speculation. So, too, is his reasoning from the supposed application of the testimony of the spirit, the water, and the blood in chap. v. 5—9. to Hebrew Christians, to whom, as a basis of his argument, he assumed that John wrote.[1]

Hug considered that the Gospel and Epistle were connected; that the Epistle was, in fact, the accompaniment of the Gospel. And this seems from the Canon in Muratori to have been the case in the second century, when *this* Epistle and the first of Peter were *well* known, in contradistinction to the other Catholic Epistles. Whether it changed its place in the collection of Christian Scriptures, before the seven Catholic Epistles were united in one volume, seems to be doubtful.

As there is no real evidence which was the earlier, the Gospel or this Epistle, and as the one may have been simply the contemporaneous companion of the other, it seems to the present editor to be in vain to attempt to assign any specific or relative date.]

III. It is still more difficult to decide concerning the persons to whom this Epistle was written. Augustine, Cassiodorus, and the Venerable Bede, called it the Epistle of John to the Parthians[2], be-

[1] [These and other arguments are considered amply by Dr. Davidson in his Introd. iii. 459—461. One of the arguments was drawn from the use of the perfect μεμαρτύρηκε in the passage in the Gospel xix. 35—37., as though it implied some *previous* testimony given *in writing*, which (it was thought) could only be *this Epistle*.]

[2] One MS. terms the second of John the second Epistle to the Parthians.

cause (as some suppose) the apostle is reported to have preached the Gospel to that people; but this opinion is entirely unsupported by the evidence of antiquity. Dr. Benson thinks that the Epistle was addressed to the Jewish Christians in Judæa and Galilee. But the most probable opinion is that of Œcumenius, Lampe, Dupin, Lardner, Michaelis, Macknight, Bishop Tomline, and others, who think it was written for the use of Christians of every denomination and of every country. For, 1. It has always been called a *catholic* or general Epistle; 2. It does not contain any words of limitation that can restrict it to a particular people; 3. The admonition in 1 John ii. 15. would be unnecessary to believers in Judæa, A. D. 68, after the war had commenced with the Romans; it is rather suited to people in easy circumstances, and who were in danger of being ensnared by the allurements of prosperity; 4. Lastly, the concluding exhortation to believers to "keep themselves from idols" is in no respect suitable to believers in Judæa, but is much more likely to be addressed to Christians living in other parts of the world, where idolatry prevailed.

IV. This book is usually intitled *The General Epistle of St. John.* "But in the composition of it, narrowly inspected, nothing is to be found in the epistolary form. It is not inscribed either to any individual, like Paul's to Timothy and Titus, or the second of the two which follow it, 'To the well-beloved Gaius'—nor to any particular church, like Paul's to the churches of Rome, Corinth, Ephesus, and others—nor to the faithful of any particular region, like Peter's first Epistle 'To the strangers scattered throughout Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia'—nor to any principal branch of the Christian church, like Paul's to the Hebrews—nor to the Christian church in general, like the second of Peter's 'To them that had obtained like precious faith with him,' and like Jude's, 'To them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, and called.' It bears no such inscription; it begins without salutation, and ends without benediction. It is true, the writer sometimes speaks, but without naming himself, in the first person—and addresses his reader, without naming him, in the second. But this colloquial style is very common in all writings of a plain familiar cast: instances of it occur in John's Gospel; and it is by no means a distinguishing character of epistolary composition. It should seem that this book hath for no other reason acquired the title of an epistle, but that in the first formation of the canon of the New Testament it was put into the same volume with the didactic writings of the apostles, which, with this single exception, are all in the epistolary form. It is, indeed, a didactic discourse upon the principles of Christianity, both in doctrine and practice: and whether we consider the sublimity of its opening with the fundamental topics of God's perfections, man's depravity, and Christ's propitiation—the perspicuity with which it propounds the deepest mysteries of our holy faith, and the evidence of the proof which it brings to confirm them; whether we consider the sanctity of its precepts, and the energy of argument with which they are persuaded and enforced—the dignified simplicity of language in which both doctrine and pre-

cept are delivered; whether we regard the importance of the matter, the propriety of the style, or the general spirit of ardent piety and warm benevolence, united with a fervid zeal, which breathes throughout the whole composition — we shall find it in every respect worthy of the holy author to whom the constant tradition of the church ascribes it, 'the disciple whom Jesus loved.'"[1]

The design of this treatise is,

First, To refute, and to guard the Christians to whom he wrote against erroneous and licentious tenets, principles, and practices; such as the denial of the real Deity and proper humanity of Christ[2], of the reality and efficacy of his sufferings and death as an atoning sacrifice, and the assertion, that believers being saved by grace, were not required to obey the commandments of God. These principles began to appear in the church of Christ even in the apostolic age, and were afterwards maintained by the Cerinthians, and other heretics who sprang up at the close of the first and in the second century of the Christian æra.[3]

Secondly, To stir up all who profess to know God, to have communion with him, and to believe in him, that they *walk in the light and not in darkness* (i. 5—7.), that is, in holiness and not in sin; that they *walk as Christ walked* (ii. 6.); and that they *keep the commandments*, and especially abound in sincere brotherly love towards each other. (ii. 4. 9—11., iii. 10—24., iv. 20, 21., v. 1—3.) This rational and Christian spirit, the apostle enforces, upon the best principles, and with the strongest arguments, derived from the love of God and of Christ; showing the utter insufficiency of such faith as rests in the mere external profession of religion, without the accompanying evidence of a holy life and conduct.

Thirdly, To help forward and to provoke *real* Christians to communion with God and the Lord Jesus Christ (i. 3, 4.); to constancy in the true faith, against all that seduced them (ii. 24—28.); to purity and holiness of life (ii. 1., iii. 3—13.)[4], and that those who *believe on the name of the Son of God may know that they have eternal life.* (v. 13.)

V. Heidegger, Van Til, Pritius, Moldenhawer, Langius, and other analysts of Scripture, have each suggested different tabular synopses of this Epistle, with a view to illustrate its divisions, and to show the bearings of the apostle's arguments. Extreme prolixity and extreme brevity characterise their respective schemes. The following synopsis, however, it is hoped, will be found to show the leading divisions of the Epistle or treatise with sufficient perspicuity and conciseness. It consists of six sections, besides the conclusion, which is a recapitulation of the whole.

SECT. 1. asserts the true divinity and humanity of Christ, in oppo-

[1] Bishop Horsley's Sermons, pp. 144, 145. 2d edit.

[2] The late Dr. Randolph has admirably illustrated those parts of the present Epistle which assert the Deity of Christ, in his Prælectio xiii. vol. ii. pp. 512—523. of his View of our Saviour's Ministry.

[3] For an ample account of the tenets of the Cerinthians, see p. 470. *seq.* of the present volume.

[4] Roberts's Clavis Bibliorum, v. p. 827.

sition to the false teachers, and urges the union of faith and holiness of life as absolutely necessary to enable Christians to enjoy communion with God. (i. 1—7.)

SECT. 2. shows that all have sinned, and explains the doctrine of Christ's propitiation. (i. 8—10., ii. 1, 2.) Whence the apostle takes occasion to illustrate the marks of true faith; viz. obeying his commandments and sincere love of the brethren; and shows that the love of the world is inconsistent with the love of God. (ii. 3—17.)

SECT. 3. asserts Jesus to be the same person with Christ, in opposition to the false teachers who denied it. (ii. 18—29.).

SECT. 4. On the privileges of true believers, and their consequent happiness and duties, and the marks by which they are known to be "the sons of God." (iii.)

SECT. 5. contains criteria by which to distinguish Antichrist and false Christians, with an exhortation to brotherly love. (iv.)

§ i. A mark to know one sort of Antichrist,—the not confessing that Christ came in the flesh. (iv. 1—3.)
§ ii. Criteria for distinguishing false Christians; viz.
(1.) Love of the world. (4—6.)
(2.) Want of brotherly love. (7—12.)
(3.) Denying Christ to be the true Son of God. (13—15.)
§ iii. A recommendation of brotherly love, from the consideration of the love of God in giving his Son for sinners. (16—21.)

SECT. 6. shows the connection between faith in Christ, regeneration, love to God and his children, obedience to his commandments, and victory over the world; and that Jesus Christ is truly the Son of God, able to save us, and to hear the prayers we make for ourselves and others. (v. 1—16.)

The conclusion, which is a summary of the preceding treatise, shows that a sinful life is inconsistent with true Christianity; asserts the divinity of Christ; and cautions believers against idolatry. (v. 17—21.)

The preceding is an outline of this admirable Epistle; which being designed to promote right principles of doctrine and practical piety in conduct, abounds, more than any book of the New Testament, with links of connection between the true knowledge of God and of Christ, and obedience to His commandments, and the love of God and the love of the brethren.

The style of this Epistle is simple, clear, and flowing; and an affectionate spirit pervades the whole, except in those passages where the apostle exposes and reprehends hypocrites and false teachers, whose dangerous practices and tenets he exposes in such a faithful, plain, and even authoritative manner, as may serve to illustrate the reason why our Saviour gave him, together with his brother James, the appellation of *Boanerges*, or sons of thunder. (Mark iii. 17.)

CHAP. XXIX.

ON THE SECOND AND THIRD EPISTLES OF JOHN.

I. ALTHOUH, in the fourth century, when Eusebius wrote his ecclesiastical history, these two Epistles were classed among the Ἀντιλεγόμενα or books which were received by the majority of Christians (though some doubts were entertained by others respecting their authenticity), yet testimonies are not wanting to prove that they were both known and received as genuine productions of the apostle John. The second Epistle is cited by Irenæus, and received by Clement of Alexandria. Origen mentions all three Epistles, though he says that the second and third were not allowed to be genuine by all persons. Dionysius of Alexandria mentions them as being ascribed to St. John. The second Epistle was quoted by Alexander bishop of Alexandria; and all three Epistles were received by Athanasius, by Cyril of Jerusalem, by Epiphanius, Jerome (a few of whose contemporaries doubted the authenticity of these Epistles), Rufinus, and almost every subsequent writer of note.[1] They are not, indeed, received in the old Syriac translation; but the thoughts and style are so similar to those of the first Epistle[2], that almost all critics attribute them to the author of the first Epistle, namely, John; and they were, in all probability, written about the same time as that Epistle. Consequently these Epistles could not have been written by John the elder, a member of the Ephesian church, as some of the Fathers, and also some modern critics, have imagined. Various reasons have been assigned why these two Epistles were not received earlier into the canon. Michaelis is disposed to think that doubt was excited concerning their genuineness by the address, in which the author neither calls himself John, nor assumes the title of an apostle, but simply names himself the "elder" (ὁ πρεσβύτερος); as St. Peter (1. ch. v. 1.) styles himself a "fellow elder" (συμπρεσβύτερος), which title, after Peter's death, the apostle John might with great propriety assume, as being the only remaining apostle. It is, however, most probable that, being letters to private persons, they had for a considerable time been kept in the possession of the families to whom they were originally sent, and were not discovered till long after the apostle's decease, and after the death of the persons to whom they had been addressed. When first discovered, all the immediate vouchers for their genuineness were necessarily gone; and the church of Christ, ever on its guard against imposture, particularly in relation to writings professing to be the work of apostles, hesitated to receive them into the number of canonical Scriptures, until it was fully ascertained that they were divinely inspired.

II. Considerable uncertainty prevails respecting the person to whom the second Epistle was addressed, some conjecturing a particular per-

[1] See the references to the above-named fathers in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 584—586.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 525, 526.

[2] Dr. Mill, and after him Dr. Lardner, observe that, of the thirteen verses composing the second Epistle, *eight* are to be found in the first, either in sense or in expression.

son to be intended, while others understand it figuratively, as of the church. The ancient commentators supposed it to be figurative, but most of the modern commentators and critics understand it literally, though they do not agree in their literal interpretation. Archbishop Newcome, Wakefield, Macknight, and the venerable translators of our authorised version, make Ἐκλεκτῇ to be an adjective, and render the inscription "To the elect (or excellent, or chosen) Lady;" the Vulgate version, Calmet, and others, consider Ἐκλεκτῇ to be a proper name, and translate it "To the Lady Electa;" J. B. Carpzov, Schleusner, and Rosenmüller take Κυρία to be a proper name, and the Epistle to be addressed to Cyria, or Kyria[1], the Elect; and Michaelis conjectures Κυρία to be an ellipsis of Κυρία Ἐκκλησία, which, among the ancient Greeks, signified an assembly of the people held at a stated time, and was held at Athens three times in every month; and that, since the sacred writers adopted the term Ἐκκλησία from its civil use among the Greeks, Κυρία Ἐκκλησία might here mean the stated assembly of the Christians, held every Sunday; and thus τῇ ἐκλεκτῇ κυρίᾳ, with ἐκκλησίᾳ understood, would signify, "To the elect church or community which comes together on Sundays."(!!!) He admits, however, that he knows not of any instance of such ellipsis; and Bishop Middleton does not think that this explanation can be very easily established. Of these various hypotheses, the most probable opinion (in the judgment of several) is that which considers the Epistle as addressed to the *Lady Electa*, who is supposed to have been an eminent Christian matron: what confirms this opinion is, that the Greek article is absent, which would have been (it has been thought) absolutely necessary if the inscription had been "To *the* elect Lady," or to "Kyria *the* Elect." Such was the explanation given by Bishop Middleton; but this opinion is opposed by the same name belonging *in that case* to the *sister* of the person addressed: see ver. 13., where indeed Middleton would conjecturally omit τῆς ἐκλεκτῆς.

III. The SECOND EPISTLE of John touches, in few words, on the same points as the first. The person addressed is commended for her virtuous and religious education of her children; and is exhorted to abide in the doctrine of Christ, to persevere in the truth, and carefully to avoid the delusions of false teachers. But chiefly the apostle beseeches this Christian matron to practise the great and indispensable commandment of Christian love and charity.

IV. The THIRD EPISTLE of John is addressed to a converted Gentile, a respectable member of some Christian church, called Gaius or Caius; but who he was is extremely uncertain, as there are three persons of this name mentioned in the New Testament, viz. 1. Gaius of Corinth (1 Cor. i. 14.), whom Paul calls his "host, and the host of the whole church" (Rom. xvi. 23.); 2. Gaius, a native of Macedonia, who accompanied Paul, and spent some time with him at Ephesus (Acts xix. 29.); 3. Gaius of Derbe (Acts xx. 4.), who also was a

[1] As the Syriac name Martha is of the same import as Κυρία, Carpzov conjectured that this Epistle was addressed to the sister of Lazarus, and that she changed her name from Martha to Kyria or Cyria, after the persecution of the church which followed the martyrdom of Stephen, for the security of her person. The conjecture is ingenious, but is not supported by any authority. Epist. Cath. Septenarius, p. 185.

fellow-traveller of Paul. Michaelis and some other modern critics suppose the person to whom this Epistle was addressed to be the Gaius of Corinth, as hospitality was a leading feature in his character. His hospitable temper, particularly towards the ministers of the Gospel, is strongly marked in the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth verses of this Epistle.

V. The Scope of this Epistle is to commend his steadfastness in the faith and his general hospitality, especially to the ministers of Christ; to caution him against the ambitious and turbulent practices of Diotrephes, and to recommend Demetrius to his friendship: referring what he further had to say to a personal interview.

VI. Commentators are by no means agreed who this Diotrephes was. Bede, Erasmus, Michaelis, and others, suppose him to have been the author of a new sect, and that, as he delivered false doctrines, he objected to those who propagated the true faith. Grotius, Le Clerc, and Beausobre, imagined that he was a Gentile convert who would not receive Jewish Christians. But it is most probable that he was an ambitious elder or bishop in the church of which Gaius was a member, and that, having been converted from Judaism, he opposed the admission of the Gentiles, and set himself up as the head of a party in opposition to the apostles. If (as we suppose) the Gaius to whom this Epistle was addressed was the generous "host of the church at Corinth," it is possible that this Diotrephes might have been the leading opponent of St. Paul in that city, whom he forbore to name out of delicacy, though he censured his conduct. See 1 Cor. iii. 3—5., iv. 6. &c.

Demetrius, who is so highly commended by the apostle in this Epistle, is thought to have held some sacred office in the church of which Gaius was a member; but this opinion is rejected by Dr. Benson, because on that supposition Gaius must have known him so well as to need no information concerning his character from the apostle. He therefore believed him to have been the bearer of this letter, and one of the brethren who went forth to preach to the Gentiles. With this conjecture Rosenmüller coincides. Calmet supposes that he was a member of the same church as Gaius, whose piety and hospitality he imitated. But whoever Demetrius was, his character and deportment were the reverse of the character and conduct of Diotrephes; for the apostle speaks of the former as having a good testimony from all men, and whose temper and behaviour were in every respect conformable to the precepts of the Gospel, and therefore St. John recommends him as an example to Gaius, and the other members of the church to which he belonged.[1]

[1] Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 442—456. Lardner, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 584—607.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 425—437. Benson on the Catholic Epistles, pp. 663—680. Buddei Ecclesia Apostolica, pp. 314—316. Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. pp. 1150—1152. Bishop Middleton on the Greek Article, pp. 653—656. (first edition.) Lampe, in Evang. Joannis, tom. i. pp. 111—115. Pritii Introd. in Nov. Test. pp. 109, 110.

CHAP. XXX.

ON THE GENERAL EPISTLE OF JUDE.

I. JUDE or Judas, who was surnamed Thaddeus and Lebbeus, and was also called the brother of our Lord (Matt. xiii. 55.), was the son of Alpheus, brother of James the Less, and one of the twelve apostles. We are not informed when or how he was called to the apostleship; and there is scarcely any mention of him in the New Testament, except in the different catalogues of the twelve apostles. The only particular incident related concerning Jude is to be found in John xiv. 21—23., where we read that he addressed the following question to his Divine Master: *Lord! how is it that thou wilt manifest thyself unto us, and not unto the world?* He could not imagine how our Saviour could exercise his authority without manifesting himself to the world.

As Jude continued with the rest of the apostles after our Lord's resurrection and ascension (Acts i. 13.), and was with them on the day of Pentecost (ii. 1.), it is not unreasonable to suppose, that, after having received the extraordinary gifts of the Holy Spirit, he preached the Gospel for some time in Judæa, and performed miracles in the name of Christ. And as his life seems to have been prolonged, it is probable that he afterwards quitted Judæa, and preached the Gospel to Jews and Gentiles in other countries. It has been said that he preached in Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Persia, and that he suffered martyrdom in the last-mentioned country. The Syrians still claim him as their apostle; but we have no account of his travels upon which we can rely, and it may even be questioned whether he was a martyr.[1]

[The doubts that have been expressed with regard to the authorship of the Epistle of James have extended themselves to this Epistle likewise. And thus it has been questioned whether *this* Jude were the brother of James the son of Alpheus or of James "the Lord's brother" (on the ground that they are not identical). This whole question is discussed in Dr. Davidson's Introduction, iii. 493—497. He holds the non-identification of *this* Jude with the apostle. But without entering into the minute details relative to the opinions expressed, it may be sufficient to say that *the* Jude to whom this Epistle was attributed was regarded by the early church (as may be seen in

[1] It is more certain that Jude was a married man, and had children; for Eusebius relates, on the authority of the ecclesiastical historian Hegesippus, (a converted Jew, who flourished in the second century,) that the emperor Domitian, in a fit of jealousy, ordered inquiry to be made concerning the posterity of David, on which occasion some of the grandchildren of Jude were brought before him. The emperor, first asking them several questions respecting their profession and manner of life, which was husbandry, next inquired concerning the kingdom of Christ, and when it should appear? To this they replied, that it was a heavenly and spiritual, not a temporal kingdom; and that it would not be manifested till the end of the world. Domitian, thus finding that they were mean persons and perfectly harmless, dismissed them unbound, and by edict appeased the persecution which had been raised against the church. Hegesippus adds, that, on their release, the grandchildren of Jude afterwards presided over churches, both as being martyrs (more correctly confessors), and also as being allied to our Lord. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. iii. cc. 19, 20.

Tertullian) to have been himself an *apostle.* If so, he must have been the same as Lebbeus or Thaddeus, as stated above. Now this apostle is twice called Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου, Luke vi. 16., Acts i. 13.; and this, many old writers, and even some of the more recent, consider to be "*Judas* [the brother] *of James;*" the genitive in such a case marking *the known relation,* whatever it may be: it is utterly needless to suppose that *son* is *necessarily* to be supplied. As "brother of James" he here designates himself, and thus *even if* James "the Lord's brother" and James the son of Alpheus be not identical, it seems that *this* writer must have been one of the twelve. Nothing need be argued on the omission of apostle; for Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου *was* an apostle. Indeed, Dr. Davidson, though distinguishing between James the Lord's brother and James the apostle, ascribed the Epistle of James to the *apostle,* though the writer does not thus designate himself.

There seems, then, to be no reason for ascribing this Epistle to some unknown, non-apostolic Judas: the reasons assigned for such a procedure are insufficient and inconclusive. He certainly seems to take pains to identify himself with Ἰούδας Ἰακώβου of St. Luke. The *internal* grounds that have been mentioned, namely, that in ver. 17, 18. the writer speaks of the apostles in the third person, proves nothing. How often may a *class* be spoken of, to which the writer himself belongs, without his stating in terms that this is the case. See Rev. xxi. 14.]

II. In the early ages of Christianity the Epistle of Jude was rejected by several persons, because the apocryphal books of Enoch, and of the Ascension of Moses, were supposed to be quoted in it; and Michaelis has rejected it as spurious. We have, however, the most satisfactory evidences of the authenticity of this Epistle. It is found in the most ancient catalogue[1] of the sacred writings of the New Testament; it is asserted to be genuine by Clement of Alexandria, and is quoted as Jude's production by Tertullian, by Origen, and by the greater part of the ancients noticed by Eusebius.[2] Independently of this external evidence, the genuineness of the Epistle of Jude is confirmed by the subjects discussed in it, which are in every respect suitable to the character of an apostle of Jesus Christ; for the writer's design was, to characterise and condemn the false teachers, who endeavoured in that age to make proselytes to their erroneous and dangerous tenets, to reprobate the impious doctrines which they taught for the sake of advantage, and to enforce the practice of holiness on all who professed the Gospel. In short, as Dr. Macknight most truly observes, there is no error taught, no evil practice enjoined, for the sake of which any impostor could be induced to impose a forgery of this kind upon the world.

With regard to the objection against the genuineness of this Epistle, which is derived from the supposed quotation by Jude of an apocryphal book of Enoch, it is to be observed, that the apostle, by

[1] The Canon in Muratori, belonging to the middle of the second century.

[2] See the passages of the above-named writers in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. p. 613—618.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 440—443.

quoting such book, gives it no authority. It was no canonical book of the Jews; and though such a book existed among them, and was apocryphal, yet it might contain some things that were true. Jude's quoting from it the prophecy under consideration would not lessen the authority of his Epistle, any more than Paul's quotations from the heathen poets Aratus (Acts xvii. 28.), Menander (1 Cor. xv. 33.), and Epimenides (Tit. i. 12.), have lessened the authority of the history of the Acts, and of that apostle's letters, where these quotations are found. The reason is (as Macknight most forcibly observes), if the things contained in these quotations were true in themselves, they might be mentioned by an inspired writer without giving authority to the poems from which they were cited. In like manner, if the prophecy ascribed to Enoch, concerning the future judgment and punishment of the wicked, was agreeable to the other declarations of God respecting that event, Jude might cite it, because Enoch (who, like Noah, was a preacher of righteousness,) might actually have delivered such a prophecy, though it is not recorded in the Old Testament; and because his quoting it did not establish the authority of the book whence he took it, if he took it from any book extant in his time. The preceding observations have been made on the supposition that the apostle *did* quote an apocryphal book of Enoch: but it has been remarked with equal force and truth, that "it is incredible that Jude cited a book then extant, claiming to be the prophecies of Enoch; for, had it been genuine, the Divine Spirit would not surely have suffered his own word to be afterwards lost; and, had it been apocryphal, the inspired apostle would not have stamped it with his authority, and have declared it to have been the production of 'Enoch, the seventh from Adam.' Indeed, the language of Jude by no means implies that he quoted from any *book* whatever (a circumstance which most writers on this controverted subject have mistaken); and hence some persons have come to the highly improbable conclusion that the prophetic words attributed to Enoch were communicated to the apostle by immediate revelation. But this conclusion is not more improbable than it is unnecessary. There is yet another source, from which this insulated passage might have been derived. There is nothing to forbid, but much to establish, the supposition, that some historical facts, omitted in the Hebrew Scriptures, were handed down by the uninspired authors of the Jewish nation. Although it is true that, in the most ancient remains of Hebrew literature, history is so obscured by fable as to be altogether an uncertain guide, yet *some* truth doubtless exists in this mass of fiction. This observation may be applied with greater force to the Jewish records which existed in the apostolic age. We know, indeed, from the highest authority, that the Jewish doctors of that period 'had made the word of God of none effect by their traditions;' but still their uninspired records must have contained *some* authentic narratives. From such a source we may rationally suppose that Jude gathered the traditional antediluvian prophecy of Enoch, under the direction of that infallible Spirit who preserved the inspired writers from error, and guided them into all truth. We conclude, therefore,

that the apostle did NOT quote from any *book* extant in his day purporting to have been written by Enoch."[1]

The foregoing remarks apply with equal force to verse 9., in which the apostle is supposed to cite an apocryphal relation or tradition concerning the archangel Michael's disputing with Satan for the body of Moses. This is by some writers referred to a book called the "Assumption or Ascension of Christ," which in all probability was a forgery much later than the time of Jude; but Dr. Lardner thinks it much more credible that the apostle alludes to the vision in Zech. iii. 1—3.; and this opinion is adopted and elucidated by Dr. Macknight in his note on the verse in question. In further illustration of this verse, we may remark, that it was a Jewish maxim, that "it is not lawful for man to prefer ignominious reproaches, even against wicked spirits." Might not the apostle, then, have used it merely as a popular illustration (without vouching for the fact) of that sober and wholesome doctrine, *not to speak evil of dignities?* from the example of the archangel, who did not venture to rail even at Satan, but meekly said, "*The* LORD *rebuke thee!*" The hypothesis, that Jude copied the prophecy of Enoch from the writings of Zoroaster (which some continental critics have imagined) is too absurd to deserve a serious refutation.[2] In either case the distinct apprehension of the inspiration of the writer would suffice to draw us away from inquiries as to the mere source of information.

III. The time and place, when and where this Epistle was written, are extremely uncertain. Dr. Mill fixes its date to the year 90, principally because the false teachers, whom Peter describes as *yet to come*, are mentioned by Jude as *already come*. But on a comparison of this Epistle with the second of Peter, there does not appear to be such a remarkable difference in their phraseology as will be sufficient to prove that Jude wrote his Epistle so long after Peter's second Epistle as Dr. Mill supposed. The very great coincidence in sentiment and style between these two Epistles[3] renders it likely that they were written about the same time; and, if the second Epistle of Peter was written early in A. D. 65, we are induced with Lardner to place it towards the close of the same year, or perhaps in A. D. 66. Bishop Tomline, however, dates it in A. D. 70; Beausobre and L'Enfant, between A. D. 70 and 75; and Dodwell and Dr. Cave, in 71 or 72. Those who consider that it was used by St. Peter, date it of course *before* his second Epistle.

IV. There is much diversity of opinion concerning the persons to whom this Epistle was addressed. Estius and Witsius were of opinion that Jude wrote to Christians every where, but especially to the converted Jews. Dr. Hammond thought that the Epistle was directed to Jewish Christians alone, and with the design of guarding them

[1] Christian Observer, July, 1829, vol. xxix. p. 417.

[2] The reader will find an interesting account of the different hypotheses which critics have entertained concerning the prophecy of Enoch, mentioned by Jude, in Laurmann's Collectanea, sive Notæ Criticæ et Commentarius in Epistolam Judæ, pp. 137—173. 220—233. 8vo. Groningæ, 1818. See also Calmet's Commentaire Littéral, tom. viii. pp. 1034—1040.

[3] The verbal coincidences of these two Epistles have been exhibited by several; see for instance Dr. Davidson's Introduction, iii. 400—404.

against the errors of the Gnostics. Dr. Benson also thought that it was written to Jewish believers, especially to those of the Western dispersion. Moldenhawer was of opinion that it was inscribed to the Eastern churches, among whom the apostle had probably laboured. But, from the inscription[1], Drs. Lardner and Macknight, Bishop Tomline and Dr. A. Clarke, concur in thinking that it was written to all, without distinction, who had embraced the Gospel. The only reason, Dr. Macknight remarks, which has induced commentators to suppose that Jude wrote to the Jewish believers alone, is, that he makes use of arguments and examples taken from the sacred books of the Jews. But Paul, we have seen, followed the same course when writing to the Gentiles; and both apostles did so with propriety, not only because all who embraced the Gospel acknowledged the authority of the Jewish Scriptures, but also because it was of the greatest importance to make the Gentiles sensible that the Gospel was in perfect unison with the ancient revelation.

V. The design of this Epistle is, to guard believers against the false teachers who had begun to insinuate themselves into the Christian church; and to contend with the utmost earnestness and zeal for the true faith, against the dangerous tenets which they disseminated, resolving the whole of Christianity into a speculative belief and outward profession of the Gospel. And having thus cancelled the obligations of morality and personal holiness, they taught their disciples to live in all manner of licentiousness, and at the same time flattered them with the hope of divine favour, and of obtaining eternal life. The vile characters of these seducers are further shown, and their sentence is denounced; and the Epistle concludes with warnings, admonitions, and counsels to believers, how to persevere in faith and godliness themselves, and to rescue others from the snares of the false teachers.

VI. There is very great similarity between the Epistle of Jude and the second chapter of Peter's second Epistle, in subject, style, vehemence, and holy indignation against impudence and lewdness, and against those who insidiously undermine chastity, purity, and sound principles. The expressions are remarkably strong, the language is animated, and the figures and comparisons are bold, apt, and striking. In the Epistle of Jude, particularly, there is an energy, a force, a grandeur of expression and style — an apparent labour for words and images, expressive enough to give the reader a just and adequate idea of the profligate characters he exposes; and the whole is admirably calculated to show how deeply the holy apostle was grieved at the scandalous immoralities of those who called themselves Christians, and with what fervour and courage he tore off the masks from these hypocrites, that the church and the world might see all the turpitude and deformity that lurked beneath it.[2]

[1] To them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ, *and* called . . . . Beloved, when I gave all diligence to write unto you of the COMMON salvation, &c. Jude 1. 3.

[2] Benson on the Catholic Epistles, pp. 437—448. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 619—627.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 443—447. Macknight's Preface to Jude. Blackwall's Sacred Classics, vol. i. pp. 304, 305. Pritii Introd. in Nov. Test. pp. 110—117.

CHAP. XXXI.

ON THE BOOK OF REVELATION.

I. THE three first verses of the Apocalypse form its TITLE; but as this is inconvenient on account of its length, various shorter inscriptions are given in the Manuscripts and Ancient Versions. Thus, in C. or the Codex Ephrem it is termed Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου, *the Revelation of John;* in the Codex Coislinianus 199. (17. of Griesbach's notation) ..... τοῦ θεολόγου, of John *the Divine;* in B. a manuscript belonging to the monks of St. Basil at Rome (of the seventh century) ..... καὶ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ, of John *the Divine and Evangelist;* in 42 (Codex Pio-Vaticanus 50., of the twelfth century,) Ἀποκάλυψις Ἰωάννου τοῦ ἀποστόλου καὶ Εὐαγγελιστοῦ, *the Revelation of John the Apostle and Evangelist;* in 30. (Codex Guelpherbytanus XVI. 7. a manuscript of the twelfth or thirteenth century,) Ἀποκάλυψις τοῦ ἁγίου καὶ ἐνδοξοτάτου ἀποστόλου καὶ εὐαγγελίστου, παρθένου ἠγαπημένου, ἐπιστηθίου Ἰωάννου θεολόγου, *the Revelation of the holy and most glorious apostle and evangelist, the beloved virgin who lay in the bosom* [of Jesus Christ], *John the Divine.* In 16. (Codex Uffenbachianus,) it is the Apocalypse . . . ἣν ἐν Πάτμῳ τῇ νησῷ ἐθεάσατο, *which he beheld in the island Patmos;* and in 26. (the Codex Wakianus 1. a manuscript of the eleventh century, in the library of Christ's College, Oxford,) it is Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἀποκάλυψις δοθεῖσα τῷ θεολόγῳ Ἰωάννῃ, *the Revelation of Jesus Christ given to John the Divine.* None of these titles are of any authority; nor can any certain reason be assigned for giving the appellation of Θεόλογος, or *the Divine,* to the apostle and evangelist John.[1]

II. It is a remarkable circumstance, that the authenticity of this book was very generally, if not universally, acknowledged during the two first centuries, and yet in the third century it began to be questioned. This seems to have been occasioned in part by some of the discussions which sprang up in Egypt relative to the Millennium, &c., as grounded on this book; which notions the opponents injudiciously and presumptuously endeavoured to discredit, by denying the authority of the book itself. So little, however, has this portion of Holy Writ suffered from the ordeal of criticism to which it has in consequence been subjected, that (as Sir Isaac Newton has long since remarked) there is no other book of the New Testament so strongly attested, or commented upon so early, as the Apocalypse. And Dr. Priestley (no mean judge of the literature of biblical questions where his peculiar creed was not concerned) has declared that he thinks it impossible for any intelligent and candid person to peruse it without being struck, in the most forcible manner, with the peculiar dignity and sublimity of its composition, superior to that of any other writings whatever; so as to be convinced that, considering the age in which it appeared, it could only have been written by a person divinely inspired. The numerous marks of genuine piety, that occur

[1] Griesbach, and Dean Woodhouse, on Rev. i. 1. Pritii Introductio ad Lectionem Novi Testamenti, pp. 127, 128.

through the whole book, will preclude the idea of imposition in any person acquainted with human nature. It is likewise so suitable a continuation of the prophecies of Daniel, that the New Testament writings would have been incomplete without this prophetic book; for it has been the uniform plan of the divine proceedings to give a more distinct view of interesting future events as the time of their accomplishment approached.[1] Since, however, two eminent critics[2] of later times have suspected this book to be spurious, and as their valuable writings are in the hands of many biblical students, and as modern subjective criticism has gone very far in opposition to this book, it becomes necessary to examine the external and internal evidence for its genuineness.

1. The *External Evidence* for the authenticity and inspiration of the Apocalypse is to be collected from the same sources as the evidence for the other books of the New Testament, viz. from the testimonies of those ancient writers who, living at a period near to its publication, appear by their quotations or allusions to have received it as a part of sacred Scripture. And this evidence is so abundant and explicit, that the only difficulty is how to comprise it within that short compass which the nature of the present work requires.

(1.) *Testimonies of Writers in the second century.*

In the very beginning of the second century we find (through the mention made by Andreas of Cæsarea) that PAPIAS of Hierapolis, near *Laodicea*, one of the churches addressed, received and used this book.

Justin Martyr (A.D. 140) was acquainted with the Apocalypse, and received it as written by the apostle John. He cites it as such in his disputation with Trypho held at *Ephesus*.

Among the works of Melito, bishop of *Sardis* (A.D. 177), was a commentary on the Apocalypse.[3] It is also most distinctly quoted in the Epistle of the churches of Vienne and Lyons (A.D. 177), concerning the sufferings of their martyrs.[4] Irenæus, bishop of Lyons in Gaul (A.D. 178), who in his younger days was acquainted with Polycarp of *Smyrna*, repeatedly quotes this book as "the Revelation of John the disciple of the Lord." Dr. Lardner remarks that his testimony is so strong and full, that he seems to put it beyond all question that it is the work of John the Apostle and Evangelist.[5] It is worthy of notice that this evidence of the second century is connected with Sardis, Smyrna, Laodicea, and Ephesus, four out of the seven churches to whom it was addressed. To these we may add the undisputed testimonies of Theophilus bishop of Antioch (A.D. 181)[6], Apollonius (A.D. 186 or 187)[7], Clement of Alexandria[8], and especially of Tertullian, who defends the authenticity of this book against the heretic Marcion and his followers, by asserting its external evidence. He appeals to the Asiatic churches, and assures

---

[1] Dr. Priestley's Notes on Scripture, vol. iv. p. 574. The argument, briefly noticed by him, is prosecuted at length by Mr. Lowman in his Paraphrase and Commentary on the Revelation, pp. x. *et seq.* 8vo. edit.

[2] Michaelis and Dr. Less.

[3] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 147, 148.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 359, 360.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 152, 153.; 4to. vol. i. p. 362. Woodhouse, pp. 46—48.

[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. p. 170.; 4to. vol. i. p. 372. The testimony of Irenæus is vindicated by Dr. Woodhouse, pp. 26—28.

[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 200, 201.; 4to. vol. i. p. 389.

[7] Apollonius suffered martyrdom at Rome. His writings have perished; but Eusebius relates that he supported the Apocalypse by authorities taken from it. Hist. Eccl. lib. v. c. 18. *fine*, and c. 21.

[8] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 229, 230.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 404, 405.

us that "though Marcion rejects his (John's) Revelation, yet the succession of bishops, traced to its origin, will establish John to be its author." It also appears from another part of his writings that this book was much read and generally received in the African churches of the second century.[1]

(2.) *Among the testimonies of Writers in the third century,* those of Hippolytus Portuensis (A.D. 220) and Origen (A.D. 230) are conspicuous.

Hippolytus[2], who was a disciple of Irenæus, received the Apocalypse as the work of St. John, and quoted it largely and often. Origen[3], to whose critical labours biblical literature is so deeply indebted, most explicitly acknowledged the Revelation to be the production of St. John, and has cited it repeatedly in his works.[4] It was subsequently received by Cyprian and the African churches; by the presbyters and others of the Western church; by various Latin authors whose history is abstracted by Dr. Lardner; by the anonymous author of a work against the Novatians; by the Novatians themselves; by Commodian; by Victorinus, who wrote a commentary upon it; by the author of the poem against the Marcionites; by Methodius, who also commented upon it; by the Manicheans; by the later Arnobius; by the Donatists; by Lactantius; and by the Arians.[5]

(3.) In the time of Eusebius (*the former part of the fourth century*), the Apocalypse was *generally,* though not universally, received; and therefore he classes it among the Ἀντιλεγόμενα, or contradicted books.[6]

Yet it is worthy of remark, that these doubts originated solely in the *supposed* difference of style and manner from that of St. John; and that no one, however desirous he may have been to invalidate the authority of the book, appears to have been able to produce any *external* evidence which might suit the purpose.

It was received, after the time of Eusebius, by the Latin churches, almost without exception. Jerome, the most learned and diligent inquirer of that century, pronounced most positively in its favour; and was followed universally by the Fathers of the Western churches; and from him we learn the grounds upon which he received the Apocalypse, which he assigns to be "the authority of the ancients," that is, *external evidence;* and he tells us, at the same time, that he does not follow "the fashion of his times"—that fashion by which some of the Greek churches were induced to reject the Apocalypse.

"This fashion of the times," Dr. Woodhouse justly remarks, "seems to have consisted in a daring contempt of the testimonies of the ancient church, and a ready acquiescence in those arguments which were confidently drawn from internal evidence." Yet, notwithstanding this fashion, which appears to have had considerable prevalence in the Greek church, and perhaps to have influenced those eminent men, Cyril of Jerusalem and John Chrysostom (neither of whom appears to have quoted the Apocalypse), many of great name in the Greek church appear

---

[1] Tertullian adv. Marcion, lib. iv. c. 5. De Monogam. c. 12. See Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 227.; 4to. vol. i. p. 430. Woodhouse, p. 51.

[2] Lardner, 8vo. vol. ii. p. 412.; 4to. vol. i. p. 502.

[3] Ibid. 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 466, 467. 483; 4to. vol. i. pp. 532, 533. 541.

[4] The testimony of Dionysius of Alexandria (A.D. 247) is here designedly omitted. He allowed the Apocalypse to be written by John, a holy and inspired apostolical man, but not the Evangelist John; and he grounded his inference on some supposed differences in style. This subject is considered in p. 629. *infrà.*

[5] Lardner, 8vo. vol. vi. p. 629.; 4to. vol. iii. p. 448., where there are references to the former volumes of his works, containing the testimonies of the above-cited fathers and others at length. Woodhouse, pp. 60—77. Lampe, Comment. in Evangelium Joannis, tom. i. pp. 115—124. Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. p. 117. *et seq.*

[6] The Apocalypse is omitted in the catalogues of canonical books formed by Cyril, bishop of Jerusalem (A.D. 340), and by the council of Laodicea (A.D. 364), and in one or two other early catalogues of the Scriptures; but this omission was probably owing not to any suspicion concerning its authenticity or genuineness, but because its obscurity and mysteriousness were thought to render it less fit to be read publicly and generally. Bishop Tomline's Elements of Christian Theology, vol. i. p. 506.

still to have received it; and, in the fourth century, it is supported by testimonies in this church from Athanasius, Basil, Epiphanius, Gregory of Nyssa, and Gregory of Nazianzum."[1]

Upon the whole, though doubts were entertained concerning this book by many individuals of the Greek church after the time of Eusebius, and though we have no satisfactory information how early, or to what extent, it was received by the Syrian churches, yet, from the decisive evidence above adduced, we are authorised to affirm that the Apocalypse has been generally received in all ages. To borrow the eloquent sentiments of Dr. Woodhouse,—"We have seen its rise, as of a pure fountain, from the sacred rock of the apostolical church. We have traced it through the first century of its passage, flowing from one fair field to another, identified through them all, and everywhere the same. As it proceeded lower, we have seen attempts to obscure its sacred origin, to arrest or divert its course, to lose it in the sands of antiquity, or bury it in the rubbish of the dark ages. We have seen these attempts repeated in our own times, and by a dexterous adversary. But it has at length arrived to us, such as it flowed forth at the beginning."[2]

In short, so far as *external evidence* can enable us to determine concerning this book, we may indubitably pronounce that it IS TO BE RECEIVED as "divine Scripture communicated to the church by John the apostle and evangelist."

2. We now proceed briefly to consider the *Internal Evidence* for the genuineness and divine authority of the Apocalypse. This we may reduce to three points; viz. 1. Its correspondence, in point of doctrine and of imagery, with other books of divine authority;—2. The sublimity of this book;—and, 3. The coincidence of its style with the uncontested writings of John.

(1.) *The Apocalypse corresponds in doctrine and imagery with other books of divine authority.*

Though the doctrines of Christianity are by no means a *principal* subject of this book, yet, if we advert to the doctrines actually delivered in it, we shall find a perfect congruity with those delivered in the other apostolical writings. Michaelis has said, that "the true and eternal Godhead of Christ is certainly not taught so clearly in the Apocalypse as in St. John's Gospel." To this Dr. Woodhouse replies,—Could he expect so clear an exposition from a prophecy which respects future events, as from a Gospel which the ancients have described as written principally with the view of setting forth the divine nature of Christ? But this divine nature *is* also set forth in the Apocalypse, and as clearly as the nature of the book and as symbols can express it. Compare Rev. i. 11., iii. 21., v. 6—14., xix. 13. and xxii. 8.[3] The description of the Millennium in the twentieth chapter, where the

[1] Woodhouse, pp. 78—84. Lardner, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 630, 631.; 4to. vol. iii. pp. 448, 449.

[2] Woodhouse, p. 87. The external evidence for the genuineness of this book is discussed at length by Hug, Introduction, vol. ii. § 183.

[3] We may add, also, that the *reality* of Christ's sufferings is explicitly asserted (Rev. i. 5. and 7.) in conformity with the accounts of the Evangelists, and the constant tenor of the New Testament. Whence it is evident that the Apocalypse could not have been written by the heresiarch Cerinthus (as some early writers have asserted), for he maintained that Christ did not suffer, but only Jesus. Michaelis (vol. iv. p. 469.) and Dr. Lardner (Works 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 111, 112.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 638, 639.) have both shown that Cerinthus could not have been the author of the Revelation.

servants of Christ are seen raised from the dead to reign with him a thousand years, has been objected to, as introducing doctrines inconsistent with the purity enjoined in the Gospel. But the representation in question is no *doctrine;* it is a *prediction* yet unfulfilled. In due time we believe that it will be fulfilled, and in the meantime it must be received as the word of God, though we understand it not. It has also been objected by Dr. Less, that the triumph of the saints upon the horrid punishment of their enemies (Rev. xix. 1—10., xxii. 8, 9.), is irreconcilable with the charitable spirit of the Gospel. But no triumph was designed differing from that spoken of in other Scriptures, such as 2 Thess. i. 7, 8. Michaelis likewise has objected to other passages of the Apocalypse, as containing doctrines repugnant to those delivered in the other parts of Scripture; but these passages, when fully examined, will be found to contain no doctrines, but representations of future events. "We may, therefore, truly assert of the Apocalypse, that, fairly understood, it contains nothing which, either in point of doctrine, or in relation of events, past or to come, will be found to contradict any previous divine revelation. It accords with the divine counsels already revealed. It expands and reveals them more completely. We see the gradual flow of sacred prophecy (according to the true tenor of it, acknowledged by divines), first a fountain, then a rill, then, by the union of other divine streams, increasing in its course, till at length, by the accession of the prophetical waters of the New Testament, and, above all, by the acquisition of the apocalyptical succours, it becomes a noble river, enriching and adorning the Christian land."[1]

(2.) *The sublimity of the ideas and imagery is another striking internal evidence of the genuineness and divine origin of the Apocalypse.*

These ideas and this imagery are such as are only to be found in the sacred Scriptures. "In the word of God there is a grandeur and majesty, independent of the accidents of language, consisting in the greatness and sublimity of the things revealed. Men of genius may catch some sparks of this heavenly fire; they may imitate it, and with considerable success: but no one is found so confident in this kind of strength, as to neglect the arts of composition. Mahomet was a man of superior genius; in writing his pretended revelation, he borrowed much from the sacred Scriptures; he attempted often, in imitation of them, to be simply sublime; but he did not trust to this only, he endeavoured to adorn his work with all the imposing charms of human eloquence and cultivated language; and he appealed to the perfection of his compositions as a proof of their divine original. Such an appeal would have little served his cause in a critical and enlightened age, which would expect far other internal proofs of divinity than those which result from elegant diction. The learned of such an age would reject a prophet appealing to a proof which has never been admitted with respect to former revelations; a prophet, who, both in doctrine, and in the relation of events, past and future, is seen to contradict, or add strange extravagant conceits to, the credible and well-attested revelations of former times.

"There is nothing of this kind in the Apocalypse. Compare it with forged prophecies: many such have been written; some calculated to deceive, others only to amuse. These works, if they amaze us, as appearing to have been fulfilled, are commonly found to have been written *after* the events foretold, and to have a retrospective date which does not belong to them. But no one can show that the Apocalypse contains prophecies which were fulfilled before they were written."[2]

Compare also the Apocalypse with the apocryphal revelations ascribed to the apostles Peter, Paul, Thomas, and Stephen, some fragments of which are still extant.[3] How different are the language, character, and sentiments of these spurious productions! The Fathers of the first centuries compared them at length, and rejected them all except this acknowledged work of St. John; which they guarded with so sedulous a care as to preserve it, in the main, free from interpolations, while the genuine productions of Polycarp, Ignatius, and other apostolical men, are known to have suffered from the contact of profane pens.[4]

---

[1] Woodhouse, pp. 89—96. 133. [2] Ibid. p. 99.

[3] In the Codex Pseudepigraphus Novi Testamenti of Fabricius, and Mr. Jeremiah Jones's elaborate work on the New Testament.

[4] Woodhouse, p. 100. See Mr. Cureton's "Corpus Ignatianum."

(3.) *The style of the Apocalypse coincides with the style of the undisputed writings of St. John.*

The proof of this depends upon a collation of passages: Wetstein and Dr. Lardner have both collected a great number of evidences, in which the same forms of expression occur in the Apocalypse as are found in his Gospel and first Epistle, and which are peculiar to this apostle.

From their lists we have selected the following; more might easily be added, if we had room for their insertion.—Compare

Rev. i. 1.	with	John xii. 33., xviii. 37., xxi. 19
Rev. i. 5.	„	1 John i. 7.
Rev. i. 7.	„	John xix. 37.
Rev. ii. 7.	„	John vi. 32.
Rev. ii. 10.	„	John xx. 27.
Rev. ii. 17.	„	John vi. 32.
Rev. iii. 4.	„	John vi. 66.
Rev. iii. 7.	„	John i. 14., xiv. 6., 1 John v. 20.
Rev. iii. 7. 9.	„	John xv. 20., xvii. 6., 1 John ii. 5.
Rev. iii. 9.	„	John xi. 27.
Rev. iii. 10.	„	John xii. 27.
Rev. iii. 21.	„	1 John ii. 13, 14., iv. 4., v. 5.
Rev. v. 6. 12.	„	John i. 29. 36.
Rev. vi. 2.	„	John i. 29.
Rev. ix. 5.	„	John xviii. 26., iii. 17.
Rev. xii. 9.	„	John xii. 31.
Rev. xix. 13.	„	John i. 1.
Rev. xxi. 6.	„	John vii. 37.
Rev. xxi. 27.	„	John vi. 36., 1 John i. 4. (Gr.) In all which passages we have instances of neuter adjectives and participles put for masculines.
Rev. xxii. 14.	„	John i. 12. Ἐξουσία, *right.*
Rev. xxii. 8. 10.	„	John viii. 51, 52. 55., xiv. 23, 24.[1]

In these passages the agreement both in style and expression is so great, that it is impossible to conceive how such striking coincidences could exist in writings so different in their natures as the Gospel and first Epistle of John and the Apocalypse, if they were not all the productions of one and the same author. But it has been objected, that there are differences in the style of this book, which render it uncertain whether it was really written by the apostle. These objections were first started by Dionysius of Alexandria, who contended that the Apocalypse was not the production of St. John, and conjectured that it was written by John, an elder of the Ephesian church. His objections are six in number; and as some of them have been adopted by Michaelis, we shall briefly state and consider them.

OBJECTION 1. *The evangelist John has not named himself either in his Gospel or in his Catholic Epistles; but the writer of the Revelation names himself more than once.*

ANSWER. It was not the practice of the other Evangelists to put their names to their Gospels; nor is any name prefixed to the Epistle to the Hebrews; yet these writings are universally received as genuine and authentic. But though St. John

[1] Wetstenii Nov. Test. tom. ii. p. 747. *note.* Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 121—123.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 643, 644. See also Dr. Jortin's Discourses on the Christian Religion, pp. 225, 226. *note.*

has not named himself in his Gospel, yet he has there so described himself[1], that it is impossible not to know him; and with regard to the Epistles, the persons to whom they were sent could not be ignorant from whom they came.

OBJECTION 2. *Though the writer of the Revelation calls himself John, he has not shown us that he is the apostle of that name.* Michaelis thinks that he ought at least to have made himself known by some such circumlocution as he had used in the Gospel—*the disciple whom Jesus loved.*

ANSWER. "Such addition to the name of John was totally needless. He wrote to the seven churches, and from Patmos, in which island he expresses that 'he is suffering tribulation for the word of God and the testimony of Jesus Christ.' All the churches knew that he was then suffering banishment in that island, and they knew the cause of it, 'for the word of God.' An Epistle containing the history of a heavenly vision, seen by John in the island of Patmos, required no other addition. What John would write John *alone*, without other addition or explanation, excepting the great John, John the Apostle and president of all the churches? A private person would have described himself by the addition of his father's name, according to the custom of the ancients. A bishop or presbyter would have added the name of his church; but John the Apostle needed no such distinguishing mark or appellation. A fabricator of an Epistle, containing a revelation in St. John's name, would perhaps have added his titles of 'Apostle of Jesus Christ,' &c., or would have introduced some circumlocution in imitation of those in his Gospel; but, from the expression as it now stands, we derive a much stronger evidence that it is the genuine work of St. John."[2]

OBJECTION 3. *The Revelation does not mention the Catholic Epistle, nor the Catholic Epistle the Revelation.*

ANSWER. It is not the practice of the sacred writers to quote themselves, or refer to their own works, unless they write more than one Epistle to the same churches or persons; in which case they mention such former Epistle. This, Dr. Lardner observes, is natural, and it is done by St. Paul; but in his Epistle to the Romans he is totally silent concerning any of his former Epistles, though, at the time of writing it, he had written several.

OBJECTION 4. *There is a great resemblance in sentiment, manner, and expression between the Gospel and the first Epistle of St. John; but the Revelation is altogether different, without any affinity or resemblance whatever.*

ANSWER. In the first place, if it were true that there was such a difference of style as Dionysius and (after him) Michaelis have asserted, it may be accounted for by the difference of subject. The style of history is not the style of an epistle or a prophecy. The style of history is simple; of an epistle, familiar; and that of prophecy is sublime; and such unquestionably is the style of the Revelation. But, secondly, this objection is contradicted by fact; and the proofs adduced in p. 629. will show that the coincidence between the Apocalypse and the undisputed Gospel and Epistle of St. John is such, that they must have been written by one and the same author.

---

[1] See John xxi. 24. and other places.

[2] St. Paul, in the opening of his Epistles, has used generally, not always, the term "Apostle;" but with him it was more necessary than with St. John, who was confessedly such, having been numbered with the twelve. St. Paul's right to the apostleship, having been established more privately, had been doubted by some, which leads him to say, "Am not I an apostle?" &c. (1 Cor. ix. 1.); and therefore he generally asserts himself, in his Epistles, to be an apostle. St. John had no need to use the term: his authority as an apostle was undoubted: he therefore calls himself by an humbler title, "A brother and companion in tribulation:" so St. James, although an apostle, mentions himself only as "A servant of God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ." (James i. 1.) Woodhouse, p. 114.

OBJECTION 5. *The Gospel and Epistle of John are written in correct and elegant Greek, but the writer of the Revelation discovers no accurate knowledge of that language: on the contrary, the Apocalypse abounds with barbarisms and solecisms.*

ANSWER. This objection is founded on the mistaken idea that the writers of the New Testament wrote in *Attic Greek;* which is not the case. The same grammatical irregularities which have been objected to in the Apocalypse are also observable in the Septuagint, as well as in the Gospels and other writings of the New Testament. But this difference of language may also be accounted for by the length of time which may have elapsed between the composing of these books; for it is not unlikely that one and the same person writing upon different arguments, and at a great distance of time, especially if he be one who does not frequently exercise his style, or write in the intermediate space, should have a very different manner in his several performances. Now the Gospel of St. John, we have seen, was written about the year 97—that is, about sixty years after the events recorded in it. At such a distance of time, Dr. Woodhouse remarks, the mind is enabled to look back with composure, and to represent with serenity transactions which could not be narrated soon after they had happened, without warm and passionate expressions. It seems to be owing partly to this cause, that the Evangelist is seen to relate in so cool a style, in the Gospel, those sufferings of his beloved Lord which he had witnessed, and which, if related by him immediately after the events had taken place, could not have been told otherwise than with emotion and indignation. But the Apocalypse was written by its author immediately after he had seen the vision; the impressions on his mind had no time to cool; his expressions kept pace with his feelings, and his style became vivid and glowing.[1] There is no necessity, therefore, for having recourse to the hypothesis of a Hebrew original, and of supposing our Greek text to be a version of it, as some critics have imagined; but which hypothesis is totally unsupported by the evidence of antiquity.

OBJECTION 6. *The book is so obscure as to be unintelligible, and is therefore improperly called a Revelation.*

This trifling objection, for such it is pronounced to be by Dr. Lardner, was first published by Dionysius, who represents it as being entertained by many persons in his time (the middle of the third century). In our time it has been adopted by Michaelis, who has laid much stress upon it; but this objection admits of the following simple and satisfactory

ANSWER. In the first place, the author might with great propriety call that a revelation, which had been communicated to him in an extraordinary manner; though he had received it, and was to represent it, in a figurative and emblematical style. But, secondly, this revelation is often spoken of as a prophecy. (See Rev. i. 3., and xxii. 7. 10. 18, 19.) Now, it is the nature of prophecies to be obscure when delivered, and for some time after[2], even in the case of prophecies fulfilled; "because the language in which they are delivered is symbolical, which, though governed by certain rules, and therefore attainable by the judicious among the learned, is nevertheless very liable to misconstruction in rash and unskilful hands. But prophecies, yet unfulfilled, are necessarily involved in deeper darkness, because the event is wanting to compare with the prediction, which of itself is designedly obscure. This same objection of obscurity will operate as forcibly against many of the prophecies of the Old and of the New Testament, as against those of the Apocalypse; particularly the predictions which appertain to the latter days. The book of Daniel, which has our Saviour's seal to it (Matt. xxiv. 15.), must be rejected with the Apocalypse, if it be a sufficient objection to it, that it is yet in many places obscure."[3] —A conclusion this, to which no Christian can or will give his assent.

So far, however, is the obscurity of this prophecy from making against its

[1] Woodhouse, p. 122.
[2] See 2 Pet. i. 19., 1 Pet. i. 10—12., and Luke xxiv. 25—27. 32. 44—46.
[3] Woodhouse, p. 103.

genuineness, that it is, on the contrary, a strong internal proof of its authenticity and divine original: "for it is a part of this prophecy," Sir Isaac Newton well argues, "that it should not be understood before the last age of the world; and therefore it makes for the credit of the prophecy that it is not yet understood. The folly of interpreters," he justly continues, "has been, to foretell times and things by this prophecy, as if God designed to make them prophets. By this rashness they have not only exposed themselves, but brought the prophecy also into contempt. The design of God was much otherwise. He gave this and the prophecies of the Old Testament, not to gratify men's curiosities, by enabling them to foreknow things, but that, after that they were fulfilled, they might be interpreted by the event, and his own providence, not the interpreter's, be then manifested thereby to the world. For the event of things, predicted many ages before, will then be a convincing argument that the world is governed by providence. For as the few and obscure prophecies concerning Christ's first coming were for setting up the Christian religion, which all nations have since corrupted; so the many and clear prophecies concerning the things to be done at Christ's second coming are not only for predicting, but also for effecting a recovery and re-establishment of the long-lost truth, and setting up a kingdom wherein dwells righteousness. The event will prove the Apocalypse; and this prophecy, thus proved and understood, will open the old prophets, and altogether will make known the true religion, and establish it. There is already so much of the prophecy fulfilled, that as many as will take pains in this study may see sufficient instances of God's providence; but then the signal revolutions predicted by all the holy prophets will at once both turn men's eyes upon considering the predictions, and plainly interpret them. Till then we must content ourselves with interpreting what hath been already fulfilled."[1]

Such are the most material objections that have been brought against the genuineness and divine authority of this portion of the New Testament. In addition to the very satisfactory answers above given, from the writings of pious and learned men, it were no difficult task to add numerous other considerations, all tending to show its divine original; but the preceding testimonies, both external and internal, will, we apprehend, be found abundantly sufficient to prove that the Apocalypse is the unquestionable production of the apostle and evangelist John, and of no other John who is mentioned by ecclesiastical writers. It consequently follows, that this book has an indubitable right to that place in the canon of sacred Scripture, which the ancient fathers of the church have assigned to it, and which the reformers in the Protestant churches have with mature deliberation confirmed.[2]

III. The TIME when this book was written is a subject that has much engaged the attention of the learned; and on this point not fewer than six opinions have been advanced. Four of these are of sufficient importance to be considered in this place.

1. It has been asserted that the Apocalypse was written in the reign of the emperor Claudius. Epiphanius is the only ancient father whose testimony has been adduced in behalf of this opinion; and he did not live till *three hundred* years later than St. John. Although this date is sanctioned by Grotius, who supposes that the visions of the book were seen at several times, and that they were afterwards

[1] Sir Isaac Newton's Observations on the Prophecies of Daniel and the Apocalypse of St. John, pp. 251—253.

[2] Lampe, Comment. in Evang. Joannis, tom. i. pp. 125—131. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 110—128.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 627—647. Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 461—500. 528—544. Dr. Woodhouse's Dissertation, pp. 89—141. Dr. W. has considered at length, and refuted, several minor objections of Michaelis and Dr. Lee ss, which want of room has compelled us to omit.

joined together in one book; yet there are two very material objections against it. The *first* is, that there was no persecution of the Christians in the reign of Claudius, and consequently John's banishment to Patmos cannot be referred to that period. This emperor did, indeed, issue an edict for banishing the Jews from Rome, but it did not affect the Jews in the provinces, much less the Christians; and the governors had no authority to banish either Jews or Christians out of their provinces without an order from the emperor: besides, it does not appear that St. John was at Ephesus during the reign of Claudius. The *second* objection to this date is founded on the circumstance, that the seven churches in Asia, to which the Apocalypse is addressed, did not exist so early as the reign of Claudius; for this fact cannot be reconciled with the history given of the first planting of Christianity in Asia Minor related in the Acts of the Apostles.

2. It has been maintained, on the authority of the subscription to the Syriac version of the Apocalypse, that St. John wrote it in the island of Patmos, in the reign of the emperor Nero, *before the destruction of Jerusalem.* This opinion is adopted by Sir Isaac Newton[1]; but it is untenable, for the Apocalypse was not translated into Syriac until the middle of the *sixth* century (and possibly not till much later) and the anonymous subscription is of no force.

3. Another hypothesis makes this book to have been written before the time of Domitian, and before the Jewish war; but it does not determine whether it was in the reign of Claudius, or in that of Nero.

4. The most probable and generally received opinion is, that John was banished into Patmos towards the end of Domitian's reign, by virtue of his edicts for persecuting the Christians; and that he had the Revelation contained in the Apocalypse during his exile; and that he sent it as commanded to the seven churches. Irenæus, who appears to be followed by Origen, and other early fathers, refers the apostle's exile to the latter part of Domitian's reign, and he says that he there received the Revelation described in the Apocalypse. Internal evidence likewise supports this conclusion. For in the three first chapters of the Apocalypse, the seven Asiatic churches are described as being in that advanced and flourishing state of society and discipline, and to have undergone those changes in their faith and

[1] Sir Isaac Newton endeavoured to support his hypothesis by alleging that the apostolic epistles contain quotations from the Apocalypse; and his hypothesis has recently been adopted by Dr. Tilloch in his "Dissertations" introductory to the study of this book. Dr. T., it must be acknowledged, has conducted his view of the subject with equal ingenuity and skill; but the arguments for the *late* date are decisive to the writer of these pages. The collection of verbally parallel passages, between the Apocalypse and the Epistles, it has been forcibly observed, "appear to prove that the apostles in general were well acquainted with the subjects concerning which St. John prophesied, but that they knew them by the influence of the same Holy Spirit which dictated them to St. John. The expressions in question, therefore, were common to all the inspired writers of the New Testament." Townsend's New Testament arranged in Chronological Order, vol. ii. p. 653.

[The Neronic date of the Apocalypse has of late been argued on grounds of internal evidence, especially based on an interpretation of chap. xvii. 10.; but this contradicts the express testimony of Irenæus, who received information relative to the Apocalypse from those who had known John face to face; it also assumes a certain interpretation as undoubted.]

morals, which could not have taken place if they had not been planted for a considerable time. Thus, the church of Ephesus is censured for having left "her first love." That of Sardis "had a name to live, but was dead." The church of Laodicea had fallen into lukewarmness and indifference. Now the church of Ephesus, for instance, was not founded by Paul until the latter part of Claudius's reign; and when he wrote to them from Rome, A.D. 61, instead of reproving them for any want of love, he commends their love and faith. (Eph. i. 15.) Further, it appears from the Revelation that the Nicolaitans formed a sect when this book was written, since they are expressly named: whereas they are not noticed in the writings of the other apostles. It is also evident, from various passages of the Revelation, that there had been an open persecution in the provinces. John himself had been banished into Patmos for the testimony of Jesus. The church of Ephesus (or its bishop) is commended for its "labour and *patience*," which seems to imply persecution. This is still more evident in the following address to the church of Smyrna (Rev. ii. 9.): "I know thy works and *tribulation*," θλῖψιν: which last word always denotes persecution in the New Testament, and is so explained in the following verse.

Lastly, in Rev. ii. 13. mention is made of a martyr named Antipas, who was put to death at Pergamos. Though ancient ecclesiastical history gives us no information concerning this Antipas, yet it is certain, according to all the rules of language, that what is here said is to be understood literally, and not mystically, as some expositors have explained it. Since, therefore, the persecution, mentioned in the three first chapters of the Apocalypse, cannot relate to the time of Claudius, who did not persecute the Christians, nor to the time of Nero, whose persecution did not reach the provinces, it must necessarily be referred to Domitian, according to ecclesiastical tradition.[1]

Domitian's death is related to have happened in September, A.D. 96. The Christian exiles were then liberated, and John was permitted to return to Ephesus. As however, the emperor's decease, and the permission to return, could not be known in Asia immediately, some time must intervene before the apostle could be at liberty either to write the Apocalypse at Ephesus[2], or to send it by messengers from Patmos. We conclude, therefore, with Dr. Mill, Le Clerc, Basnage, Dr. Lardner, Bishop Tomline, Dr. Woodhouse, and other eminent critics, in placing the Apocalypse in the year 96 or 97.[3]

IV. The OCCASION of writing the Apocalypse is sufficiently evident from the book itself. John, being in exile in the island of Patmos, is favoured with the appearance of the Lord Jesus Christ to him, and is repeatedly commanded to commit to writing the visions which he

[1] Beausobre et L'Enfant, Préface sur l'Apocalypse de Saint Jean, pp. 613, 614.

[2] From the expression in Rev. i. 9. "*I* WAS *in the Isle of Patmos*," Dr. Woodhouse is of opinion that there seems to be internal evidence that the Revelation was written after St. John had left Patmos. But this is not conclusive; the tense in such a case refers to the time when the book would be received, and not to the *writer's* point of view.

[3] Michaelis, vol. iv. pp. 518—528. Lardner, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 633—638.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 450—453. Dr. Woodhouse's Dissertation, pp. 6—25. Pritii Introd. ad Nov. Test. pp. 126—132.

beheld. (See Rev. i. 11. 19., ii. 1. 8. 12. 18., iii. 1. 7. 14., xiv. 13., xix. 9., and xxi. 5.) The SCOPE or design of this book is twofold; *first*, generally to make known to the apostle "the things which are" (i. 19.), that is, the then present state of the Christian churches in Asia; and, *secondly*, and principally, to reveal to him "the things which shall be hereafter," events which lead on to the church's consummation in glory. "The prophecy of the Revelation," says Daubuz, "was designed as a standing monument to the church, to know what destinies attend it; and that, when men should suffer for the name of Christ, they might here find some consolation both for themselves and for the church:—for themselves, by the prospect and certainty of a reward;—for the church by the testimony that Christ never forsakes it, but will conquer at last."

V. The Apocalypse, therefore, consists of two principal divisions or parts; viz.

After the title of the book (i. 1—3.),

PART I. *contains ἃ εἰσι, the "things which are;" that is, the then present state of the churches.*

SECT. 1. The Epistle of John to the seven churches, and his account of the appearance of the Lord Jesus with the symbols of his power, together with the commission given by him to the apostle, to write what he beholds. (i. 9—20.)

SECT. 2. The Address or Epistle to the Church at Ephesus. (ii. 1—7.)

SECT. 3. The Address or Epistle to the Church at Smyrna. (ii. 8—11.)

SECT. 4. The Address or Epistle to the Church at Pergamos. (ii. 12—17.)

SECT. 5. The Address or Epistle to the Church at Thyatira. (ii. 18—29.)

SECT. 6. The Address or Epistle to the Church at Sardis. (iii. 1—6.)

SECT. 7. The Address or Epistle to the Church at Philadelphia. (iii. 7—13.)

SECT. 8. The Address or Epistle to the Church at Laodicea. (iii. 14—22.)

The seven churches of the Lydian or Proconsular Asia, to which these Epistles were addressed, are supposed to have been planted by the apostle Paul and his assistants during their ministry. They lie nearly in an amphitheatre, and are addressed according to their geographical positions. Vitringa and other eminent commentators have supposed that the seven Epistles to the apocalyptic churches are prophetical of so many successive periods and states of the church, from the beginning of Christianity to the consummation of all things. But for this opinion, Bishop Newton thinks, there does not appear to be sufficient evidence, and it is in fact contradicted by the book of Revelation itself; for the last state of the church is here described as the most glorious of all, but in the last state of these Epistles, that of Laodicea, the church is represented as "wretched and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked." But though these Epistles have rather a literal than a mystical meaning, yet they contain excellent precepts and exhortations, commendations and reproofs, promises and threatenings, which are calculated to afford instruction to the universal church of Christ at all times. "Some churches," Dr. Hales remarks, "like those of Sardis, Thyatira, and Laodicea, are lukewarm and greatly corrupted; others in a

mixed state, as those of Ephesus and Pergamos; and some still rich, or rather flourishing, and have not denied the faith of Christ, as Smyrna and Philadelphia. And the admonitions addressed to them—1. To repent and reform their ways;—2. To reject false apostles and corrupt doctrines;—3. To retain their patience and steadfastness in the faith;—4. Under the penalty of having their 'lamps removed,' or their established churches extinguished—are equally addressed to all. '*He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith to the churches*' in general." (Rev. ii. 29., iii. 22.)[1]

PART II. *contains a Prophecy of* ἃ μέλλει γένεσθαι, *"the things which shall be hereafter," or Future Ages, to the Grand Consummation of all things.*

SECT. 1. The representation of the divine glory in heaven. (iv.)

SECT. 2. The sealed book, the Lamb who opens it, and the praises sung by the heavenly choir. (v.)

SECT. 3. The opening of the first six seals. (vi.)

SECT. 4. The sealing of the hundred and forty-four thousand, and the presentation of the palm-bearing multitude before the throne. (vii.)

SECT. 5. The opening of the seventh seal, and the six first trumpets, and the prophetic commission to John.

§ i. The opening of the seventh seal, and the commission to the angel with the seven trumpets. (viii. 1—5.)
§ ii. The *four* first trumpets (viii. 6—12.), and the denunciation of the three woes. (13.)
§ iii. The *fifth* trumpet and the *first* woe. (ix. 1—12.)
§ iv. The *sixth* trumpet and the *second* woe. (ix. 13—21.)
§ v. The first prophetical vision of the open little book, the measuring of the temple, and the two witnesses. (x. 1—11., xi. 1—14.)

SECT. 6. The sounding of the seventh trumpet—the vision of the woman persecuted by the dragon, and of the wild beasts from the sea and from the land. (xi. 15—19., xii. xiii.)

SECT. 7. The vision of the Lamb and the hundred and forty-four thousand elect on Mount Sion, and the proclamations or warnings.

§ i. The Lamb on Mount Sion. (xiv. 1—5.)
§ ii. The *first* angel proclaims. (xiv. 6, 7.)
§ iii. The *second* angel proclaims. (xiv. 8.)
§ iv. The *third* angel proclaims. (xiv. 9—12.)
§ v. The blessedness of those who die in the Lord proclaimed. (xiv. 13.)
§ vi. The vision of the harvest and the vintage. (xiv. 14—20.)

SECT. 8. contains the seven vials and the episode of the harlot of Babylon and her fall.

§ i. The vision preparatory to the seven vials. (xv. xvi. 1.)
§ ii. The pouring out of the seven vials. (xvi. 2—21.)
§ iii. The great harlot, or Babylon. (xvii.)
§ iv. The judgment of Babylon continued. (xviii.)
§ v. Exultation in heaven over the fallen Babylon, and upon the approach of the new Jerusalem. (xix. 1—10.)

---

[1] Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book ii. p. 1294. Bishop Newton's Dissertations, vol. ii. p. 167.

SECT. 9. contains the grand conflict, the millennium, the conflict renewed, the judgment, and the new creation.

§ i. The appearance of the Lord with his followers, for battle and victory. (xix. 11—18.)
§ ii. The conflict and victory over the beast and false prophet. (xix. 19—21.)
§ iii. Satan bound, the first resurrection, and the millennium. (xx. 1—6.)
§ iv. Satan loosed, deceives the nations, and is cast into the burning lake. (xx. 7—10.)
§ v. The general resurrection and final judgment. (xx. 11—15.)

SECT. 10. Description of the new Jerusalem. (xxi., xxii. 1—5.) The CONCLUSION. (xxii. 6—21.)

VI. No book has been more commented upon, or has given rise to a greater variety of interpretations, than the Apocalypse, which has ever been accounted the most difficult portion of the New Testament. The figurative language in which the visions are delivered; the variety of symbols under which the events are presignified; the extent of the prophetical information, which appears to pervade all ages of the Christian church, afford little hope of *perfect* unity of judgment in its elucidation, till a further process of time shall have ripened more of the events foretold in it, and have given safer scope to investigation.[1]

Referring the reader, therefore, to the works of Mede, Daubuz, Sir Isaac Newton, Bishops Newton and Hurd, Lowman, Faber, Dr. Hales, and others, who have attempted to illustrate these sublime and mysterious prophecies, and especially to the learned and pious labours of Dr. Woodhouse, we shall conclude this article with the following canons of interpretation, which have been proposed by the last-mentioned eminent critic and divine.

1. Compare the language, the symbols, and the predictions of the Apocalypse with those of former revelations; and admit only such interpretation as shall appear to have the sanction of this divine authority.

2. Unless the language and symbols of the Apocalypse should in particular passages direct, or evidently require, another mode of application, the predictions are to be applied to the progressive church of Christ.

3. The kingdom which is the subject of this prophetic book is not a temporal but a spiritual kingdom;—not "a kingdom of this world" (John xviii. 36.), not established by the means and apparatus of worldly pomp, not bearing the external ensigns of royalty; but governing the inward man, by possession of the ruling principles: *the kingdom of God*, says our Lord, *is within you.* (Luke xvii. 21.) The predictions relative to this kingdom, therefore, are to be spiritually interpreted. Wars, conquests, and revolutions, of vast extent and great political import, are not the object of the apocalyptical prophecies; unless they appear to have promoted or retarded in a considerable degree the *real* progress of the religion of Jesus Christ, whose proper reign is in the hearts and consciences of his subjects. "His reign is advanced, when Christian principles, when faith, and righteousness, and charity abound. It is retarded, when ignorance, impurity, idolatrous superstition, and wickedness prevail."

---

[1] Brit. Crit. vol. xxix. p. 191. Rosenmüller (Scholia, vol. v. pp. 614—619.) and Dr. A. Clarke (Preface to the Revelation, pp. i.—x.) have given an abstract of various hypotheses relative to the interpretation of the Apocalypse, some of which are sufficiently *extravagant.* See also Cellérier's Introduction au Nouv. Test. pp. 497—501. and Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. § 187.

4. We are not to attempt the particular explanation of those prophecies which remain to be fulfilled.[1]

[To discuss the principles of apocalyptic interpretation would require a separate dissertation, far exceeding any *addition* which could be properly introduced into this place by the editor. The writers mentioned above appear to belong to one class of expositors. It may be of assistance to the reader if the editor states the mode in which he has been accustomed to *classify* the systems of interpretation (using terms which had been in part employed by others), and which has been found by some to be a convenient arrangement.[2]

The leading schemes of apocalyptic interpretation are *four:* 1st, The *Preteritist,* regarding the book as having to do with events long past: most who thus regard this book assume that its date is very early, and they see the destruction of Jerusalem as the great event to which it leads.

2nd, The *continuous.* On this scheme the book is a progressive history, divided, according to some, into *parallel* narrations, but being, according to others, altogether consecutive. Those who thus regard the book adopt the canon that, in prophetic language, a *day* stands for a *year.*

3rd, The *simple futurist.* On this scheme, "the things which are" relate to the actual time of the apostle; while "the things which shall be hereafter" relate to what introduces the coming of Christ (especially in a period of 1260 *days*), so that *this portion* of the book is regarded as future, and of course all that issues out of it.

4th, The *extreme futurist.* According to this scheme the whole of the Revelation is future. The seven churches are regarded as seven churches *of Jews* which *will be* formed after the *first resurrection,* and to them the instruction was to be given: and then in quick succession follow the other events that are mentioned.

Of these four schemes the preteritist and the continuous agree in regarding the book as a relation of successive events from the time when it was written, but they differ as to the *terminus ad quem.* Some who expound on the *continuous* scheme believe that the book teaches a *literal* "first resurrection," while others do not.

The *simple futurist* view *divides* the book, and supposes (like Irenæus and Hippolytus) an interval of unmarked length between the two parts. This is avoided by the *extreme futurists,* who carry on "the things that are" to a time when the present church, gathered of Jews and Gentiles, shall no longer be on the earth, being (it has been said) made partakers of *a* first resurrection, anterior to *the* first resurrection of chap. xx.

It was not intended to *discuss* these modes of interpretation, or to show what subdivisions of opinion may exist, but only to point out the general distinctions.]

Although many parts of the Apocalypse are necessarily obscure to us, because they contain predictions of events still future, yet enough is sufficiently clear to convey to us the most important religious in-

[1] Dr. Woodhouse's translation of the Apocalypse, pp. xii.—xix.
[2] See Dr. Davidson's Introduction, iii. 618, 619.

struction. This book is to us precisely what the prophecies of the Old Testament were to the Jews, nor is it in any degree more inexplicable. "No prophecies in the Revelation can be more clouded with obscurity, than that a child should be born of a pure virgin — that a mortal should not see corruption — that a person despised and numbered among malefactors should be established for ever on the throne of David. Yet still the *pious Jew* preserved his faith entire amidst all these wonderful, and, in appearance, contradictory intimations. He looked into the holy books in which they were contained with reverence; and with an eye of patient expectation 'waited for the consolation of Israel.' We, in the same manner, look up to these prophecies of the Apocalypse, for the full consummation of the great scheme of the Gospel; when Christianity shall finally prevail over all the corruptions of the world, and be universally established in its utmost purity."[1]

[1] Gilpin's Exposition of the New Testament, vol. ii. p. 423.

APPENDIX.

ON THE SOURCES OF THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS.

I. THAT the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, should contain so much verbal agreement, and yet that there should exist such striking differences as appear in the parallel accounts of these three Evangelists when they relate the same discourses or transactions, is indeed a most remarkable circumstance. Hence several eminent writers have been induced to discuss this singular fact with great ability and equal ingenuity: and although the testimonies which we have to the genuineness and authenticity of the Gospels are so clear and decisive, as to leave no doubt in the minds of private Christians; yet, since various learned men have offered different hypotheses to account for, and explain, these phenomena, the author would deem his labours very imperfect, if he suffered them to pass unnoticed.

Four principal hypotheses have been offered, to account for these verbal similarities and occasional differences between the first three Evangelists; viz. 1. That one or two of the Gospels were taken from another; 2. That all three were derived from some original document common to the Evangelists; 3. That they were derived from detached narratives of part of the history of our Saviour, communicated by the apostles to the first converts to Christianity; and, 4. That they were derived from oral tradition. We shall briefly state the arguments that have been offered for and against these various hypotheses.

II. The FIRST and most commonly received opinion has been, that one or two of the first three Evangelists had copied or abridged from the third, or one from the other two. Thus Vogel endeavoured to show that Mark made use of the Gospel of Luke, and that Matthew drew from Mark and Luke.[1] Grotius, Mill, Simon, Calmet, Wetstein, Wolfius, Drs. Owen and Harwood, and others, after Augustine, have asserted that Mark was an epitomiser of Matthew. Griesbach[2] and Dr. Townson[3] have maintained that both Mark and Luke had seen and consulted the Gospel of Matthew. Hug has defended the

[1] Vogel, über die Entstehung der drey ersten Evangelien (on the Origin of the first Three Gospels), in Gabler's Journal für auserlesene Theologisch Literatur, Band 1. Stuck 1. p. 1. *et seq.*

[2] Griesbach, in Kuinöel's, Ruperti's, and Velthusen's Commentationes Theologicæ, tom. i. pp. 303. *et seq.* Griesbach's hypothesis was refuted by Koppe, in Pott's and Ruperti's Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum, tom. i. pp. 55. *et seq.* Ammon defended Griesbach's hypothesis, and also contended that Luke made use of the Greek version of St. Matthew's Gospel, which he corrected and enlarged. Dissertatio de Luca emendatore Matthæi. Erlangæ, 1805. 4to.

[3] Discourses on the Four Gospels, Oxford, 1778, 4to.; or vol. i. of Dr. Townson's Works, pp. 1—273.

opinion that Mark had before him the Gospel written by Matthew for the Jews dwelling in Palestine[1], and that Luke made use of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark.[2] Seiler affirmed that Mark translated into Greek and enlarged the Syro-Chaldaic Gospel of Matthew; that this Syro-Chaldaic Gospel, enlarged in many places, either by Matthew himself, or by other men worthy of credit, was subsequently translated into Greek either by the Evangelist or some other person; and that the Greek translator consulted the Gospel of Mark.[3] Storr endeavoured to prove that the Gospel of Mark was the source whence Matthew and Luke derived materials for their Gospels.[4] Busching was of opinion that Matthew and Mark compiled from Luke.[5] Saunier maintains that the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John, are authentic and independent narratives; that Mark made use of those by Matthew and Luke; and that the passages, not to be found in either of these, were supplied by Peter, under whose direction he wrote.[6] And, lastly, Janssens affirms that the agreement and disagreement between the Gospels of Matthew and Mark are sufficiently accounted for, by saying, after the ancient Fathers, that Mark composed his Gospel after that of Matthew, and after the preaching of Peter.[7] Not to dwell upon the uncertainty of these various hypotheses, all of which differ as to the point which was the original writer, and which of the Evangelists were copyists or abridgers, the opinion which they respectively are designed to advocate is contradicted by the following weighty considerations:—

1. *They could have no motive for copying from each other.*

"For, as each acknowledged the authority and veracity of the others, when their narratives were known, they could not have been so absurd as to repeat what had been already rightly told. Had they then written successively, with knowledge of each other's writings, it is probable, nay, it is almost certain, that each subsequent author would have set down only, or at least chiefly, what his predecessors had happened to omit. To repeat in substance, but in different words, what another had sufficiently told, might have been practised by writers who valued themselves upon their peculiar style of expression, or their own mode of compilation. But to copy the very words of another, whose account we do not mean to supersede, and to introduce them in the very same manner, is an idle and superfluous task, which no man in his senses would ever undertake.[8] That the two Evangelists, St. Mark and St. Luke, who were not eye-witnesses of the facts, and heard not the discourses

---

[1] Hug's Introduction to the New Testament, *in loc.* [§ 17. *seq.* ed. 1847].

[2] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 152—185. of Dr. Wait's translation: this having been executed from Hug's *first* edition, the learned translator of Dr. Schleiermacher's Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke has given an abstract of Hug's hypothesis from his second edition published in 1821. Introduction, pp. xcviii.—cxv.

[3] Seiler, Dissertationes II. de tempore et ordine quibus tria Evangelia priora canonica scripta sunt. Erlangæ, 1805–6. 4to.

[4] Storr, Dissertatio de fonte Evangeliorum Matthæi et Lucæ, in Kuinöel's Ruperti's, and Velthusen's Commentationes Theologicæ, tom. iii. pp. 140. *et seq.*

[5] Busching, Harmonie der Evangelisten, pp. 99. 108. 118. *et seq.* Kuinöel's Commentarius in Libros Historicos Novi Testamenti, tom. i. Prolegom. pp. 1—3.

[6] Saunier, Ueber die Quellen des Evangeliums des Marcus. Berlin, 1827. 8vo. The above notice of Saunier's hypothesis is given from the Christian Examiner, or Church of Ireland Magazine, vol. iv. p. 389.

[7] Janssens, Hermeneutique Sacrée, tom. ii. p. 11. Paris, 1828. 8vo.

[8] "If I follow another writer, and copy the substance of his account in other words, I make it my own, and become responsible, as a second witness; but if I take his very words my account is resolvable into his, and it is still but one testimony."

of Christ pronounced, relate them nearly in the same words with those who were actually present, appears to me to prove that the narratives of all the witnesses perfectly agreed: that what one wrote others had told, and each precisely in the same manner. The witnesses had all taken such care to remember, with minute exactness, the principal discourses of their Lord, and the occasions on which they were spoken, and were so often called upon to repeat them, in making and confirming converts to the faith, that a precision was obtained in relating these particulars, of which, if no other example occurs in the annals of the world, the reason is, because no other relators of facts and discourses were ever so situated. No other men ever had such words and actions to relate; such frequent occasions to repeat them; or so many powerful reasons to relate them with the strictest accuracy, on every possible occasion. From this cause it naturally arose, that they who wrote as original witnesses, and they who wrote from the testimony of such witnesses, agreed, not only substantially, but almost verbally. The exact and literal truth, without alteration or embellishment, was equally delivered by them; as when several perfect mirrors reflect the same object, the images will be the same in form, at the first or second reflection."[1]

But, further, "the copying of one book from another is usually the resource either of ignorance or indolence. Of ignorance, when the writer has no knowledge of the facts, except what he derives from the author whom he copies: of indolence, when, though previously informed, he takes the statement of another, which he approves, to save himself the thought and trouble which would be required for forming an original narrative. With respect, then, to the Evangelists, above all other writers, we may surely ask, if they knew not of a certainty what they undertook to write, why did they undertake it? But if they knew from their own recollection or enquiries, why should they copy from any other person? If they thought a new narrative was wanted, why should they copy one which was already to be had? If they are supposed to have copied through ignorance, why did they presume to alter even a single word? If they copied through indolence, the very same indolence would doubtless have led them to copy word for word, which is much more easy than to copy with variations, but which it never can be pretended they have done for many lines together. I know but of one more supposition, which can be made, and that is so dishonourable to the Evangelists, that I think no sincere Christian could be induced to make it. It is this: — That they copied, indeed, through ignorance or indolence, or both, but inserted slight alterations, as they went on, for the purpose of disguising or concealing their thefts. Should an enemy even presume to say this, for surely no other would say it, to him I would boldly reply, that, if so, they were very awkward and blundering contrivers; for they altered so very little, that copying has been generally imputed to them: and yet sometimes so indiscreetly, that their differences have been, without reason, indeed, but hastily, regarded as contradictions."[2]

2. *It does not appear that any of the learned ancient Christian writers had a suspicion, that either of the first three Evangelists had seen the other Gospels before he wrote his own.*

They *say*, indeed, "that when the three first-written Gospels had been delivered to all men, they were also brought to St. John, and that he confirmed the truth of their narration; but said, that there were some things omitted by them which might be profitably related:" or, "that he wrote last, supplying some things which had been omitted by the former Evangelists." To mention no others, Eusebius bishop of Cæsarea[3], Epiphanius[4], Theodore of Mopsuestia[5], and Jerome[6], express themselves in this manner. Towards the close of the fourth century, indeed, or early in the fifth, Augustine[7] supposed that the first three Evangelists were not totally ignorant of each other's labours, and considered Mark's Gospel as an abridgment

[1] Nares's Veracity of the Evangelists, pp. 33—35. [2] Ibid. pp. 168—170.

[3] See the passages from Eusebius in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 226, 227.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 369.

[4] Ibid. 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 314, 315.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 418.

[5] Ibid. 8vo. vol. iv. pp. 511, 512.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 529.

[6] Ibid. 8vo. vol. v. p. 41.; 4to. vol. ii. p. 553.

[7] Ibid. 8vo. vol. v. p. 93; 4to vol. ii. p. 583.

of St. Matthew's; but he was the first of the Fathers who advocated that notion, and it does not appear that he was followed by any succeeding writers, until it was revived in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, by Grotius and others.

3. *It is not suitable to the character of any of the Evangelists, that they should abridge or transcribe another historian.*

Matthew was an apostle and an eye-witness, and consequently was able to write from his own knowledge; or, if there were any parts of our Lord's ministry at which he was not present, he might obtain information from his fellow-apostles or other eye-witnesses. And, with respect to things which happened before the calling of the apostles, (as the nativity, infancy, and youth of Christ,) the apostles might ascertain them from our Saviour himself, or from his friends and acquaintance, on whose information they could depend.

Mark was (as we have already seen[1]) an early Jewish believer, acquainted with the apostles, and especially with St. Peter, as well as with many other eye-witnesses: consequently he was well qualified to write a Gospel; and that he did not *abridge* Matthew, we have shown by an induction of various particulars.[2] Luke, though not an eye-witness of Christ's discourses and actions, was a disciple and companion of the apostles, and especially of Paul; he must therefore have been well qualified to write a Gospel. Besides, as we have shown in a former page[3], it is manifest, from his introduction, that he knew not of any authentic history of Jesus Christ that had been then written; and he expressly says, that he had accurately traced all things from the source in succession or order, and he professes to write of them to Theophilus. After such an explicit declaration as this is, to affirm that he transcribed many things from one historian, and still more from another, is no less than a contradiction of the Evangelist himself.

4. *It is evident from the nature and design of the first three Gospels, that the Evangelists had not seen any authentic written history of Jesus Christ.*

There can be no doubt but that John had seen the other three Gospels; for, as he is said to have lived to a great age, so it appears from his Gospel itself that he carefully avoided the repetition of things related in them, except a few necessary facts. But there is no certain evidence, either that Mark knew that Matthew had written a Gospel before him, or that Luke knew that the two Evangelists had written Gospels before him. If Mark had seen the work of Matthew, it is likely that he would have remained satisfied with it as being the work of an apostle of Christ, that is, an eye-witness, which he was not. Nor would Luke, who, from the beginning of his Gospel, appears to have been acquainted with several memoirs of the sayings and actions of Christ, have omitted to say that one or more of them was written by an apostle, as Matthew was. His silence, therefore, is an additional proof that the first three Evangelists were totally unacquainted with any previous authentic written history of Christ.

5. *The seeming contradictions occurring in the first three Gospels (all of which, however, admit of solution*[4],) are an additional evidence that the Evangelists did not write by concert, or after having seen each other's Gospels.

6. *In some of the histories recorded by all these three Evangelists, there are small varieties and differences, which plainly show the same thing.*

In illustration of this remark, it will suffice to refer to and compare the accounts of the healing of the demoniac or demoniacs in the country of the Gadarenes (Matt. viii. 28—34., with Mark v. 1—20. and Luke viii. 26—40.); the account of our Lord's transfiguration on the mount (Matt. xvii. 1—13. with Mark ix. 1—13. and Luke ix. 28—36.); and the history of the healing of the young man after our Saviour's descent from the mount. (Matt. xvii. 14—21. with Mark ix. 14—29. and Luke ix. 37—42.) In each of the accounts here cited, the agreeing circumstances which are discoverable in them clearly prove that it is the same history, but there are also several differences equally evident in them. Whoever, therefore, diligently

---

[1] See p. 432. of this volume.

[2] See pp. 439—441. of this volume.

[3] See pp. 453, 454. *supra.*

[4] [It is now of special importance to insist on this point, because of late the attempt to explain difficulties has been treated with needless contempt.]

attends to these circumstances, must be sensible that the Evangelical historians did not copy or borrow from each other.

7. There are some very remarkable things related in St. Matthew's Gospel, of which neither St. Mark nor St. Luke has taken any notice.

Such are the extraordinary events recorded in Matt. ii., xxvii. 19., xxvii. 51—53., and xxviii. 11—15.; some or all of which would have been noticed by Mark or Luke, had they written with a view of abridging or confirming Matthew's history. It is also very observable, that Luke has no account of the miracle of feeding "four thousand with seven loaves and a few small fishes," which is related in Matt. xv. 32—39. and Mark viii. 1—9. The same remark is applicable to Luke's Gospel, supposing (as Dr. Macknight and others have imagined) it to have been first written, as it contains many remarkable things not to be found in the other Gospels. Now, if Matthew or Mark had written with a view of abridging or confirming Luke's history, they would not have passed by those things without notice.

8. All the first three Evangelists have several things peculiar to themselves; which show that they did not borrow from each other, and that they were all well acquainted with the things of which they undertook to write a history.

Many such peculiar relations occur in Matthew's Gospel, besides those just cited; and both Mark [1] and Luke [2], as we have already seen, have many similar things, so that it is needless to adduce any additional instances.

9. Lastly, Dr. Mill has argued that the *similarity of style and composition* is a proof that these Evangelists had seen each other's writings.

But this argument in Dr. Lardner's judgment is insufficient. In fact, Mill himself allows [3] that a very close agreement may easily subsist between two authors writing on the same subject in the Greek language.[4]

III. The SECOND hypothesis, by which some distinguished critics have attempted to explain the verbal harmony observable in the first three Gospels, is that which derives them from some COMMON GREEK or HEBREW DOCUMENT or source, which occasioned the Evangelists so frequently to adopt the same terms and forms of expression. Le Clerc [5] was the first writer to whom this idea occurred; and after it had lain dormant upwards of sixty years, it was revived and advocated by Koppe [6], and has been modified in various ways by subsequent writers, so that (as it has been severely but not unjustly remarked) "hypothesis has been knocked down by hypothesis, till the Gospels must begin to feel themselves in a very awkward condition." [7]

Of these various modifications the following is a concise outline:—

1. MICHAELIS, in the fourth German edition of his Introduction [8], abandoning his former opinion that Mark copied from Matthew, "attributes the verbal harmony of all three Evangelists to the use of the same documents. But, as he assumes that St. Matthew wrote in Hebrew, he supposes, not that Matthew himself, but his Greek translator, had access to the same Greek document or documents which had been used both by St. Mark and St. Luke; and

[1] See pp. 439, 440. *suprà*, of this volume.
[2] See p. 455. note [1] *suprà*, of this volume.
[3] Millii Proleg. § 108.
[4] Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. vi. pp. 223—233.; 4to. vol. ii. pp. 245—250.
[5] Clerici Eccl. Hist. sæc. i. anno lxiv. § xi. pp. 429, 430.
[6] In his dissertation entitled Marcus non Epitomator Matthæi. See Pott's and Ruperti's Sylloge, tom. i. pp. 65—68.
[7] British Critic and Theol. Review, vol. ii. pp. 351.
[8] Vol. iii. part 1. ch. 5 sect. 5. of Bp. Marsh's translation.

that hence arose the verbal harmony between the Greek Gospel of St. Matthew and the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke."[1]

2. SEMLER[2], in 1783, intimated rather than enunciated the hypothesis of a common Hebrew or Syriac document or documents, whence the three first Evangelists derived the principal materials of their Gospels. The hypothesis of Semler was subsequently adopted by Berchtold, who maintained that the verbal conformity in the corresponding passages of our Gospels was produced by the alterations of transcribers.[3]
3. In 1784 LESSING asserted the hypothesis of a common Syriac or Chaldee original, which he supposes to be the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or the Gospel according to the twelve Apostles. From this Gospel he imagines that Matthew (who in his opinion wrote only in Greek), Mark, and Luke, derived the principal materials of their Gospels, and accordingly translated it more or less fully, more or less closely into Greek.[4] Niemeyer[5], Halfeld[6], and Paulus[7], adopted and improved upon Lessing's notion: but their views have been eclipsed
4. By the late Professor EICHHORN, of whose earlier modifications of the hypothesis of a primary document Bishop Marsh has given an interesting account.[8] According to Eichhorn's hypothesis, as developed in the second edition of his (German) Introduction to the New Testament[9], there were *four* copies of the Aramaic Original which formed the basis of the three first Gospels; which with their respective translations he thus designates:—

"A. An Aramaic Text of the original doctrine, with some of the great additions now found in St. Matthew. This was early translated.

B. An Aramaic Text, with some of the greater additions now in St. Luke. Not translated independently.

C. An Aramaic Text compounded of A. and B. This forms St. Mark's Gospel, having been either translated by himself, or an early translation of it having been revised by him.

D. An Aramaic Text, with some of the *other* great additions in St. Luke, which was also translated early.

E. St. Matthew's Aramaic Text, composed out of A. and D., except some additions made by St. Matthew himself, who arranged the

[1] Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part 2. p. 186.

[2] In the notes to his German translation of Dr. Townson's Discourses. (Townson, Abhandlungen über die vier Evangelien, vol. i. pp. 221. 290.) Michaelis, vol. iii. part 2. p. 187. Kuinöel, Comment. in Lib. Hist. Nov. Test. tom. i. Prolegom. pp. 3, 4.

[3] An outline of Berchtold's hypothesis will be found in the Introduction to the English translation of Schleiermacher's Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke, pp. xcvi. xcvii.

[4] Lessing's Theologischer Nachlass (Theological Remains), pp. 45—72., cited by Bp. Marsh, vol. iii. part 2. pp. 187, 188.

[5] Niemeyer, Conjecturæ ad illustrandum plurimorum N. T. Scriptorum Silentium de primordiis Jesu Christi. Halæ, 1790. 4to.

[6] Halfeld, Commentatio de Origine quatuor Evangeliorum et de eorum canonica auctoritate. Gottingæ, 1794. 4to.

[7] Paulus, Introductio in N. T. capita selectiora, quibus in originem, scopum, et argumentorum Evangeliorum et Actuum Apostolorum inquiritur. Jenæ, 1799. 8vo.

[8] Michaelis, vol. iii. part 2. pp. 184—205.

[9] Einleitung in das N. T. vol. i. 1820.

whole of the original Gospel and the additions chronologically. The translator of this into Greek used the early translations of A. and D.

F. St. Luke's Aramaic Text, composed of B. and D. (except some additions peculiar to St. Luke), and translated by himself, with the assistance of the existing translation of D. B. is thus common to St. Mark and St. Luke, but they had no common translation of it."[1]

This scheme, it will be seen, on comparison, does not materially vary from that proposed by

5. Bishop MARSH, in his elaborate "Dissertation on the Origin and Composition of our three first Gospels." After many preparatory steps, assigning reasons for the rejection of other hypotheses, and various forms of this hypothesis, Bishop Marsh proposes his own in the following terms, marking the common Hebrew document, which he supposes the Evangelist to have consulted, by the sign ℵ, and certain translations of it with more or less additions by the letters *a*, *β*, &c.

"St. Matthew, St. Mark, and St. Luke, all three, used copies of the common Hebrew document ℵ: the materials of which St. Matthew, who wrote in Hebrew, retained in the language in which he found them, but St. Mark and St. Luke translated them into Greek. They had no knowledge of each other's Gospel; but St. Mark and St. Luke, besides their copies of the Hebrew document ℵ, used a Greek translation of it, which had been made before any of the additions *a*, *β*, &c. had been inserted. Lastly, as the Gospels of St. Mark and St. Luke contain Greek translations of Hebrew materials, which were incorporated into St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, the person who translated St. Matthew's Hebrew Gospel into Greek frequently derived assistance from the Gospel of St. Mark, where St. Mark had matter in common with St. Matthew; and in those places, but in those places only, where St. Mark had no matter in common with Matthew, he had frequently recourse to St. Luke's Gospel."[2]

The hypothesis thus stated and determined, its author conceives, will account for all the phenomena relative to the verbal agreement and disagreement of our first three Gospels, as well as for the other manifold relations which they bear to each other; and he has accommodated it with great attention to particular circumstances, enumerated by him in the former part of his "Dissertation on the Origin of the three first Gospels," which circumstances, however, we have not room to detail. This document, he thinks, may have been intitled in Greek ΔΙΗΓΗΣΙΣ *περὶ τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων, καθὼς παρέδοσαν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται τοῦ λόγου*, that is, A NARRATIVE *of those things which are most firmly believed among us, even as they, who*

[1] For the preceding abstract of Eichhorn's latest hypothesis, the author is indebted to the learned reviewer of Schleiermacher's Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke in the British Critic and Theol. Review, vol. ii. pp. 346, 347. See Eichhorn's Einleitung in N.T. vol. i. ed. 2. p. 372. *seq.*

[2] Michaelis, vol. iii. part 2. p. 361.

from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, delivered them unto us. Consequently, if this conjecture be well-founded, the document in question is actually referred to by St. Luke.[1] In addition also to this supposed first Hebrew document א and its translations, Bishop Marsh supposes the existence of a supplemental Hebrew document, which he calls ב, and which contained a collection of *precepts, parables,* and *discourses,* delivered by our Saviour on various occasions, but not arranged in chronological order. This he terms a Γνωμολογία, and conceives that it was used only by Matthew and Luke, who had copies of it differing from each other.

6. In order to unite the two hypotheses of Eichhorn and Bishop Marsh, Professor GRATZ supposes that there was a Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic original Gospel for the use of the preachers of the Christian faith in Palestine, from which Matthew composed his Hebrew Gospel. When they began to propagate the Christian doctrines in other countries, this original Gospel was translated into Greek, and enriched with several additions. From this version Mark and Luke composed their books, and hence arose the agreement, both as to facts and expressions, which is observable in their respective Gospels. The Gospel of Matthew was also translated into Greek, in executing which version the translator made use of the writings of Mark, whence he also sometimes interpolated Matthew; and this circumstance gave rise to a similiarity between them as to matter, in places where Luke differs from them. But the agreement between Matthew and Luke, to the exclusion of Mark, was effected by subsequent interpolations, since these passages were transcribed from the Gospel of Matthew into that of Luke; and in those places, where the original Gospel has no additions, they all agree in matter as well as harmonise in words.[2]

The modifications of the hypothesis that there was an original Aramæan Gospel, proposed by Eichhorn and Bishop Marsh, have been adopted by Kuinoel[3], Schoell[4], and some other continental

[1] Michaelis, vol. iii. part 2. pp. 363. 368. But the absence of the Greek article is fatal to the conjecture of Bishop Marsh, and proves that no reference is made to such a supposed document. The force of this objection seems to have struck the mind of that learned writer; for he has candidly left it to others to determine whether his conjecture is not rendered abortive by the want of the article before διήγησιν (*narrative* or *declaration*) in Luke i. 1. On this topic Bishop Middleton is decisively of opinion that it *is* rendered totally abortive. With respect to the Greek article, he remarks, that "the rule is, that the title of a book, as prefixed to the book, should be *anarthrous*" (i. e. without the article); "but that when the book is referred to, the article should be inserted." And he adduces, among other instances, Hesiod's poem, entitled Ἀσπὶς Ἡρακλέους (*Hercules's Shield*), which Longinus thus cites — εἶγε Ἡσιόδου καὶ THN Ἀσπίδα δετέον (if indeed THE shield may be ascribed to Hesiod). Bishop Middleton on the Greek article, p. 289. first edition. In the two following pages he has controverted the translation of Luke i. 1—4. proposed by the translator of Michaelis.

[2] Gratz, Neuer Versuch, die Enstehung der drey ersten Evangelien zu erklären, (Tübingen, 1812,) cited in Hug's Introduction, vol. ii. § 19. There is an abstract of Gratz's scheme, with remarks by the translator of Schleiermacher (Introd. pp. lxxxvi.—xciii.), who considers it "to be not only unwarranted, but contradicted by every memorial we have remaining of the earliest transactions in Christian history."

[3] Comm. in Hist. Lib. Nov. Test. vol. i. pp. 7—9.

[4] Histoire Abrégée de la Littérature Grècque, tom. ii. pp. 66—82.

critics; but they have been strenuously opposed, on the Continent, by Professor Hug[1], and in this country by the late Bishops Randolph[2] and Middleton[3], Bishop Gleig[4], the editors of the British Critic[5], and other distinguished writers[6], of whose arguments and reasonings the following is an abstract:—

1. *Supposing such a theory to be necessary, in order to account for the verbal similarities and differences of the first three Evangelists, (which necessity, however, is by no means admitted,) the obvious fault of this hypothesis, in all its modifications, is its extreme complexity.*

To omit the earlier modifications which have yielded to the schemes of Eichhorn and Bishop Marsh:—According to the *former* there are an Aramaic original Gospel, which was translated into Greek, and five compilations from it, with various additions. According to the latter there are two Hebrew or Aramaic documents, and several Greek versions, with additions gratuitously supposed, which the algebraical notations, introduced by their author, can scarcely enable the reader to distinguish from each other. To describe the sources of St. Matthew's Gospel by this method not fewer than seven marks are employed; viz. ℵ, α, γ, Δ, Γ^1, Ξ, and Γ^2. Besides these, there are the marks peculiar to St. Luke or St. Mark, β, Β, and ℵ,—in all, ten different signs standing for so many separate documents or modifications of documents; and all these gratuitously supposed without proof for the existence of one among the number. This hypothesis Bishop Marsh considers as simple; but, with every possible deference to such an authority in all matters respecting biblical literature, it is submitted, that few persons will be found to coincide in his opinion. And although he states, with respect to the steps of this hypothesis, that "there is no improbability attending any one of them; they are neither numerous nor complicated:" yet we must observe that, altogether, they are both numerous, and, consequently, by the combinations supposed in their application, they become extremely complicated. Further, though no particular step may be in itself improbable, yet the discovery of *ten* different sources to certain works, by mere analysis, is a circumstance of the highest improbability, and forms such a discovery as was never yet made in the world, and probably never will be made; because, if not absolutely impossible, it approaches so nearly to impossibility, that the mind can scarcely conceive a distinction.[7]

2. But if either of these hypotheses would solve, without difficulty or exception, all the phenomena[8], of every description, which are assumed to exist in the three first Gospels, the TOTAL SILENCE *of ecclesiastical antiquity presents a direct and invincible argument against the existence of any such primary document.*

(1.) To commence with the apostolic age:—Is it to be supposed that there ever existed a work of such approved excellence, and such high authority, as to become the basis of the first three Gospels, and yet that nothing — not even the memory of

---

[1] Hug's Introduction, *in loc.*

[2] Dr. Randolph in his "Remarks on Michaelis's Introduction," 8vo. vols. iii. and iv. London, 1802.

[3] On the Doctrine of the Greek Article, pp. 288—291.

[4] In his valuable edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, vol. iii. pp. 103—112.

[5] Brit. Crit. vol. xxi. (O. S.) p. 178. *et seq.* Brit. Crit. and Theological Review, vol. ii. pp. 347—350.

[6] Particularly Mr. Veysie, in his "Examination of Mr. Marsh's Hypothesis," 8vo. London, 1808, and Mr. Falconer, in his Bampton Lectures for 1810, p. 105. *et seq.* See also the Christian Observer for 1808, vol. viii. pp. 623—628., and the late Dr. Milner's Strictures on some of the Publications of the Rev. Herbert Marsh, D.D. Lond. 1813. 8vo.

[7] Brit. Crit. vol. xxi. (O. S.) p. 180. [In such a case the *chances* AGAINST the employment of these *ten* documents are as *three hundred and sixty-two thousand eight hundred* are to *one:* this amounts, in fact, to a moral certainty.]

[8] Mr. Veysie has instituted a minute examination of Bishop Marsh's statement of the phenomena observable in the first three Gospels, in which he has shown its incompetency to explain those phenomena. As this investigation is not of a nature to admit of abridgment, we refer the reader to Mr. V.'s "Examination," pp. 12—50.

it — should survive that age?[1] "Were we indeed as certain that the apostles, before they separated, had really met for the purpose of drawing up a copious and authentic history of their Divine Master's life and doctrines, as we are that an authentic record was kept at Jerusalem of the reigns of the different kings, the state of religion under each, and the preaching of the prophets, this would be by much the easiest, and, perhaps, the most satisfactory method of accounting as well for the harmony as for the discrepancies which we find among the several abridgments made by the first three Evangelists. But, that the apostles met for such a purpose as this, before they left Jerusalem, has never been supposed; and, indeed, the hypothesis, had it ever been made and supported by the most unexceptionable testimonies of the earliest uninspired writers of the church, would deserve no regard whatever, unless these writers had each declared, without collusion among themselves, that he had possessed a copy of the original record. Even then, unless a copy of it were still in existence, from which we might, from internal evidence, decide on its claims to an apostolical origin, we should hesitate, after the imposture of the book called the '*Apostolical Constitutions*,' to admit the authenticity of such a record. The apostles, in a state of persecution, had not the same facilities for publicly recording the actions of their Lord as the ministers of state, called the *Scribe* and the *Recorder*, possessed in the kingdoms of Judah and Israel for writing registers of the deeds of their respective sovereigns; nor do we ever find the Evangelists appealing to any such record, while the writers of the historical books of the Old Testament frequently appeal to the annals or chronicles of the kingdom.[2] A common record, from which all the Evangelists selected the materials of their histories, must, therefore, be abandoned as an hypothesis perfectly groundless, notwithstanding all the learning and ingenuity which have been displayed in support of that hypothesis."[3]

(2.) If we consult the writings of the Fathers who belonged to the age immediately succeeding the Apostles and Evangelists, we meet with no trace of such a document. The first witness we shall adduce is Papias, who flourished A.D. 116, and had conversed with apostolical men, that is, with those who had been the immediate disciples of the Apostles. It is remarkable, that this Father refers to no primary document whatever; but, on the contrary, he bears a most express testimony to the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, giving an account of the latter which is inconsistent with the existence of a common document.[4] Four-and-twenty years afterwards lived Justin Martyr, whose evidence is still more explicit: for, instead of quoting any such source, under the name of *'Απομνημονεύματα τῶν 'Αποστόλων*, or "Memoirs of the Apostles," he expressly declares that he means the *Gospels*.[5] Tatian, Irenæus, Tertullian, and, in short, every subsequent ecclesiastical writer of

---

[1] On the subject here necessarily treated with brevity, see Mr. Falconer's Bampton Lectures for 1810, pp. 115—120.

[2] See, among a variety of such appeals, 1 Kings xiv. 19. and 1 Chron. xxvii. 24.

[3] Bishop Gleig's edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, vol. iii. p. 103.

[4] See the testimony of Papias in Dr. Lardner's Works, 8vo. vol. ii. pp. 107—110.; 4to. vol. i. pp. 337, 338.

[5] In his first apology for the Christians, which was delivered to the Emperor Antoninus Pius (c. 66.), Justin gives the following reason for the celebration of the Lord's supper among the Christians:—"For the apostles, in the *Memoirs* (ἀπομνημονεύμασιν) composed by them, which *are called* GOSPELS (ἃ καλεῖται ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΑ), have thus assured us, that Jesus ordered them to do it; that he took bread, gave thanks, and then said, 'This do in remembrance of me; this is my body:' that in like manner he took the cup, and after he had given thanks, said, 'This is my blood.'"—And in another passage (c. 67.), when giving the emperor an account of the Christian worship, he says, "The *Memoirs of the Apostles* are read, or the Writings of the Prophets, according as time allows; and, when the reader has ended, the president of the community makes a discourse exhorting them to the imitation of such excellent things."—An evident proof this, that, so early as the beginning of the second century, the four Gospels (and *no greater* number) were not only generally known among the Christians, but were revered even as the Scriptures of the Old Testament, that is, as divine books. Dr. Randolph, formerly Bishop of London, has satisfactorily vindicated the testimony of Justin against the charge made by the translator of Michaelis, that this father had quoted what does not exist in sense or substance in any of our four Gospels. See his "Remarks on Michaelis's Introduction," &c. p. 78. *et seq.* second edition.

antiquity, is equally explicit as to the number of the Gospels, and equally silent as to the existence of any source whence the Evangelists derived the materials of their Gospels.[1]

3. *The incongruities and apparent contradictions, which (as we have seen) form a strong objection against the supposition that the Evangelists copied from each other, form an objection no less strong against the supposition that they all copied from one and the same document;*

For if, as this hypothesis requires, they all adhered to their document, no difference could have arisen between them; but they would all have agreed in relating the same thing in the same manner, as much as they must have done if they had copied from each other. If, in order to avoid this difficulty, it be supposed that they did not all adhere to their document, but that occasionally some one (or more) of them gave a different representation of some fact, either from his own knowledge, or from information derived from another source (as the supposed document ב, &c.), this appears to sap the very foundation of the evidence; for in this case, what becomes of the authority of the primary document? And, how can all three Evangelists be said to have derived from it alone all the matter which they have in common? In whatever light, then, we view the subject, we cannot see how any modification of the general supposition, that the three Evangelists, in the composition of their Gospels, used only one document, can satisfactorily explain all the examples of verbal disagreement which occur in the Gospels. We conclude, therefore, that no hypothesis which is built upon this foundation can be the true one.[2]

IV. The THIRD hypothesis, which has been offered to account for the verbal similarities and disagreements in the three first Gospels, is that of A PLURALITY OF DOCUMENTS. Of this hypothesis there have been two modifications,—one by the late Rev. Mr. Veysie, the other by Professor Schleiermacher.

1. Mr. Veysie gives the following description of his hypothesis[3]:—

"The apostles, both in their public preaching and in their private conversations, were doubtless accustomed frequently to instruct and improve their hearers by the recital of some action or discourse of our blessed Saviour. And many pious Christians, unwilling to trust to memory alone for the preservation of these valuable communications respecting their Redeemer, were induced to commit to writing the preaching of the apostles while it was fresh in their memory. And thus at a very early period, before any of our canonical Gospels were written, believers were in possession of many narratives of detached parts of the history of Jesus, —drawn up, some in the Hebrew language, and others in the Greek. Of the Hebrew narratives, the most important was soon translated into Greek, for the benefit of the Greek Christians, to whom they were unintelligible in the original, and *vice versâ*."

From these detached narratives Mr. Veysie is of opinion that the three first canonical Gospels were principally compiled. Of the authors of these Gospels, he thinks that as Matthew alone was an eye-witness, he alone could write from personal knowledge of the facts which he recorded; and that even he did not judge it expedient to draw exclusively from his own stores, but blended

[1] See the references to the individual testimonies of these fathers in the Index to Dr. Lardner's Works, voce *Gospels*. See also the British Critic and Theological Review, vol. ii. pp. 347—350. for some forcible objections against the existence of any primary document.

[2] Veysie's Examination, p. 56.

[3] Ibid. p. 97.

with these detached narratives such additional facts and discourses as the Holy Spirit brought to his remembrance. Mark, our author further thinks, had no knowledge of Matthew's Gospel; and having collected materials for a Gospel, he added to them numerous explanations in order to adapt them to the use of the Gentile converts, together with various circumstances, the knowledge of which he probably acquired from Peter. And he is of opinion also, that Luke compiled his Gospel from similar detached narratives, many of which were the same as had been used by the other Evangelists, though some of them had been drawn up by different persons, and perhaps from the preaching of other apostles; and that Luke, being diligent in his inquiries and researches, was enabled to add greatly to the number. Matthew, Mr. V. thinks, wrote in Hebrew, and the other two Evangelists in Greek. "But Mark being a plain unlettered man, and but meanly skilled in the Greek language, was, for the most part, satisfied with the very words of his Greek documents, and with giving a literal version of such as he translated from the Hebrew. Whereas Luke, being a greater master of the Greek language, was more attentive to the diction, and frequently expressed the meaning of his documents in more pure words, and a more elegant form. Only he adhered more closely to the very expression of his documents, when he came to insert quotations from the Old Testament, or to recite discourses and conversations, and especially the discourses of our blessed Saviour. Both Mark and Luke adhered to the arrangement which they found in those documents which contained more facts than one. The documents themselves they arranged in chronological order. All the Evangelists connected the documents one with another, each for himself and in his own way."[1] Our author also conjectures that Matthew's Gospel was translated into Greek some time after the two other Gospels were in circulation; that the translator made great use of them, frequently copying their very words where they suited his purpose; that, however, he made most use of Mark's Gospel, having recourse to that of Luke only when he could derive no assistance from the other; and that where he had no doubt, or perceived no difficulty, he frequently translated for himself, without looking for assistance from either Mark or Luke.[2]

Such is the hypothesis proposed by Mr. Veysie in preference to that of Bishop Marsh. That it accounts for all the phenomena, which have, in Germany, been supposed to involve so many difficulties, we have no inclination to controvert: for, as he observes of the bishop's hypothesis, "being framed by a man of genius and learning, principally with a view to explain the phenomena which the author had observed, it may reasonably be expected to answer, in every point of importance, the purpose for which it was intended." We are even ready to grant that it answers this purpose more completely than that of the learned translator of Michaelis, of which, therefore, it may

[1] Examination of Mr. Marsh's Hypothesis, pp. 98, 99. [2] Ibid. pp. 100, 101.

be considered as an improvement; but to improve requires not the same effort of genius as to invent. Both, however, are mere hypotheses, or rather complications of various hypotheses, which he who rejects them cannot by argument or testimony be compelled to admit; while both appear to us to detract much from the authority which has hitherto been allowed to the first three Gospels.

To this author's detached narratives the same objections seem to lie which he has so forcibly urged against the very existence of Bishop Marsh's documents, and which have been already stated. Some of these narratives must have been of considerable length; for some of the examples of verbal agreement, which they have occasioned between Matthew and Mark, are very long and remarkable. They must likewise have been deemed of great importance, since they were translated from Hebrew into Greek for the benefit of the Greek Christians; and appear, indeed, from this account of them, to have furnished the whole matter of Mark's Gospel, except the explanation of some Jewish customs and names, and some circumstances acquired from Peter. Such narratives as these are exactly Bishop Marsh's documents, and one of them, his document א, an entire Gospel, of which not even the memory survived the apostolic age.[1]

2. The hypothesis of Professor Schleiermacher, who was one of the most distinguished classical scholars in Germany, is developed in his "Critical Essays on the Gospel of St. Luke."[2] He supposes that there existed, at a very early period, detached narratives of remarkable incidents in the life of Jesus Christ, of his miracles, and discourses; which were collected by different individuals with various objects. From these minor collections Dr. Schleiermacher conceives that the works now called Gospels might be framed; and he is of opinion that St. Luke formed his Gospel by the mere juxtaposition of these separate narratives, without any alteration whatever on the part of the compiler, except the addition of copulative particles. The result of the examination which he institutes in support of his hypothesis is, that the Evangelist "is neither an independent writer, nor has made a compilation from works which extended over the whole life of Jesus;" and that "he is, from beginning to end, no more than a compiler and arranger of what he found in existence, and which he allows to pass unaltered through his hands."[3]

The only difference between this hypothesis and that of Mr. Veysie is, that the latter supposes the first Christians to have made memoranda of what they heard in the public preaching and private conversations of the apostles; while, according to Professor Schleiermacher, the memoranda of the Christians were collected by various

[1] British Critic, vol. xxxiv. (O.S.) p. 114. An hypothesis similar to that of Mr. Veysie was offered by a learned writer in the Eclectic Review (vol. viii. part i. pp. 423, 424.); but as it is liable to the same objections as Mr. V.'s this brief notice of it may suffice.

[2] A Critical Essay on the Gospel of St. Luke, by Dr. Frederick Schleiermacher, with an Introduction by the translator, containing an account of the controversy respecting the origin of the three first Gospels since Bishop Marsh's Dissertation. London, 1825, 8vo. The original German work was published at Berlin, in 1817.

[3] Schleiermacher, p. 313. British Critic and Theol. Rev. vol. ii. p. 354.

persons, as chance or inclination directed them. On the Continent, his hypothesis has been attacked by Fritzsche, Plank, and Gersdorf; and in this country it has been examined and refuted at great length by the learned author of the critique upon his essay in the British Critic and Quarterly Theological Review; of whose observations the following is an abstract:—

1. *This hypothesis is in itself extremely improbable, and not reconcilable with certain facts deducible from a study of the style and language of St. Luke's Gospel.*

(1.) *The hypothesis is in itself extremely improbable.*

"That a person employed in writing an historical work should *use* such existing narratives as he could depend on, is undoubtedly both probable and rational. That he should *make up* his history of such fragmentary materials has this clear objection to it, that the writer, wanting narratives of *every* period, cannot possibly be nice in his selection, but must take such as he can find, and where he can meet with none of high authority must of necessity be satisfied with others of less. That this must be the consequence of so composing an history is, we think, quite clear on mere reasonable grounds; and that it is practically true Professor Schleiermacher, at least, cannot deny, for he himself states that St. Luke has introduced incorrect, unfounded, and almost fabulous narratives into his Gospel. But, we would ask, is an author to be supposed totally without perception of this obvious objection; or, in other words, is it to be supposed that he willingly produces a less valuable and authentic history where he could produce one more so? We must be allowed to think that if this is true of a common history, it is still more so of such a history as a Gospel —the history of a new religion and its founder. Whatever may be thought of the knowledge or powers of its historian, thus much all will allow, that he thought Christianity true, that is to say, he thought himself employed in giving an account of a revelation from God, the whole value of which depends on its being *true*."— Now, "a person so employed would assuredly feel a deep responsibility attaching to him, and an earnest desire to obtain the very best and most authentic accounts of the weighty matters of which he was treating. And if the truth of these remarks be admitted, their force can only be evaded by saying either that St. Luke had not the power of obtaining better materials, or had no discrimination, no power of judging which were better and which worse. Now with respect to the first of these alternatives, without at all inquiring whether he was or was not himself a witness to any of our Lord's miracles, it cannot be denied, with any show of argument, that he lived at the time of the transactions of which he treated, nor that he had ready access to those most capable of giving him exact and accurate accounts of all that passed in our Lord's life. We have positive evidence of his having been for a long time the companion of St. Paul, and of his having gone with him to Jerusalem, when that apostle was seized, and his long imprisonment, previous to his voyage to Rome, commenced. At the close of that imprisonment he was at hand, and accompanied St. Paul to Rome. Where he spent the intermediate time, certainly is not positively mentioned, but from his being with St. Paul at the commencement and the close of his imprisonment, and from his having come to Jerusalem as his companion and friend, we think it most probable that he was not far distant during its continuance; at all events it is especially mentioned that at Jerusalem he went with St. Paul to St. James, when all the elders were present. It is therefore indisputable that he had every opportunity of acquiring the best information respecting our Lord, from his apostles and other eye-witnesses of his life and actions. What, then, we would ask, could be the temptation to a person under St. Luke's circumstances, to prefer written narratives, circulating with an authenticity at least loosely established (and, in fact, according to Professor Schleiermacher, often worthless), to the oral testimony of the most competent witnesses; the dead words of dead writing to the living voices of living men who had been the constant attendants of our Lord, and must daily have given Luke, at least, sufficient testimony that they were led by the Spirit of God? They who adopt this hypothesis are surely bound to give some account of the motives which could induce a person situated like St. Luke, led either by inclination or a sense of duty to become the historian of the faith he had learned and accepted, and influenced by the feelings by which he and every honest Christian undertaking such a work must have been influenced, to prefer imperfect

to perfect testimony, and a set of floating narratives of doubtful character to the certain evidence of eye-witnesses. Professor Schleiermacher, who cannot argue that the Evangelist would take pains to procure only authenticated narratives (because he has stated his belief that many erroneous ones have found their way into this Gospel), takes the other alternative to which we have alluded, and frequently says that the nicety and exactness which we, 'who are a critical generation,' require, were unknown to former ages, which were easily satisfied with a less rigid scrupulousness as to accuracy, and that St. Luke might, therefore, be contented with materials really imperfect. But to us this appears a poor answer to the difficulty; for there is no question here as to any research, any abstruse reasoning, any difficult inquiry. The question to be considered is simply this — whether an honest and sincere man undertaking to write the history of events of no trivial importance, but concerning the eternal welfare of mankind, and living with those who had been present and personally engaged in the most remarkable of them, would apply to these competent witnesses for information, or would deem it a wiser and a better plan to collect a set of doubtful narratives of these events, written by doubtful authors, till he had obtained some sort of account of all that interested him, and then to string his Collectanea together, (without a word of addition, of correction, or of explanation,) like Martial's Epigrams, some good, some indifferent, and more bad, into a book"[1]

(2.) *This hypothesis is not reconcilable with certain facts deducible from a study of the style and language of St. Luke's Gospel.*

The validity of this objection is supported by the learned reviewer, who has cited very numerous instances of the Evangelist's style and language, compared with those occurring in the Acts of the Apostles, for which the reader is necessarily referred to the Journal already cited.[2] It must suffice to state in this place, that the passages adduced clearly show that the Gospel of Luke and the Acts of the Apostles are throughout the production of the same author; peculiar words and phrases, which are rarely or never used by the other Evangelists, being used through various parts of the Gospel and Acts; while a large number of these peculiar words and phrases are derivable from one source,—the Septuagint; and, what is very curious, a large number of words not used by the other writers of the New Testament are common to St. Luke and to St. Paul, whose companion the Evangelist was for many years. "If," therefore, the reviewer forcibly argues, "a peculiar phraseology runs through two works, if much of that peculiar phraseology is constantly referable to one known source, and if much of it is also to be found in the works of a person for many years the constant companion of the reputed author of these works, there is very strong reason for believing the common opinion to be the correct one. Chance can hardly have done so much—can hardly have distinguished the greater part of above forty narratives (according to Professor Schleiermacher) by the use of the same peculiar phraseology—can hardly have produced a striking connection between their style and that of the intimate friend of their compiler."[3] In a note the reviewer states the following to be the result of a pretty laborious examination of the New Testament: "There are in St. Luke as many words peculiar to him as in the three other Evangelists together. In the Acts very far more. In St. Paul as many nearly as in the rest of the New Testament. In inquiring into the words peculiar to one of the Gospels and Acts, we find more than *three* times as many in St. Luke as in either of the others. With respect to words peculiar to one of the Gospels and St. Paul, there are nearly *three* times as many in St. Luke as in St. Matthew, and more than *three* times as many as in St. Mark or St. John. Of such words there are also in the Acts about *five* times as many as in either Matthew, Mark, or John. And there are about as many words common to St. Luke, the Acts, and St. Paul, and peculiar to these books, as there are words *peculiar* to St. Luke and St. Paul alone."[4]

2. Further, *the principles, on which Professor Schleiermacher conducted the examination of St. Luke's Gospel, do not bear him out in the hypothesis which he has framed.*

(1.) For, *in applying the test of probability, Professor Schleiermacher assumes, in*

---

[1] British Critic, vol. ii. pp. 345—356.
[2] Ibid. pp. 358—364.
[3] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 357.
[4] Ibid. p. 357. note.

an unwarrantable manner, the right of supplying, from his own fancy, all the circumstances and details of every narration which he finds in the Gospel; and then he explains the whole transaction by means of the very details he has furnished.

Five examples are adduced by the reviewer of Dr. Schleiermacher, in illustration of this remark[1]; one of which will be sufficient to confirm it. "In commenting on the fifth chapter of the Gospel (p. 81.) he tells us, that the narrative (ver. 27—39.) of the calling of Matthew, and our Lord's discourse with the scribes and Pharisees, was not written in connection with the narrative (ver. 17—26.) of the cure of the paralytic, which also contains a conversation of the same parties, for the following reasons: According to Professor Schleiermacher, 'the conversation of Christ and the Pharisees is evidently the main point of the second narrative.' That is, the call of St. Matthew is not so. That is only mentioned because the conversation would not have been intelligible without the fact that Christ and his disciples had partaken of a repast at the publican's house.

"'But the doctors of the law would scarcely have stayed without till the *splendid* repast was at an end, for they were sure enough of finding Christ and his disciples at the usual time of public business the next day, and this conversation could scarcely follow immediately after the *banquet*. Had this history, therefore, been related in a continuous thread with the former, we should have found them connected either in this manner, *Still they were minded, after this, again to question his disciples, for that the day before he had sat at meat with them at the house of a publican, with many other publicans and sinners:* or thus, *And he went hence to a great feast which a publican had made for him, and from this the scribes and Pharisees took occasion afresh, &c.* Ours, however, sounds quite like an independent narrative which premises the circumstances necessary to be known, without concerning itself about any further connection. The phrase και μετα ταυτα is much too vague to seek in it a view to any precise reference to the preceding passage.'

"From this specimen our readers will see somewhat of the nature of Professor Schleiermacher's proceedings. He supposes that we are able to judge accurately of the writer's aim in a particular narrative; that we know enough of the circumstances of the event he relates, to judge whether it is probable that the doctors of the law would wait for Christ till he had finished a visit to a given person *presumed* to be objectionable to them; that we can decide whether these habits were so strongly rooted that even the unusual excitement of a teacher come to oppose their law would not induce them to any change, but would compel them to wait till the usual hours of business for an interview with him; whether in a small place they could not have met with him instantly on his leaving the house, without derogating from their dignity; and again, that we can pronounce with some certainty as to the method by which the writer would connect the preceding and succeeding parts of his narrative."[2]

(2.) *He gratuitously assumes the existence of the most incredible stupidity and ignorance on the part of the sacred writers, whenever he can get rid of any difficulty by such an hypothesis.*

"For example, he states it (p. 92.) as his belief, that there was no solemn calling of the apostles, and that St. Luke did not mean to state any such calling. But he allows that St. Mark does, in the most decided manner. And how does he reconcile this with his denial of the fact? Simply by supposing that St. Mark saw this passage in St. Luke, and misunderstood it! There are two monstrous improbabilities to be got over in this statement; for we would ask, first, whether it is credible that St. Mark did not know whether there was a solemn calling of the apostles or not? and, secondly, what possible reason there is for supposing that he was more likely to misunderstand St. Luke than ourselves?"[3]

(3.) *Not only does Professor Schleiermacher allow himself the most extraordinary license in conjuring up feelings, intentions, motives, and circumstances; but in many instances these conjectures are as unhappy, and the motives and circumstances conjectured [are] as forced and as improbable as it is possible to imagine.*

"He forms a theory as to the way in which a particular occurrence took place, and then imagines circumstances to suit it." Thus[4], "Professor Schleiermacher

---

[1] British Critic, vol. ii. pp. 365—368.
[2] Ibid. pp. 365, 366.
[3] Ibid. p. 369.
[4] Critical Essay, pp. 131, 132

observes, that Luke (viii. 22.) does not tell us the object of our Lord and his disciples in going on the sea; and he wishes to show that they went out without any particular object, and not with the intention of making a journey.

"'The easiest way of conceiving the whole occurrence is to imagine that the disciples had gone out in the boat to *fish*, and that Jesus accompanied them; for why should he *always* have let the time so spent be lost for their instruction and the exertion of his whole influence on them?' &c. He appears to have forgotten that St. Matthew mentions a circumstance rather adverse to Jesus being employed in teaching his disciples on this occasion—namely, that *he was asleep.* (Matt. viii. 24.)"[1]

(4.) *Lastly, the details conjecturally supplied by Professor Schleiermacher are not only improbable, but do great injustice to the character of Jesus Christ, considered not as a divine Being, but as a heavenly teacher, and are quite inappropriate to such a character.*

"It may not be very easy to say what would be the exact line of conduct pursued by such a teacher, or how *far* he might enter into the common detail of life; but surely nothing can be less reasonable than to reduce every action and every movement to the ordinary level of ordinary life, and to contend that every thing which cannot be so reduced is improbable. But this is the level to which Professor Schleiermacher seeks to reduce all the transactions of the life of Jesus; this is the test by which he tries them; and these are the grounds on which he passes sentence of improbability on so many of them. Now let any man look at the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and believing (if after such examination he can) that its author was a mere man, yet under that belief let him say whether, in a system so opposed to the spirit of the time in which it was propagated, so abstract from the world, so pure, so holy, so simple it may be, and yet so sublime, he does not find ample reason for concluding that its author must on very many occasions have entirely avoided and renounced all the common routine of life, and dedicated himself to thought, retirement, and prayer. Jesus, we are told, passed the night on the Mount in prayer. Is there anything in any way improbable in this, if he were a mere man, believing himself sent by God to instruct and reform mankind? It is mockery to put the question if he were really a heavenly teacher. Yet Professor Schleiermacher chooses to account for this by supposing (without a trace of it in the history) that he must have been at a festival; that he was returning to his abode with a caravan, and from the bustle of the inn, which he disliked, was driven out to pass the night in the air! All this, it seems, is easier than the simple fact, that he, who was, or at all events believed himself to be, a heavenly teacher, desired to strengthen himself for his office by solitude and prayer!"[2]

V. The last hypothesis, which remains to be noticed, is that which supposes the three first Gospels to be derived not from any written Gospel, but from ORAL TRADITION FROM THE APOSTLES AND OTHER DISCIPLES OF JESUS CHRIST.

1. This hypothesis was first suggested by HERDER about thirty years since. He agrees with Eichhorn in assuming a common Hebrew or Chaldee Gospel; but he differs from him in most other respects, by supposing this common document to be a mere *verbal gospel,* which consisted only in the preaching (*κήρυγμα*) of the first teachers of Christianity; and which, he says, had been verbally propagated for thirty years, when the substance of it was committed to writing in three different Gospels. According to the form of this oral gospel or preaching, the written Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke, were regulated. Hence arose their similarity; but it is useless, Herder further asserts, to examine the *words* used in our three

[1] Brit. Crit. vol. ii. p. 372.

[2] Ibid. pp. 373, 374. In pp. 374—395. various other examples are adduced, and the erroneous reasonings of Professor Schleiermacher exposed with equal industry and learning.

first Gospels, for this very reason, that they proceeded not from a written document, but from a mere oral gospel or preaching: and, accordingly, in his opinion, whoever attempts by an analysis of our three first Gospels to discover the contents of a supposed common document, can never succeed in the undertaking.[1]

2. The hypothesis of Herder was adopted by ECKERMANN, who conceived the existence of an oral or traditional gospel, in which the discourses of Jesus were preserved; and he imagined that Matthew wrote the principal parts of it in the Aramæan dialect. Hence he accounted for the similarity in the three first Gospels, by supposing that Mark and Luke collected the materials of their Gospels at Jerusalem; which existing in this oral gospel could not but exhibit a striking resemblance to that of Matthew.[2] So improbable, however, did this hypothesis appear in itself, at the time it was announced, that it was generally disapproved, and was at length exploded as a mere fiction; and Eckermann himself is stated to have subsequently abandoned it, and to have embraced the ancient opinion respecting the three first Gospels.[3]

3. More recently, the hypothesis of Herder has been revived and modified by Dr. J. C. GIESELER[4] in the following manner: —

The evangelical history, previously to being committed to writing, was for a long time transmitted from mouth to mouth with respectful fidelity: thus it became the object of oral tradition, but a pure tradition, and carefully preserved. As the first Christians came out of the Jewish church, and were familiarly acquainted with that tradition, they had neither desire nor occasion for possessing a written history of their Master. But when the Gospel was propagated in distant places, and reckoned among its followers wise men who had been converted from Paganism, their literary habits and their previous ignorance of the history of Christianity caused them to wish for written books; and the first Gospels were accordingly published. In this way Luke wrote for Theophilus. But the Evangelists only transcribed accurately the most important portions of the *oral tradition*, selecting from it such particulars as were best suited to the place, time, and particular design, on account of which they wrote. Drawing from the same source, they have frequently said the same things; but, writing under different circumstances, they have often differed from each other. Further, *oral tradition* was held in higher authority by the church than written Gospels, and was also more frequently consulted and cited. By degrees those Gospels, which followed it with great fidelity, became possessed of the same respect, and finally supplanted it. The heretics contributed much to this

[1] Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part 2. p. 203., where Herder's Christliche Schriften (Christian Writings), vol. iii. pp. 303—416. are quoted. Kuinöel, Comment. in Lib. Hist. Nov. Test. vol. i. p. 5.

[2] Dr. Wait's Translation of Hug's Introduction, vol. i. Pref. pp. v. vi.

[3] Pareau, de Mythica Interpretatione, p. 190.

[4] This notice of Gieseler's hypothesis is abridged from Cellérier's Introduction au Nouv. Test. pp. 260—267., who cites Dr. G.'s Historisch-Kritischer Versuch über die Entstehung und die frühesten schicksale der schriftlichen Evangelien. (Historico-Critical Essay on the Origin and early Fates of the written Gospels.) Minden, 1818.

result. They, indeed, first introduced into the church a spirit of argumentation and dispute, and they were the first persons who devoted their attention in an especial manner to the theoretical part of religion. In no long time, from the love of discussion and the pride of knowledge, they composed gospels for themselves, also derived from oral tradition, but mutilated and altered. The true Christians, who had hitherto been occupied in loving and in doing good, rather than in reasoning upon religion, and who had been accustomed to derive their requisite knowledge from oral tradition, were obliged, in defence of their faith, to have recourse to *their* Gospels, which were the authentic works of the disciples of Jesus. Then they accustomed themselves to read them, to meditate upon them, and also to quote them, in order that they might be armed against the heretics and their falsified histories. Thus, gradually and silently, without any decree or decision of a council, our four Gospels universally displaced oral tradition. In the *middle of the second century*, they were acknowledged by the whole church, and since that time they have constantly and universally possessed canonical authority.

Such are the prominent features of Gieseler's system. That it solves all the phenomena and difficulties which its author imagines to exist in the three first Gospels, we may readily concede; because, being framed for the purpose of explaining those phenomena, it may be expected to answer that purpose; but that both this hypothesis and that of Herder are destitute of any real foundation, will (we think) appear from the following considerations: —

1. In the first place,—not to dwell on the total silence of antiquity respecting the *assumed* existence of these verbal gospels, it is utterly incredible that so long a time should elapse, as both Herder and Gieseler suppose, before any Gospel was committed to writing; because every Christian who had once heard so important a relation must have wished to write down at least the principal materials of it, had it been only to assist his own memory. Besides, a mere oral narrative, after it had gone through so many different mouths, in the course of so many years, must at length have acquired such a variety of forms, that it must have ceased to deserve the title of a common Gospel (as Herder termed it); and therefore the supposition that our three first Gospels were moulded in *one* form is difficult to reconcile with the opinion of a mere oral gospel, which must necessarily have assumed a variety of forms.[1] Further, the suppositions of these writers respecting the length of time which they imagine must have elapsed before any Gospel was committed to writing is contradicted by the evidence, both external and internal, for the early date of Matthew's Hebrew Gospel, which has already been stated in pp. 411—414. of this volume.

2. Although we should concede to Dr. Gieseler, that the evangelical history was so well known to the first Christians, that they had no occasion for written documents until after the expiration of *many* years; — that the first Christians, more occupied with the cultivation of Christian virtues than with theological science, paid less attention to the words of the Gospels than to the facts and lessons contained in the evangelical history; — that they restricted the appellation of Γραφὴ or *Scripture* to the Old Testament; — that the books of the New Testament were not yet collected together, and that they designated its precepts and instructions by the formula of ὁ Χριστός, *Christ has said it*: — although these points should be conceded, yet does it necessarily follow that they undervalued or disregarded written documents; that they preferred *oral tradition* to them, and that they did not generally

[1] Bp. Marsh's Michaelis, vol. iii. part 2. p. 204.

make use of our four Gospels until the middle of the second century? By no means. Such a conclusion appears to us to be contradicted by the nature of things, since the writings of the apostles must have been held in at least equal estimation with that tradition by which the subjects of their preaching were preserved; since the heathens, who were converted to the Christian faith, could with difficulty have recourse to *oral tradition*, and would eagerly avail themselves of written documents as soon as they could obtain them, that is to say, early in the second century.

3. Much stress has been laid by Dr. Gieseler on the small number of quotations from the Gospels in the writings of the Fathers, previously to the middle of the second century. But this paucity of quotations is sufficiently accounted for by the small number of Christian writers whose works have been transmitted to us, by their preference of practical piety to science and theory, and by the persecutions to which the church of Christ was exposed: so that there is no necessity for concluding that the Gospels were at that time but little known. Such of those quotations as refer to the Κήρυγμα, or preaching of the apostles, do not necessarily imply a reference to *oral tradition;* and they may equally be understood of written documents.

4. Gieseler has further urged, in behalf of his hypothesis, our total ignorance of the precise time when, and of the occasion on which, our Gospels were admitted as canonical by the whole church. But the profound and universal veneration in which these Gospels were held from and after the middle of the second century,—that is to say, from the very time when there was a greater number of Christian writers and books,—evidently demonstrates that their authority was by no means *new*, but had been of some continuance. The very nature, too, of our Gospels leads to the same result. In every one of them there is so evidently discernible a special design with reference to the circumstances under which they were written, and to the churches which became the depositaries of them, that we cannot imagine that they could have been addressed to a few individuals only, and that they should have been forgotten by the mass of believers for nearly half a century.

5. Lastly, although the hypothesis of an oral traditionary document should be necessary, in order to solve all the difficulties which are alleged to exist, respecting the sources of the three first Gospels, yet we must take into consideration the real difficulties which it substitutes in place of those pretended difficulties. We must conceive how such *oral tradition*, which was diffused from Rome to Babylon, continued without the slightest alteration, amidst the great number of new converts, who were daily occupied in studying it, and in transmitting it to others. We must imagine in what manner such tradition continued sufficiently *uniform;* so that persons, who committed some fragments of it to writing, — one, for instance, at Jerusalem, and another at Rome, — should in the *same narrative* frequently make use of the *same phrases* and even the *same words*. And, finally, we must reconcile the hypothesis with the authenticity of our Gospels (which has been both historically and critically proved); and prevent the followers of this system from deducing thence the evidently false conclusion, which some German neologians have not been slow in forming, viz. that our Gospels were supposititious productions posterior to the time of the Evangelists.

VI. Since, then, the four hypotheses, with their several modifications, above discussed, are insufficient to account for the harmony, both of words and of thought, which appear in the first three Gospels, should it be asked how are we to account for such coincidences? We reply that they may be sufficiently explained without having recourse to either of these hypotheses, and in a manner that cannot but satisfy every serious and inquiring reader.

"It is admitted on all hands," says Bishop Gleig, "that the most remarkable coincidences of both language and thought, that occur in the three first Gospels, are found in those places in which the several writers record our Lord's doctrines and miracles; and it will likewise be admitted, that of a variety of things seen or heard by any man at the same instant of time, those which made the deepest impression

are distinctly remembered long after all traces of the others have been effaced from the memory. It will also be allowed, that of a number of people witnessing the same remarkable event, some will be most forcibly impressed by one circumstance, and others by a circumstance which, though equally connected with the principal event, is, considered by itself, perfectly different. The *miracles* of our blessed Lord were events so astonishing, that they must have made, on the minds of all who witnessed them, impressions too deep to be ever effaced; though the circumstances attending each miracle must have affected the different spectators very differently, so as to have made impressions, some of them equally indelible with the miracle itself, on the mind of one man; whilst by another, whose mind was completely occupied by the principal event itself, these very circumstances may have been hardly observed at all, and of course been soon forgotten.

"That this is a matter of fact which occurs daily, every man may convince himself by trying to recollect all the particulars of an event which powerfully arrested his attention many years ago. He will find that his recollection of the event itself, and of many of the circumstances which attended it, is as vivid and distinct at this day as it was a month after the event occurred; whilst of many other circumstances, which he is satisfied must have accompanied it, he has but a very confused and indistinct recollection, and of some, no recollection at all. If the same man take the trouble to inquire of any friend who was present with him when he witnessed the event in question, he will probably find that his friend's recollection of the principal event is as vivid and distinct as his own; that his friend recollects likewise many of the accompanying circumstances which were either not observed by himself, or have now wholly escaped from his memory; and that of the minuter circumstances, of which he has the most distinct recollection, his friend remembers hardly one. That such is the nature of that intellectual power by which we retain the remembrance of past events, I know from experience; and if there be any man who has never yet made such experiments on himself, let him make them immediately, and I am under no apprehension, that, if they be fairly made, the result will not be as I have always found it. Let it be remembered, too, as a universal fact, or a law of human nature, as certainly as gravitation is a law of corporeal nature, that in proportion as the impression made on the mind by the *principal object* in any interesting scene is strong, those produced by the *less important circumstances* are weak, and therefore liable to be soon effaced, or, if retained at all, retained faintly and confusedly; and that when the impression made by the principal object is exceedingly strong, so as to fill the mind completely, the unimportant circumstances make no impression whatever, as has been a hundred times proved by the hackneyed instance of a man absorbed in thought not hearing the sound of a clock when striking the hour beside him. If these facts be admitted (and I cannot suppose that any reflecting man will call them in question), it will not be necessary to have recourse to *hypotheses*, to account either for that degree of harmony which prevails

among the three first Evangelists, when recording the *miracles* of our blessed Lord, or for the discrepancy which is found in what they say of the *order* in which those miracles were performed, or of the *less important circumstances* accompanying the performance. In every one of them the *principal object* was our Lord himself, whose powerful voice the winds and waves, and even the devils, obeyed. The power displayed by him on such occasions must have made so deep an impression on the minds of all the spectators as never to be effaced; but whether *one* or *two* demoniacs were restored to a sound mind in the land of the Gadarenes; whether *one* or *two* blind men miraculously received their sight in the neighbourhood of Jericho; and whether that miracle was performed at *one* end of the town or at the *other*, are circumstances which, when compared with the miracles themselves, are of so little importance, as may easily be supposed to have made but a slight impression on the minds of even some of the most attentive observers, whose whole attention had been directed to the principal object, and by whom these circumstances would be soon forgotten, or, if remembered at all, remembered confusedly. To the order of time in which the miracles were performed, the Evangelists appear to have paid very little regard, but to have recorded them, as Boswell records many of the sayings of Johnson, without marking their dates; or as Xenophon has recorded the memorabilia of Socrates in a work which has been, in this respect, compared to the Gospels." [1]

With respect to the *doctrines* of our Lord, it should be recollected that the sacred historians are labouring to report with accuracy the speeches and discourses of another; in which case even common historians would endeavour to preserve the exact sense, and, as far as their memory would serve them, the same words. "In seeking to do this," says the late eminently learned Bishop of London (Dr. Randolph), "it is not to be wondered at, that two or three writers should often fall upon verbal agreement; nor, on the contrary, if they write independently, that they should often miss of it, because their memory would often fail them. With regard to the sacred writers, *it is natural to suppose them studious of this very circumstance; and we have also reason to think that they had assistance from above to the same effect:* and yet it is not necessary to suppose that either their natural faculty, or the extraordinary assistance vouchsafed them, or both, should have brought them to a perfect identity throughout; because it was not necessary for the purposes of Providence, and because it would have affected their character of original independent witnesses. Let me add, that these discourses, before they were committed to writing by the Evangelists, must have been often repeated amongst the Apostles in teaching others, and in calling them to remembrance among themselves. Matthew had probably often heard and known how his fellow-labourers recollected the same discourses which he had selected for his own preaching and writing. We know not how much intercourse they had with each other, but probably a great deal before they finally dispersed themselves. Mark

[1] Bishop Gleig's edition of Stackhouse's History of the Bible, vol. iii. p. 104.

and Luke had the same opportunities, even if they were not original eye-witnesses.[1] *I admit, then, of a common document; but that document was no other than the* PREACHING OF OUR BLESSED LORD HIMSELF. *He was the great Prototype. In looking up to him, the Author of their faith and mission, and to the very words in which he was wont to dictate to them (which not only yet sounded in their ears, but were also recalled by the aid of his Holy Spirit promised*[2] *for that very purpose), they have given us three Gospels, often agreeing in words, though not without much diversification, and always in sense.*"[3]

To this powerful reasoning we can add nothing: protracted as this discussion has unavoidably been, the importance of its subjects must be the author's apology for the length at which the preceding questions have been treated; because the admission of either the copying, documentory, or traditionary hypotheses is not only detrimental to the character of the sacred writers, but also diminishes the value and importance of their testimony. "They seem to think more justly," said that eminent critic Le Clerc, "who say that the three first Evangelists were unacquainted with each other's design: thus greater weight accrues to their testimony. When witnesses agree, who have previously concerted together, they are suspected: but those witnesses are justly credited who testify the same thing separately, and without knowing what others have said."[4]

[1] "As no two human minds ever proceed with an exact parallelism of ideas, or suggest an unvaried flow of the same words, so in reporting these things, with all their care, the Evangelists, like other men, made some minute variations. Substantially, their accounts are the same, and bespeak the same origin; namely, truth, reality, and correct representation. Inspiration was doubtless a further guarantee for this substantial agreement, though it went not to the length of suggesting words. In little matters, therefore, they vary, so that one reports the same fact rather more fully, another more concisely; one preserves more of our Lord's words, another fewer; one subjoins a reason or an explanation, which another did not feel to be necessary; and thus, we may be assured, would three of the most correct observers and scrupulously exact reporters in the world do always, if they separately related what they had seen or heard the very day before. Probably each would do so if he twice related, in conversation only, the very same transactions or discourses. Our daily experience may prove this to us. Narrations of the same facts, or of the same discourses, always differ from each other; generally, indeed, more than they ought to differ; from carelessness, inaccuracy, or the love of embellishment. But setting these causes aside, they still must differ. One person will relate rather more, another rather less, of the facts or words; one will try to explain as he goes, another to illustrate; and the expressions used will always savour, more or less, of the habitual mode of discourse peculiar to the individual. But in reporting speeches, the more care is taken to preserve the very words of the speaker the less there will be, in that part, of the usual difference of expressions. Still, something there will always remain, because, however careful a man may be to describe or imitate another, he is never able to put off himself. This, then, is the correct view, and I hesitate not to say, the only correct view, of the resemblances and differences in the Gospels. They agree as narratives will agree, whose common model is the truth. They differ as distinct narratives will always differ, while men are men; but they neither agree nor differ as copied narratives would, for the reasons already assigned." Mr. Archdeacon Nares's Veracity of the Evangelists demonstrated, pp. 171—174. In pp. 175, 176. 297—301. the coincidence and difference of the Evangelists are appositely illustrated by harmonised tables of the parable of the sower, and of St. Paul's two narratives of his own conversion, and the historical narrative of St. Luke.

[2] John xiv. 26.

[3] "Remarks on Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament," p. 32. *et seq.* See also Bishop Gleig's edition of Stackhouse, vol. iii. pp. 105—112.

[4] Multo rectiùs sentire videntur, qui evangelistas tres priores scripsisse suas historias censent, cùm neuter aliorum consilii conscius esset, unde etiam eorum testimonio majus accedit pondus. Cum enim consentiunt testes, qui inter se capita contulerunt, suspecti

[The more recent theories on the subject of the harmonising Gospels are in general only repetitions of former schemes, with or without new modifications. These are sufficiently discussed in the remarks on the above theories. That some documents *existed* we know from the preface to St. Luke's Gospel; that these were *not* authoritative we know from the same source. The general opinion of competent critics is that many of the actions and discourses of our Lord were early in oral circulation in a somewhat definite form; and that this is sufficient to account for the verbal coincidences that we find. Reference may be made on the whole subject to Norton's "Genuineness of the Gospels," vol. i. p. 239—315. (London edition, 1847), and to Dr. Davidson's "Introduction," i. 373—424., where the whole subject is minutely discussed.

James Smith of Jordanhill, Esq., in his "Dissertation on the Origin and Connection of the Gospels" (1853), considers that the coincidences of the narratives may be generally accounted for on the supposition of independent translations of common documents in another tongue. From the value of Mr. Smith's previous contribution to biblical learning in his volume on St. Paul's voyage, his more recent work was one to which much attention was of course directed. The following is his own statement of the theories which he proposes.

"I shall, in the first place, state very shortly the conclusions which I have been led to, from the evidence furnished by the writings of the Evangelists, and other ancient writers, respecting the origin and connection of the Gospels. They are as follows:—

"1st. Several of the apostles, including Matthew, *Peter*, and John, committed to writing accounts of the transactions of our Lord and his disciples in the language spoken by them, *i. e.* Syro-Chaldaic or Aramaic, known in the New Testament and works of the Fathers as Hebrew.

"2nd. When the apostles were driven by persecution from Judæa, a history of the life of our Lord was drawn up from the original memoirs, in Hebrew and in Greek, by the apostle Matthew, for the use of the Jewish converts, the Greek being the same as the Gospel according to St. Matthew.

"3rd. St. Luke drew up, for the use of Theophilus, a new life of our Lord, founded upon the authority of eye-witnesses and ministers of the word, including the Hebrew memoir of Peter, and the Greek Gospel of Matthew.

"4th. After Peter's death, or departure from Rome (ἔξοδον), St. Mark translated the memoir, written by Peter, into Greek.

"5th. John, at a still later period, composed his Gospel from his own original memoirs, omitting much that was already narrated by the other Evangelists, for reasons assigned by himself. (xxi. 25.)"

"By adopting this theory of the origin of the Gospels" Mr. Smith thinks that "we can easily explain the phenomena" both of resem-

potiùs habentur: sed testes, qui idem testantur seorsim, nescii aliorum testimonii, meritò verum dicere videntur.—Joannis Phereponi [i. e. Le Clerc] Animadversiones in Augustini Librum de Consensu Evangeliorum. Appendix Augustiniana, p. 532. Antverpiæ, 1703. folio.

blances and differences which they present. He adds, "I do not, however, propound it as a probable conjecture, calculated to afford an explanation, but trust I shall be able to substantiate every part of it by adequate proof."

Mr. Smith then seeks to invalidate the arguments given above against the supposition that the Evangelists could have copied one from another: the reader of his work is requested to compare his remarks with what has been above stated.

But the leading difficulty as to this theory is, that it supposes a number of apostolic works which have disappeared, and of which no notice or memorial exists. Also it contradicts the explicit and trustworthy evidence of Papias as to the origin of St. Mark's Gospel.

It must also be remarked that elaborate theories quite leave out of sight the plenary inspiration of the Evangelists: if *this* be remembered, it is difficult to suppose that these narratives could have originated from any mechanical accretion of materials; and if *this* be fully admitted we may, while owning that verbal coincidences arose from the form that narratives had previously assumed, see that there was a definite reason why the different inspired writers varied in what they inserted, and in the manner in which it was connected. The four Gospels have respectively a varying scope, aspect, and phase of instruction.]

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST

OF SOME OF THE

EDITIONS OF THE HOLY SCRIPTURES

IN THE ORIGINAL LANGUAGES, AND IN THE ANCIENT VERSIONS;

WITH

NOTICES OF THE APOCRYPHAL BOOKS.

[In re-editing this portion of the Rev. T. H. Horne's Bibliographical List, such additions and other changes have been made as appear necessary. Such additions, &c., are in general distinguished by being included within brackets.]

INTRODUCTION.

GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHICAL WORKS, TREATING ON THE EDITIONS, LITERARY HISTORY, CRITICISM, ETC. OF THE BIBLE.

1. BIBLIOTHECA SACRA in binos syllabos distincta. Quorum prior, qui jam tertio auctior prodiit, omnes sive Textus Sacri sive Versionum ejusdem quâvis linguâ expressarum editiones, necnon præstantiores MSS. Codices, cum notis historicis continet: Posterior vero continet omnia eorum opera quovis idiomate conscripta, qui huc usque in Sacram Scripturam ediderunt, simul collecta, tum ordine alphabetico disposita, tum serie sacrorum librorum. Huic coronidis loco subjiciuntur Grammaticæ et Lexica Linguarum præsertim orientalium, quæ ad illustrandas sacras paginas aliquid adjumenti conferre possunt. Labore et industria Jacobi LE LONG. Parisiis 1723, 2 tomis folio.

The third and best edition of a most laborious work. The first edition appeared at Paris in 1709, in 2 vols. 8vo.; the second at Leipsic, in the same year, with additions by C. F. Boerner.

2. Bibliotheca Sacra post Jacobi Le Long et C. F. Boerneri iteratas curas ordine disposita, emendata, suppleta, continuata ab Andrea Gottlieb MASCH. Halæ, 1774—1797. 5 vols. 4to frequently bound in two thick volumes.

This elaborate work, which was discontinued for want of adequate support, is confined to the printed editions of the Holy Scriptures. Part I. contains editions of the original Hebrew and Greek text. Part II., in three volumes, treats on the Greek, Oriental, and Latin versions, and on editions of them; and the last volume comprises a supplement to the preceding volumes.

We have been largely indebted to this publication for much information concerning the printed editions of the Old and New Testament. To this valuable work the *Bibliotheca Biblica Serenissimi Wuertembergensium Ducis, olim Lorkiana*, published by J. G. C. Adler, at Altona, in 1787 (in five parts forming two quarto volumes), is an indispensable supplement. It is very justly characterised by Bp. Marsh as "a catalogue of great merit and utility," and contains notices of some versions and translators, which have escaped even the researches of Dr. Masch.

3. Discours Historique sur les principales Editions des Bibles Polyglottes. Par l'Auteur de la Bibliothèque Sacrée. [Jacques LE LONG.] Paris, 1713, 8vo.

4. CALMET (Augustine), Bibliotheca Sacra, or a Catalogue of the best books that can be read in order to acquire a good understanding of the Scripture. Folio.

This Catalogue fills a considerable portion of a volume in the various French editions of Calmet's Dictionary of the Bible. It also occupies two hundred and eighty-four pages of the third volume of the English translation of that Dictionary, in folio. It contains copious notices

of the earlier biblical critics and commentators, and other writers on Scriptural Antiquities, &c. This valuable Catalogue is *omitted* in the quarto edition of Calmet's Dictionary, published by he late Mr. C. Taylor.

5. Joh. Christophori Wolfii Bibliotheca Hebræa; sive Notitia tum Auctorum Hebræorum cujuscumque ætatis, tum Scriptorum, quæ vel Hebraice primum exarata, vel ab aliis conversa sunt, ad nostram ætatem deducta. Accedit in calce Jacobi Gaffarelli Index Codicum Cabbalisticorum MSS. quibus Joh. Picus, Mirandulanus Comes, usus est. Hamburgi et Lipsiæ, 1715—33, 4 tomis, 4to.

6. Jo. Georgii Walchii Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta, literariis adnotationibus instructa. Jenæ, 1757—58—62—65, 4 vols. 8vo.

All who are conversant in sacred literature have borne willing testimony to the correctness and research of Walch, whose work will always remain a production, admirable for the diligence and for the extensive reading and accuracy which it evinces. The sound judgment, remarkable in other works of this theologian, is conspicuous in this publication. All possible aids for theological literature are here embraced. The whole is well arranged: with regard to many books, their contents and value are stated, and directions are given where more extensive information is to be obtained. Of many important works an extensive and accurate literary history is given. All departments of theology have a rich collection of books pertaining to them described, and abundant materials are furnished for the history of religion. The third and fourth volumes are chiefly interesting to Biblical students. How much the author of the present work is indebted to the Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta, the frequent references made to it will sufficiently attest. In 1770, Walchius published a Bibliotheca Patristica in one large volume 8vo.: it contains an excellent account of treatises on the lives and erudition of the Fathers of the Church, and on the editions of their writings. A new edition of this Work, much enlarged and improved, by J. T. L. Danzius, was published at Jena in 1834, also in one volume 8vo.

7. A Concise View of the Succession of Sacred Literature, in a Chronological Arrangement of Authors and their Works, from the Invention of Alphabetical Characters to the Year of our Lord 1445. By Adam Clarke, LL.D. and J. B. B. Clarke, M.A. London, 1831—32. 2 vols. 8vo.

The first part of the first volume, which comes down to A.D. 345, was published by Dr. Clarke in 1821, in one volume, 12mo. The remainder of the work was composed by his son, the Rev. J. B. B. Clarke. The whole contains much important information relative to biblical and ecclesiastical literature.

8. A Course of Lectures, containing a Description and Systematic Arrangement of the several Branches of Divinity, accompanied with an Account both of the principal Authors, and of the Progress which has been made at different Periods, in Theological Learning. By Herbert Marsh, D.D. [Bishop of Peterborough.] London, 1810—1823. 8vo.

Seven parts of these Lectures were published. They embrace almost every topic of Biblical Criticism and Interpretation, and also the genuineness, authenticity, and credibility of the Scriptures; and are particularly valuable for their bibliographical and critical notices of the principal writers who have treated on these subjects.

8*. Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible, with two preliminary Lectures on Theological Study and Theological Arrangement: to which are added two Lectures on the History of Biblical Interpretation. By Herbert Marsh, D.D. Bishop of Peterborough. London, 1828. New Edition, 1838. 8vo.

This is a new edition, revised, corrected, and enlarged, of the first four parts of the preceding course of Lectures. The two additional Lectures on the History of Biblical Interpretation, which were published separately, contain bibliographical notices of the principal writers on that subject.

9. Illustrations of Biblical Literature, exhibiting the History and Fate of the Sacred Writings, from the earliest Period to the present Century: including Biographical Notices of Translators and other eminent Biblical Scholars. By the Rev. James Townley, D.D. London, 1821. 3 vols. 8vo.

"The ample volumes before us comprise a rich fund of instructive and pleasing information on the subject of Sacred Bibliography. They have been compiled from a great variety of publications, many of them inaccessible to the generality of readers, and some of them of extreme rarity." .... "The industry and the accuracy of Mr. Townley will entitle his volumes to the approbation of the critic and the patronage of the public. They afford a more comprehensive view of the progress of Biblical Translations and of the Literary and Ecclesiastical History of the Holy Scriptures than is to be found in any other work." (Eclectic Review, N. S. vol. xviii. pp. 386. 407.)

10. An Introduction to the Literary History of the Bible. By James Townley, D.D. London, 1828. 12mo.

This handsomely executed volume, which is a second edition of the Biblical Anecdotes pub-

lished by Dr. Townley in 1813, may be considered as an epitome of his Illustrations of Biblical Literature. It contains many interesting anecdotes relative to the Literary History of the Scriptures from the earliest period to the commencement of the nineteenth century.

11. Bibliotheca Biblica: A Select List of Books on Sacred Literature, with Notices Biographical, Critical, and Bibliographical. By William Orme. London, 1824. 8vo.

For many of his titles and notices of books, Mr. Orme has been indebted to the present Work, to which he has *honourably* acknowledged his obligations. "The theological student cannot fail to derive much advantage from it; and the more learned divine will find it an excellent supplement to the Bibliotheca Theologica Selecta of the laborious Walchius, or to the erudite Bibliotheca Sacra of Le Long." (British Critic, N. S. vol. xxii. p. 486.)

12. Bibliothèque Sacrée Grecque-Latine; contenant le Tableau Chronologique, Biographique, et Bibliographique, des Auteurs Inspirés et des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques, depuis Moïse jusqu'à Saint Thomas d'Aquin. Ouvrage rédigé d'après Mauro Boni et Gamba. Par Ch. Nodier. Paris, 1826. 8vo.

A convenient summary of biblical and ecclesiastical Bibliography. The author first gives a concise biographical notice of the sacred and ecclesiastical writers, and then specifies the principal editions of their works. A List is then subjoined of the Collections of the Canons and Acts of Councils and of the Canon Law, of Ecclesiastical Biographers, and of the Works of the Greek and Latin Fathers, and other Ecclesiastical Writers, and of the Greek and Latin Christian Poets.

13. Bibliotheca Sussexiana. A Descriptive Catalogue, accompanied by Historical and Biographical Notices of the Manuscripts and Printed Books contained in the Library of His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex. By Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, F.R.S., &c. &c. London, 1827—40. 2 vols. in three Parts. Imperial 8vo.

This magnificent Publication has a claim to be noticed in the present Catalogue of Biblical Works, on account of the diversified and important information which it communicates respecting Editions of the Holy Scriptures, and which is not to be found in the bibliographical treatises already described; and as a record of the editions collected by His Royal Highness.

The First Part of Vol. I. of the Bibliotheca Sussexiana is appropriated to Manuscripts, the number of which amounts very nearly to three hundred: these are arranged according to languages, viz., in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, German, Dutch, English, Irish, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Pali, Singhalese, and Burman. The Second Part treats on Printed Editions of the Holy Scriptures, disposed under the following titles, viz. Polyglotts of the Old and New Testaments and of detached portions thereof; — Hebrew Bibles, Hebrew and Hebrew-Samaritan Pentateuchs, and portions of the Old Testament in Hebrew; — Greek Bibles, Greek Pentateuch, and portions of the Old Testament in Greek; — Latin Bibles, and parts of the Old Testament in Latin.

Vol. II. comprises Editions of the New Testament in Greek, together with the rarest and best editions of Versions of the Holy Scriptures, both ancient and modern.

The entire Catalogue forms an aggregate of upwards of sixteen hundred articles, very many of which are among the rarest and most valuable in Sacred Bibliography. Much as has been accomplished by preceding authors who have treated on Sacred Bibliography, Mr. Pettigrew has contributed various additions to this branch of literature. He has described the several editions of the Scriptures, and curious specimens of metrical Versions are introduced, besides numerous biographical and critical anecdotes of authors and editors. The numerous engravings are executed in the highest style of the chalcographic art. It would be injustice to the memory of the late distinguished owner of this magnificent library, not to acknowledge the very liberal facility with which His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex permitted it to be consulted by scholars. This library was dispersed by auction in 1844, when many of its choicest volumes, biblical, liturgical, classical, and miscellaneous, were purchased for the national library at the British Museum.

There are copies of this Catalogue in small folio, the typographical splendour of which is unequalled.

[14. Variæ Lectiones Veteris Testamenti . . . Opera et Studio J. B. De Rossi, S.T.D. Parma, 1784. 4to. 4 vols.

J. B. De Rossi Scholia Critica in V. T. Libros. Parma, 1798. 4to.

These works contain, subjoined to the introductions, a remarkably complete account of the editions of the Hebrew Bible. Jahn gives a summary in his Hebrew Bible, vol. iv. pp. 550—568.]

[15. Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments entworfen von Eduard Reuss. 2te Ausgabe. Braunschweig, 1853. 8vo.

This work deserves to be mentioned in this place, on account of the pains taken in describing the editions of the Greek New Testament, and the texts which they respectively contain. See §§ 399—419. The notices of the ancient versions are also useful. Of the 369 editions noticed by Masch which appeared prior to 1780, Reuss states that 212 are in his own possession. § 411. note.]

[16. An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament, with Remarks on its revision on Critical Principles. By Samuel Prideaux TREGELLES, LL.D. London, 1854. 8vo.]

ENTIRE TEXTS AND VERSIONS OF THE BIBLE.

SECTION I.

PRINCIPAL EDITIONS OF THE HEBREW BIBLE.

BISHOP WALTON[1], Carpzov[2], and particularly Le Long, have treated at great length on the various editions of the Hebrew Scriptures. These have been divided by De Rossi, and others, into Masoretic and Non-Masoretic editions,—a distinction which cannot be fully carried out, as all have sprung from Masoretic copies. In the present section, Dr. Masch's improved edition of Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra[3] has been chiefly followed. The various impressions of the Hebrew Bible may be divided into the four following classes, viz.

(1.) Editiones Principes, or those first printed.

(2.) Editiones Primariæ, or those which have been adopted as the bases of subsequent impressions.

(3.) Editions, the text of which is accompanied with Rabbinical Commentaries.

(4.) Editions, which are furnished with Critical Apparatus.

---

§ 1. EDITIONES PRINCIPES.

1. Psalterium Hebraicum, cum commentario KIMCHII. Anno 237 (1477). 4to.

The *first* printed book of the Hebrew Bible.[4] It is of extreme rarity, and is printed (probably at Bologna) with a square Hebrew type, approaching that of the German Jews. The text is without points, except in the four first psalms, which are clumsily pointed. The commentary of Rabbi Kimchi is subjoined to each verse of the text in the rabbinical character, and is much more complete than in the subsequent editions, as it contains all those passages which were afterwards omitted, as being hostile to Christianity. Prof. Jahn states that it is incorrectly printed, and that the matres lectionis are introduced or omitted at the pleasure of the editors.

[2. Pentateuchus Hebraicus. Bononiæ, 1482. Fol.

This is said to be a remarkably correct edition. The vowel points are expressed.]

[3. Prophetæ priores et posteriores cum commentario Kimchi. Soncini, 1486. Fol. 2 tom.]

[4. Quinque Megilloth cum Comm. Jarchi, &c. [Bononiæ, 1482] Fol.]

[5. Quinque Megilloth. Soncini et Casali, 1486. 4to.]

[6. Hagiographa. Neapoli, 1487. 4to.

These portions contain the whole of the Hebrew Bible, which was very soon after printed unitedly.]

---

[1] Prolegom. cap. iv. De Bibliorum Editionibus præcipuis.

[2] Critica Sacra, pars i. cap. 9. pp. 387—428.

[3] Bibliotheca Sacra, post Jacobi Le Long et C. F. Boerneri iteratus curas ordine disposita, emendata, suppleta, continuata ab Andrea Gottlieb Masch. Halæ, 4to. 1778—85—90. 4 vols. with Supplement. The account of Hebrew editions is in the first volume, pp. 1—186. 331—424. De Bure's Bibliographie Instructive, tom. i. (Paris 1763), and Brunet's Manuel du Libraire, et de l'Amateur de Livres (5 vols. 8vo. Paris 1842, 4th edit.), have also been consulted occasionally. [De Rossi is the authority on whom the editor has relied as to the early editions.]

[4] [This has been incorrectly supposed to be the first printed Hebrew book; but De Rossi showed in his "De Hebraicæ Typographiæ origine ac primitiis" (Parma 1776), p. 7., that the Commentary on Job by Rabbi Levi, the son of Gershon (Ralbag), was completed at an earlier period in the same year (the one at the end of May, and the other at the beginning of September); and in his "De Typographiâ Hebræo-Ferrarensi Commentarius Historicus" (Erlangen 1781), he showed that Abraham Ben Chajim had printed at Mantua and Ferrara, in 1476, part of the Arbah Turim of Rabbenu Asher; and still earlier (1475) Jarchi's Commentary on the Pentateuch had appeared.]

7. Biblia Hebraica, cum punctis. Soncini, 1488. Folio.

The first edition of the *entire Hebrew Bible* ever printed. It is at present of such extreme rarity, that only nine or ten copies of it are known to be in existence. One of these is in the library of Exeter College, Oxford. At the end of the Pentateuch there is a long Hebrew subscription, indicating the name of the editor (Abraham Ben CHAJIM), the place where it was printed, and the date of the edition. This very scarce volume consists, according to Masch, of 373 (but Brunet says 380) folios, printed with points and accents, and also with signatures and catchwords. The initial letters of each book are larger than the others, and are ornamented. Dr. Kennicott states that there are not fewer than twelve thousand verbal differences between this edition and that of Van der Hooght; his assertion is questioned by Masch. No doubt that Kennicott included in his estimate even the smallest change in orthography. The researches of biblical critics have not succeeded in ascertaining what manuscripts were used for this Hebrew Bible. It is, however, acknowledged that these very ancient editions are equal in value to manuscripts of the same age.

---

§ 2. EDITIONES PRIMARIÆ, OR THOSE WHICH HAVE BEEN ADOPTED AS THE BASES OF SUBSEQUENT IMPRESSIONS.

1. Biblia Hebraica, 8vo. Brixiæ, 1494.

This edition was conducted by GERSON, the son of Rabbi Moses. It is also of extreme rarity, and is printed in long lines, except part of the Psalms, which is in two columns. The identical copy of this edition, from which Luther made his German translation, is said to be preserved in the Royal Library at Berlin. This edition was the basis of, 1. The Hebrew Text of the Complutensian Polyglott; 2. Bomberg's *first* Rabbinical Bible, Venice, 1517, in 4 vols. folio; 3. *Daniel* Bomberg's 4to. Hebrew Bible, Venice, 1518; 4. His second Hebrew Bible, 4to. Venice, 1521; and, 5. Sebastian Munster's Hebrew Bible, Basil, 1536, in 2 vols. 4to.

2. Another primary edition is the Biblia Hebraica Bombergiana II. folio, Venice, 1525, 1526, folio.

This was edited by Rabbi Jacob Ben CHAJIM, who had the reputation of being profoundly learned in the Masora, and other branches of Jewish erudition. He pointed the text according to the Masoretic system. This edition is the basis of all the modern pointed copies.

---

§ 3. EDITIONS OF THE HEBREW BIBLE WITH RABBINICAL COMMENTARIES.

Besides the Biblia Rabbinica I. et II. just mentioned, we may notice in this class the three following editions; viz.

1. Biblia Hebraica cum utraque Masora, Targum, necnon commentariis Rabbinorum, studio et cum præfatione R. Jacob F. Chajim, Venetiis, 1547—1549, 4 tomis in 2 vols. folio.

This is the second of Rabbi Jacob Ben Chajim's editions; and, according to M. Brunet, is preferable to the preceding, as well as to another edition executed in 1568, also from the press of Daniel Bomberg.

2. Biblia Hebræa, cum utraque Masora et Targum, item cum commentariis Rabbinorum, studio Johannis Buxtorfii, patris; adjecta est ejusdem Tiberias, sive commentarius Masoreticus. Basileæ, 1618, 1619, 1620, 4 tomis in 2 vols. folio.

This great work was executed at the expense of Lewis Kœnig, an opulent bookseller at Basle: on account of the additional matter which it contains, it is held in great esteem by Hebrew scholars, many of whom prefer it to the Hebrew Bibles printed by Bomberg. Buxtorf's Biblia Rabbinica contains the commentaries of the celebrated Jewish Rabbins, Jarchi, Aben Ezra, Kimchi, Levi Ben Gerson, and Saadias Haggaon. An appendix is subjoined, containing, besides the Jerusalem Targum, the great Masora corrected and amended by Buxtorf, the various lections of the Rabbis Ben Ascher and Ben Naphtali. Buxtorf also annexed the points to the Chaldee paraphrase. The *Tiberias* published by Buxtorf, in 1620, was intended to illustrate the Masora and other additions to his great Bible.

3. Biblia Hebraica Magna Rabbinica. Amstelodami 1724—27. 4 vols. folio.

"This is unquestionably the most copious and most valuable of all the Rabbinical Bibles, and was edited by Moses Ben Simeon of Frankfort. It is founded upon the Bomberg editions, and contains not only their contents, but also those of Buxtorf's, with additional remarks by the editor." Bibl. Sussex. vol. i. part ii. p. 188. In pp. 189—195. there is a copious and interesting bibliographical description of this edition.

---

§ 4. PRINCIPAL EDITIONS OF THE HEBREW BIBLE, INCLUDING THOSE WITH CRITICAL NOTES AND APPARATUS.

1. The first edition of the Hebrew Bible, printed by Bomberg, and edited by

Felix Pratensis, (Venice, 1517,) contains the various lections of the Eastern and Western recensions; which are also to be found in Buxtorf's Biblia Rabbinica.

2. Biblia Hebraica, cum Latina Versione Sebastiani Munsteri. Basileæ, 1534, 1535. 2 vols. folio.

The Hebrew type of this edition resembles the characters of the German Jews: the Latin version of Munster is placed by the side of the Hebrew text. Though the editor has not indicated what manuscripts he used, he is supposed to have formed his text upon the edition printed at Brescia in 1494, or the still more early one of 1488. His prolegomena contain much useful critical matter; and his notes are subjoined to each chapter. This is the first edition of the Hebrew Bible printed in Germany. In 1536 appeared Munster's Hebrew Bible without a Latin translation.

3. Hebraicorum Bibliorum Veteris Testamenti Latina Interpretatio, operâ olim Xantis Pagnini, Lucensis; nunc verò Benedicti Ariæ Montani, Hispalensis, Francisci Raphelengii, Alnetani, Guidonis et Nicolai Fabriciorum Boderianorum fratrum collato studio, ad Hebraicam dictionem diligentissimè expensa. Christ. Plantinus Antwerpiæ excudebat, 1571. Folio.

This is the first edition executed by Plantin, and is reputed to be the most correct: but Dr. Masch states that the reading in Gen. iii. 15. is *falsified* by substituting the feminine pronoun הִיא *she,* for the masculine pronoun הוּא *he,* to make it agree with the reading *ipsa, she,* of the Latin Vulgate, in order to support the Mariolatry of the modern church of Rome; thus giving the honour of *bruising the serpent's head* to the Virgin Mary instead of Jesus Christ. (Bibl. Sacra, vol. i. part i. p. 153.) The Hebrew text is the same as that printed in the Antwerp Polyglott, which is described in Sect. V. No. 2. *infra*; and the interlineary Latin version is that of Pagninus, corrected by B. Arias Montanus. The Latin words correspond with the Hebrew above them; and the Hebrew roots are placed in the margin to assist the reader. The order of the books of the Old Testament agrees with that of the Latin Bibles, and not with that of the Jews. The New Testament in Greek, also with an interlineary Latin version, printed in 1572, is added to this edition. (Bibl. Sussex. vol. i. part ii. p. 153.)

4. Biblia Hebraica: eorundem Latina Interpretatio Xantis Pagnini, Lucensis, recenter Benedicti Ariæ Montani, Hispalensis et quorundam aliorum collato studio, ad Hebraicam dictionem diligentissimè expensa. Accesserunt et huic editioni Libri Græcè scripti, qui vocantur Apocryphi, cum interlineari interpretatione Latina ex Bibliis Complutensibus petita. Antwerpiæ, ex officinâ Christophori Plantini. 1584. Folio.

This is the second edition printed by Plantin; and it has the New Testament in Greek, also with an interlineary version and a separate title. "It varies from the first in having the true reading of Gen. iii. 15. restored; and the apocryphal books are placed between the Old and New Testament." (Bibl. Sussex. vol. i. part ii. p. 155.) There are editions of Montanus's Hebrew Bible (as it is commonly termed) bearing the dates Genevæ, 1609, 1619 (with a new title only), and Lipsiæ, 1657, folio; but they are every way inferior to Montanus's editions, both in point of typographical execution, and also of accuracy. Montanus's editions are much esteemed for the aid which they furnish to biblical students.

5. Biblia Sacra Hebræa correcta, et collata cum antiquissimis exemplaribus manuscriptis et hactenus impressis. Amstelodami. Typis et sumtibus Josephi Athiæ. 1661; 1667. 8vo.

A rare edition of a most beautifully executed Hebrew Bible. The impression of 1667 is said to be the most correct. So highly were the labours of the printer, Athias, appreciated, that the States General of Holland conferred on him a gold chain with a gold medal appendant, as a mark of their approbation. Athias adopted the text of Rabbi Chajim's edition, printed at Venice in 1525—26; but he avoided his errors, and rejected several of the readings which are peculiar to that edition. (Jewish Expositor, July, 1828, vol. xiii. p. 58.)

6. Biblia Hebraica, cum notis Hebraicis et Lemmatibus Latinis, ex recensione Dan. Ern. Jablonski, cum ejus Præfatione Latina. Berolini, 1699, large 8vo. or 4to.

De Rossi considers this to be one of the most correct and important editions of the Hebrew Bible ever printed. It is extremely scarce. The accentuation appears to be particularly accurate. Jablonski published another edition of the Hebrew Bible in 1712 at Berlin, without points, in large 12mo; and subjoined to it Leusden's Catalogue of 2294 select verses, containing all the words occurring in the Old Testament. There is also a Berlin edition of the Hebrew Bible without points, in 1711, 24mo., from the press of Jablonski, who has prefixed a short preface. It was begun under the editorial care of S. G. Starcke, and finished, on his death, by Jablonski. Masch rightly pronounces it to be both useless and worthless.

7. Biblia Hebraica sine punctis, versibus, capitibus, et sectionibus interstincta, notisque Masoretarum, quas Kri et Ktif appellant, instructa. Ad Leusdenianam editionem adornata. Amstelodami et Ultrajecti, 1701, small 8vo.

This is usually, though incorrectly, called Leusden's Hebrew Bible. The real editor was George

Desmaretz or Maresius; Leusden wrote a preface to the Hebrew Bible printed at Amsterdam, 1694, 8vo., which abounds with errors. With the edition of 1701 is frequently bound up a neat and accurate edition of the Greek Testament, printed by Wetstein at Amsterdam, 1740, in small 8vo.

8. Biblia Hebraica, edente Everardo VAN DER HOOGHT. Amstelodami et Ultrajecti, 8vo. 2 vols. 1705.

A work of singular beauty. The Hebrew text is printed after Athias's second edition, with marginal notes pointing out the contents of each section. The characters, especially the vowel points, are uncommonly clear and distinct. At the end, Van der Hooght has given the various lections occurring in the editions of Bomberg, Plantin, Athias, and others. Van der Hooght's edition was reprinted at London in 2 vols 8vo. 1811, 1812, under the editorship of Mr. Frey, and is executed with great beauty, but it is not famed for accuracy. It has also been the basis of many editions.

9. Biblia Hebraica ex aliquot Manuscriptis et compluribus impressis codicibus; item Masora tam edita quam manuscripta aliisque Hebræorum criticis diligenter recensita. Cura ac studio D. Jo. Henr. MICHAELIS. 1720. 2 vols. large 8vo. There are also copies in 4to.

This edition has always been held in the highest estimation. The text is printed from Jablonski's Hebrew Bible (Berlin, 1699); and there were collated for this edition five manuscripts in the library of Erfurt, and nineteen of the best printed editions. A selection of various readings, and parallel passages, both real and verbal, is subjoined, together with brief notes on the most difficult texts of the Old Testament. Michaelis has prefixed learned prolegomena to this edition.

10. Biblia Hebraica, accurante M. Christiano REINECCIO. Lipsiæ, 1725, 1739, 1756. 8vo.

These are neat and accurate editions. Masch mentions another edition dated 1739, *in quarto*, in which the books are arranged according to the order adopted in the editions of the German translation of the Bible.

11. Biblia Hebraica secundum editionem Belgicam Everardi VAN DER HOOGHT, collatis aliis bonæ notæ codicibus, unà cum versione Latina Sebastiani Schmidii. Lipsiæ, 1740. 4to.

A tolerably accurate reprint of Van der Hooght's text, but upon very indifferent type, with additional various readings. The Latin version of Sebastian Schmidt is placed opposite to the Hebrew text. To the work are prefixed, 1. A Preface, by J. C. Clodius, vindicating the edition of Van der Hooght against some critical censures; 2. Van der Hooght's preface, with the testimonies of some eminent scholars in favour of his edition; and, 3. The Testimony and Judgment of the Theological Faculty of Strasburgh in favour of Sebastian Schmidt's Latin Translation. Masch, Bibliotheca Sacra, part i. p. 158.

[12. מנחת שי Biblia Hebraica cum Commentario Salomonis NORZI. Mantuæ, 1742. 4to.

Norzi prepared his critical notes for the Hebrew Bible in 1626; he endeavoured in them to introduce some revision of the text, by using collations of MSS. &c., to remove errors found in Bomberg's editions and in those which emanated from them. This labour of his remained unprinted till 1742, when the above edition appeared at the expense of Raphael Chaiim. The preface of Norzi was unknown to the editors; an abstract of it was given by De Rossi in the prolegomena to his Variæ Lectiones, i. p. xli.]

13. Biblia Hebraica, *i. e.* Vetus Testamentum, seu Hagiographi Canonici Veteris nempe Testamenti Libri, qui originario etiamnum ore leguntur, ex Hebraico in Latinum ad litteram versi, adjectâ editione Vulgatâ Hebraicè et Latinè cura et studio Lodovici DE BIEL, e Societate Jesu. Viennæ, 1743. 4 vols. 8vo.

This is an elegant edition, but little known in this country: it contains the Hebrew text, and two Latin translations, viz. the Vulgate as printed in 1592, and that of Arias Montanus. It is ornamented with vignettes.

14. Biblia Hebraica manualia ad optimas quasque editiones recensita, atque cum brevi lectionum Masorethicarum Kettriban et Krijan resolutione ac explicatione. Edita a Johanne SIMONIS. Halæ, 1752; 1767. Editio nova, 1828, 8vo.

The second edition of 1767 is the best. The text is from that of Van der Hooght. There is a short yet full Hebrew and Latin Lexicon at the end of both editions, which have the additional merit of being portable, cheap, and useful.

15. Biblia Hebraica cum notis criticis, et Versione Latina ad notas criticas facta. Accedunt Libri Græci, qui Deutero-canonici vocantur, in tres Classes distributi. Autore Carolo Francisco HOUBIGANT. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, 1753, 4 vols. folio.

The text of this edition is that of Van der Hooght, without points; and in the margin of the Pentateuch Houbigant has added various lections from the Samaritan Pentateuch. He collated

twelve manuscripts, of which, however, he is said not to have made all the use he might have done. Houbigant has also printed a new Latin version of his own, expressive of such a text as his critical emendations appeared to justify and recommend. The book is most beautifully printed, but has not answered the high expectations that were entertained of it. (See Bishop Marsh's criticism on it, in his divinity lectures, part ii. pp. 101—104. [Lectures, ed. 1842, pp. 212—215.], and also Bibl. Sussex. vol. i. part ii. pp. 202—204.)

16. The Old Testament, English and Hebrew, with remarks, critical and grammatical, on the Hebrew, and corrections of the English. By Anselm Bayley, LL.D. London, 1774. 4 vols. 8vo.

The Hebrew text is printed in long lines on the left-hand page; and the authorised English version on the right-hand page, divided into two columns. The critical notes, which are very few, are placed under the English text. The Hebrew text is accompanied throughout with the keri and ketib, but all the accents, &c. are omitted, except the athnach, which answers to our colon, and the soph pashuk, which is placed at the end of each verse in the Bible. At the end of each book is given an epilogue, containing a summary view of the history, transactions, &c. recorded therein. The work is ornamented with a frontispiece, representing Moses receiving the tables of the law on Mount Sinai, and two useful maps;—one of the journeying of the Israelites, in which each station is numbered; and another of their settlement in the promised land. The letter-press of the Hebrew is very unequally distributed over the pages; some are long, and others short; some are wide, and others narrow. On some pages not fewer than thirty-seven lines are crowded together, while others contain only twenty-three. In other respects, Dr. A. Clarke pronounces it to be a pretty correct work; but, besides the errata noticed by the editor, he adds, that the reader will find the sentence—*thou shalt visit thy habitation*, left out of the English text, in Job v. 24. (Bibliogr. Dict. vol. i. p. 274.)

17. Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum, cum variis Lectionibus. Edidit Benjaminus Kennicott, S. T. P. Oxonii, 1776, 1780. 2 vols. folio.

This splendid work was preceded by two dissertations on the state of the Hebrew text, published in 1753 and 1759; the object of which was to show the necessity of the same extensive collation of Hebrew manuscripts of the Old Testament as had already been undertaken for the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament. The utility of the proposed collation being generally admitted, a very liberal subscription was made to defray the expense of the collation, amounting on the whole to nearly ten thousand pounds, and the name of his Majesty King George III. headed the list of subscribers. Various persons were employed both at home and abroad; but of the foreign literati the principal was Professor Bruns of the University of Helmstadt, who not only collated Hebrew manuscripts in Germany, but went for that purpose into Italy and Switzerland. The business of collation continued from 1760 to 1769 inclusive, during which period Dr. Kennicott published annually an account of the progress which was made. More than six hundred Hebrew manuscripts, and sixteen manuscripts of the Samaritan Pentateuch, were discovered in different libraries in England and on the Continent; many of which were wholly collated, and others consulted in important passages. Several years necessarily elapsed, after the collations were finished, before the materials could be arranged and digested for publication. The variations contained in nearly *seven hundred* bundles of papers, being at length digested (including the collations made by Professor Bruns), and the whole when put together being corrected by the original collations, and then fairly transcribed into *thirty* folio volumes, the work was put to press in 1773. In 1776 the first volume of Dr. Kennicott's Hebrew Bible was delivered to the public, and in 1780 the second volume. It was printed at the Clarendon Press; and the University of Oxford has the honour of having produced the first critical edition upon a large scale, both of the Greek Testament and of the Hebrew Bible.

"The text of Kennicott's edition was printed from that of Van der Hooght, with which the Hebrew manuscripts, by Kennicott's direction, were all collated. But, as variations in the points were disregarded in the collation, the points were not added in the text. The various readings, as in the critical editions of the Greek Testament, were printed at the bottom of the page, with references to the correspondent readings of the text. In the Pentateuch the deviations of the Samaritan text were printed in a column parallel to the Hebrew; and the variations observable in the Samaritan manuscripts, which differ from each other as well as the Hebrew, are likewise noted, with references to the Samaritan *printed* text. To this collation of manuscripts was added a collation of the most distinguished *editions* of the Hebrew Bible, in the same manner as Wetstein has noted the variations observable in the principal editions of the Greek Testament. Nor did Kennicott confine his collation to manuscripts and editions. He further considered, that as the quotations from the Greek Testament in the works of ecclesiastical writers afford another source of various readings, so the quotations from the Hebrew Bible in the works of *Jewish* writers are likewise subjects of critical inquiry. For this purpose he had recourse to the most distinguished among the rabbinical writings, but particularly to the Talmud, the *text* of which is as ancient as the third century. In the quotation of his authorities he designates them by numbers from 1 to 692, including manuscripts, editions, and rabbinical writings, which numbers are explained in the *Dissertatio Generalis* annexed to the second volume.

"This *Dissertatio Generalis*, which corresponds to what are called *Prolegomena* in other critical editions, contains not only an account of the manuscripts and other authorities collated for this edition, but also a review of the Hebrew text divided into periods, and beginning with the formation of the Hebrew canon after the return of the Jews from the Babylonish captivity. Though inquiries of this description unavoidably contain matters of doubtful disputation, though

the opinions of Kennicott have been frequently questioned, and sometimes *justly* questioned, his *Dissertatio Generalis* is a work of great interest to every biblical scholar. Kennicott was a disciple of Capellus both in respect to the integrity of the Hebrew text, and in respect to the preference of the Samaritan Pentateuch; but he avoided the extreme into which Morinus and Houbigant had fallen. And though he possessed not the rabbinical learning of the two Buxtorfs, his merits were greater than some of his contemporaries, as well in England as on the Continent, were willing to allow." Bishop Marsh's Divinity Lectures, part ii. pp. 105—108. [Lectures on the Criticism, &c. of the Bible, ed. 1842, pp. 217—219.] For a very copious account of Dr. Kennicott's edition of the Hebrew Bible, see the Monthly Review (O. S.) vol. lv. pp. 92—100., vol. lxiv. pp. 173—182. 321—328., vol. lxv. pp. 121—131.

To Dr. Kennicott's Hebrew Bible, Prof. de Rossi published an important supplement at Parma (1784—1787), in four volumes 4to. of *Variæ Lectiones Veteris Testamenti*; [to which he added in 1798, his "Scholia Critica."] This work and Dr. Kennicott's edition form one complete set of collations. Of the immense mass of various readings which the collations of Dr. Kennicott and Prof. de Rossi exhibit, multitudes are *insignificant*; consisting frequently of the omission or addition of a single letter in a word, as a vau, &c. "But they are not therefore useless. All of this class contribute powerfully to establish the *authenticity* of the sacred text in general by their concurrence; while they occasionally afford valuable emendations of the sacred text in several important passages, supporting by their evidence the various readings suggested by the ancient versions derived from manuscripts of an earlier date." (Dr. Hales's Analysis of Chronology, vol. ii. book i. p. xiv.) In the first volume of Dr. Masch's edition of Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra, there is a valuable collection of various readings made from the Masoretic and Non-Masoretic printed copies of the Hebrew Bible. See pp. xl.—cxviii.

18. Biblia Hebraica, olim a Christiano Reineccio edita, nunc denuo cum variis lectionibus, ex ingenti codicum copia à B. Kennicotto et J. B. De Rossi collatorum, ediderunt J. C. DOEDERLEIN et J. H. MEISSNER. Lipsiæ, 1793. 8vo.

This edition was undertaken by Dr. Doederlein and Professor Meissner, in order to accommodate those lovers of Hebrew literature who may not be able to consult the expensive volumes of Kennicott and De Rossi. They have selected some of the various readings of those eminent collators; but Professor Jahn asserts that the text is very incorrect. The fine paper copies are beautiful and convenient books; but those on common paper are scarcely legible. They are usually bound in two volumes. In 1818 a second edition of this Hebrew Bible was published at Halle, with a new preface by Dr. Knappe, entitled, *Biblia Hebraica olim a Christ. Reinneccio evulgata, post ad fidem recensionis Masoreticæ, cum variis lectionibus ex ingenti codd. mss. copia a Benj. Kennicotto et J. B. De Rossi collatorum edita, cur. J. C. Doederleinio et J. H. Meissnero. Quorum editioni ante hos XXV. annos e bibliopolio Lipsiensi emissæ, nunc emptionis jure in libr. Orphanotrophei Halensis translatæ, accessit G. Chr. Knappii præfatio de editionibus Bibliorum Halensibus* 8vo. *Halæ, Libraria Orphanotrophei.* According to the Journal Général de la Littérature Etrangère (Jan. 1819), the above-noticed edition of 1793 consisted of ten thousand copies; the unsold stock of which were disposed of to the trustees or governors of the Orphan House at Halle, by whom the title-page was altered to the date of 1818, and a new preface was added by Professor Knappe relative to the editions of the Bible published at Halle.

19. Biblia Hebraica. Digessit et graviores Lectionum varietates adjecit Johannes JAHN. Viennæ, 1806. 4 vols. 8vo.

Professor Jahn has long been distinguished for his successful cultivation of Oriental literature. In his edition the text is very distinctly printed, the principal Hebrew points are retained, and the poetical parts of the Old Testament are metrically arranged: it is conveniently divided into four vols.; of which VOL. I. contains the Pentateuch. VOL. II. contains the Historical Books of Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings, Ezra, Esther, and Nehemiah. VOL. III. comprises the Prophetical Books thus arranged:—Amos, Hosea, Micah, Isaiah, Joel, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah, Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Daniel, Haggai, Zechariah, Jonah, Malachi. Vol. IV. contains the Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Song of Solomon, and Ecclesiastes. The Books of Kings and Chronicles are given in a kind of harmony. In the metrical disposition of the Psalms and other poetical portions, "Jahn has, in many instances, improved upon Dr. Kennicott's arrangement; but he has not made any division, except in a very few instances, into couplets or stanzas. Nor has he indeed been quite consistent with regard to the Poetical Books; for, whilst he restores the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth chapters of the Book of Proverbs completely to their original disposition into couplets, he has for the most part made no such distinction in any of the other chapters, which are evidently of the same construction, and had before been similarly arranged by Dr. Kennicott." (Rev. John Rogers's Book of Psalms in Hebrew, &c. vol. ii. p. 41.)

Each Book is judiciously divided into greater or less sections, to which is prefixed a short Latin analysis of their contents. The division into chapters is preserved, and their numbers are noted at the heads of the sections. The numbers of the verses are also marked in the margin. The Masoretic Notes, which are generally added in the margin of the Hebrew Bibles, are retained, with the exception of a very few, which relate to the accents, and mark the middle of a book. They are all expressed at full length, and many of them are also accompanied with a Latin version. The Jewish criticisms, which are in some editions added at the end of each book, are omitted by Professor Jahn, as being of no use to the Christian reader. *To the text are subjoined the more important various readings;* and in some more difficult places, all the variations that could be found are carefully given. These various readings are taken from the collations of Bishop Walton, Grabe, Montfaucon, Dr. Kennicott, De Rossi, and Dr.

Holmes. [At the end is given a concise but valuable list of MSS. and editions.] The text is that of Van der Hooght, from which the editor has departed only in nine or ten places, in which many other editions had preceded him, and which are supported by numerous and very weighty authorities. There are copies on fine paper in 8vo., which are very beautiful, and also forty copies in 4to., which are very rare.

20. Biblia Hebraica, or the Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament, without points, after the text of Kennicott, with the chief various readings, selected from his collation of Hebrew manuscripts, from that of De Rossi, and from the ancient versions; accompanied with English notes, critical, philological, and explanatory, selected from the most approved ancient and modern English and Foreign biblical critics. By B. Boothroyd, D.D. Pontefract and London, 1816. 2 vols. 4to.

This Hebrew Bible was published originally in parts, the first of which appeared in 1810. It contains, in a condensed form, the substance of the most valuable and expensive works. "Mr. Boothroyd has evidently spared neither expense nor labour to furnish the student with interesting extracts, which are calculated to assist him as well in interpreting as in obtaining a critical acquaintance with the original text. A good philological note is frequently of more importance towards the elucidation of a difficult passage than a long theological comment, which is often little better than a detail of contrary opinions. There is evidently some hazard of adopting fanciful and conjectural corrections in so extensive an undertaking as this, which is principally compiled from preceding authors of almost every description. Against this danger the sobriety of the editor's judgment has been a powerful protection; and as his avowed object was the solid instruction of the purchaser of his book, he has, in a commendable manner, accomplished his purpose." (Eclectic Review, vol. vii. p. 34. New Series.) The type is very clear; and the poetical parts of the Hebrew Scriptures are printed in hemistichs, according to the arrangement proposed by Bishop Lowth, and adopted by Archbishop Newcome. There are copies in royal 4to. [See, on this edition, Dr. Davidson's Biblical Criticism, vol. i. p. 159.]

[21. Biblia Hebraica. Ed. Bagster. London, 1820. Fcp. 8vo.

A stereotype edition often reprinted; very small in size, and capable of being interleaved with various languages. The variations of the Samaritan Pentateuch are prefixed. There is also a similar edition without points.]

22. Biblia Hebraica secundum editionem Everardi Van der Hooght, denuo recognita et emendata à Juda D'Allemand, Linguæ Sanctæ Doctore. Editio nova, longè accuratissima. Londini, 1822; 1833; 8vo.

The edition, of which there are copies on fine paper, is *stereotyped:* it is printed after Van der Hooght's text; in preparing which for the press, the learned editor, Mr. D'Allemand, states that he discovered not fewer than *two hundred errata.* These he has carefully corrected, and by repeated and most attentive revision he has perhaps done all that human industry can accomplish, in order to produce an accurate edition of the Hebrew Bible. In addition to the care previously bestowed by the editor, every page was revised four times, after the stereotype plates were cast, by persons familiar with the Hebrew language. Van der Hooght's historical summaries of the contents of each chapter are omitted, in order that the expense of the book may not be unnecessarily increased. The various readings and Masoretic notes are very neatly and clearly exhibited at the foot of each page. Upon the whole, this edition may safely be pronounced one of the most beautiful, as well as the cheapest editions of the Hebrew Scriptures ever published. To its great accuracy a learned Polish Rabbi has borne testimony. (See Jewish Expositor, September, 1825, p. 346.) The second edition was carefully revised by the late Mr. Hurwitz, a learned Jew, author of a Hebrew Grammar.

23. Biblia Hebraica Manualia, ad Exemplar Athianum accurata [à Judâ D'Allemand]. Londini, 1828. Large 12mo.

This edition of the Hebrew Scriptures was printed by the London Society for promoting Christianity amongst the Jews. "In compliance with the prejudices of those for whose benefit it was intended, it is strictly a *Jewish Bible,* without a single Roman letter or figure. The Jews do not like Van der Hooght's edition, because a mark (†) which they deem a cross is used in the text as a mark of reference to the notes." The editions most prized by the Jews are those of Athias (see p. 672. No. 5. of this list); and from his second edition, printed in 1667, the text of the present Hebrew Bible is taken, with one or two variations. "From its size, price, and the correctness of the text, this book will be a desirable acquisition to the Christian reader of the Old Testament in its original language, who wishes to possess the *Jews' text.* But for critical purposes, he must have recourse to Bibles free from the Masorah, such as those of Munster, and the quarto of Stephens." (Jewish Expositor, July, 1828, vol. xiii. pp. 256. 358.)

24. Biblia Hebraica secundum editiones Jos. Athiæ, Johannis Leusden, Jo. Simonis aliorumque, imprimis Everhardi Van der Hooght, recensuit, sectionum propheticarum recensum et explicationem clavemque Masorethicam et Rabbinicam addidit Augustus Hahn. Lipsiæ, 1831, 8vo.; 1834, 12mo.

The text of Van der Hooght is scrupulously followed by Dr. Hahn, who has carefully corrected the typographical errors in Van der Hooght's edition. Both editions are stereotyped from

a new and very clear type, with singular neatness, and are printed on good paper. The duodecimo edition has a preface by Ernest Frederick Charles Rosenmüller. As all the late editors (Jahn alone excepted) have preferred to follow the judgment of Van der Hooght, his text may now be regarded as the textus receptus of the Hebrew Scriptures.

25. Biblia Hebraica, ex recensione A. HAHNII, cum Vulgatâ Versione Latinâ. Lipsiæ, 1838. 2 tomis, 8vo.

26. Biblia Hebraica, ad optimarum editionem fidem, summa diligentia recusa. Societatum Biblicarum sumptibus. Basileæ, 1827. 8vo.

27. ΤΑ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΔΙΠΛΑ. An Edition of the Bible [in Hebrew and in Greek], containing a Combination of Typographical Helps and Elucidations, facilitating, by a concentration not hitherto attempted, the Grammatical Acquisition of the Original Languages. [By Friedrich BIALLOBLOTSKY, Ph.D. Parts I—III. containing the first thirty-four psalms.] London, 1843—44. 4to.

This edition was commenced but not continued: it promised to afford much assistance to Hebrew students. The Septuagint Greek translation is placed in juxtaposition with each Hebrew word. The renderings of Aquila, Symmachus, Theodotion and other ancient Greek translators are added in smaller type, and are designated by their respective initial letters, Α. Σ. Θ. The work was printed only on one side of a page, for the convenience of students wishing to write grammatical observations and translations into English.

28. The Psalms in Hebrew, metrically arranged by the Rev. J. ROGERS, M.A., Oxford and London, 1833, 1834. 2 vols. 12mo.

This very useful edition of the Book of Psalms is beautifully printed. Vol. I. contains the Hebrew text, metrically arranged according to the plan to which Bishop Lowth led the way in his Lectures on Hebrew Poetry, and which was subsequently adopted by Dr. Kennicott in his Critical Edition of the Hebrew Scriptures, and in some respects improved by Dr. Jahn in his edition of the Hebrew Bible. Vol. II. consists of two essays: 1. On the Character and Construction of Hebrew Poetry; and 2. On the Various Readings of the Hebrew Bible. These are followed by Select Various Readings of the Book of Psalms, Notes on the Metrical Arrangement of the Psalms, and Notes (chiefly critical) on the text itself. This volume is concluded by a short notice of the Ambrosian Manuscript of the Syriac Version of the Psalms.

[This appears to be the best specimen that has ever appeared of a book of the Hebrew Bible critically revised. The editor's death occurred at the age of 78, while this vol. was passing through the press: June, 1856.]

29. ספר תהלים. The Book of Psalms, Hebrew and English, arranged in parallel Columns. London, 1843. Small 8vo.

A beautifully printed and convenient edition for the pocket or the library: it contains the Hebrew text of the Book of Psalms, carefully reprinted from Van der Hooght's edition published in 1705, and the authorised English translation, from the edition printed in 1611.

[30. Biblia Hebraica ad optimas editiones, imprimis Everardi Van der Hooght accurate recensa et expressa. Curavit C. G. G. THEILE, Prof. Lipsiensis. Editio stereotypa. Lipsiæ, 1849. 8vo.]

[To these editions of the Hebrew Bible, especially those with various readings, may be subjoined the following work:—

The Hebrew text of the Old Testament, revised from critical sources; being an attempt to present a purer and more correct text than the received one of Van der Hooght, by the aid of the best existing materials; with the principal various readings found in MSS., ancient versions, Jewish books and writers, parallels, quotations, &c., &c. By Samuel DAVIDSON, D.D. of the University of Halle, and LL.D. London, Bagsters. [1855.] 8vo.

Some portions of this volume may be compared with a review of it which appeared in the "Journal of Sacred Literature" for April, 1856, written by the late Rev. John Rogers, whose Hebrew Psalter is noticed above.]

[*The following works, though not strictly* EDITIONS *of the Hebrew Bible, have been thus noticed by Mr. Horne, as portions specially prepared for the use of learners.*]

1. The Interlineary Hebrew and English Psalter: in which the Construction of every Word is indicated, and the Root of each distinguished by the Use of hollow and other Types. London, 1845. Small 8vo.

The text of Van der Hooght is also adopted in this edition of the Book of Psalms. The servile letters are distinguished by hollow types, after the method of Elias Hutter, the root remaining black; and wherever a radical letter has been dropped from a word, it is supplied in small type above the line. The English translation has been made as literal as it could be, to be practically useful; and the greatest possible uniformity has been preserved in rendering the

Hebrew into English. Hebrew students will find this cheap and beautifully printed volume to be a valuable grammatical aid in reading the Book of Psalms in the original language.

2. Victorini Bythneri Lyra Davidis regis, sive, Analysis Critico-Practica Psalmorum; quâ Voces Ebrææ explicantur, ac consensus Textûs Sacri cum Paraphrasi Chaldaica ac Septuaginta Virorum Interpretatione Græca monstratur. Londini, 1650, 1664, 1679, 4to.; Tiguri, 1664, 1670, 8vo.; Glasguæ (in ædibus academicis), et Londini, 1823, 8vo.

Bythner's Lyra Davidis has long been known as perhaps the most valuable help to the critical and grammatical study of the Book of Psalms. The reprint, at the university press of Glasgow, is very beautiful.

3. The Lyre of David; or an Analysis of the Psalms, Critical and Practical; to which is added a Hebrew and Chaldee Grammar, by Victorinus Bythner, Translated by the Rev. Thomas Dee, A.B. To which are added, by the Translator, a Praxis of the first eight psalms, and tables of the imperfect verbs. Dublin and London, 1836. 8vo.

A translation of the preceding work, with a few omissions, and various improvements, which must increase its value to the biblical student.

4. Hebrew Reading Lessons: consisting of the first four chapters of the book of Genesis, and the eighth chapter of the Proverbs, with a Grammatical Praxis and an Interlineary Translation. London, 1845. Small 8vo.

This is one of the most useful elementary works for the Hebrew language which has yet appeared with the design of aiding beginners in the study of the Hebrew language. The Hebrew text is printed with hollow and black types, in order to distinguish the radical and formative letters throughout. The form of every word is completely analysed and grammatically explained, and its root indicated; and various typographical signs are introduced to facilitate the labour of the student. The pronunciation of the Hebrew words has been given to assist in acquiring fluency in reading the language.

"We doubt that there exists in any language a First Reading Book so complete in all respects as this admirable little volume. By a very ingenious, and, as we believe, novel typographical contrivance, it really affords the student an *intuitive* perception of the structure and mechanism of the Hebrew words and phrases.

"The notes are just what they ought to be and no more; copious in information, and succinct in form. We do not exaggerate in alleging our belief, that with the help of this manual, the young Hebrew scholar may compress the labour of days into hours, we might almost say minutes." (Foreign Quarterly Review, January, 1846.)

SECT. II.

EDITIONS OF THE HEBRÆO-SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH.[1]

1. Christophori Cellarii Horæ Samaritanæ: hoc est, Excerpta Pentateuchi Samaritanæ Versionis, cum *Latinâ* Interpretatione novâ et Annotationibus perpetuis. *Etiam* Grammatica Samaritana copiosis exemplis illustrata, et Glossarium, seu Index Verborum. Cizæ, 1682. 4to.

2. Pentateuchus Hebræo-Samaritanus, charactere Hebraico-Chaldaico editus, curâ et studio Benj. Blayney, S.T.P. Oxonii, 1790. 8vo.

The text of the Hebræo-Samaratan Pentateuch, which was printed in Bishop Walton's Polyglott, described in pp. 715—717. *infra*, has been adopted as the basis of this edition, to which have been added various readings from Dr. Kennicott's edition of the Hebrew Bible already noticed.

SECT. III.

FAC-SIMILE EDITIONS OF MANUSCRIPTS, CONTAINING THE NEW TESTAMENT OR PARTS THEREOF, AND THE SEPTUAGINT GREEK VERSION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.[2]

A. *The Codex Alexandrinus.*

1. Novum Testamentum Græcum, è Codice MS. Alexandrino, qui Londini in

[1] [It must be remembered that the most important editions of this Pentateuch are those contained in Le Jay's and Walton's Polyglotts described below.]

[2] The manuscripts are indicated by the letters of the alphabet, by which they are usually cited.

Bibliothecâ Musei Britannici asservatur, descriptum à Carolo Godofredo Woide. Londini, ex prelo Joannis Nichols, typis Jacksonianis, 1786. Folio.

This is an elegant fac-simile edition of the Alexandrian Manuscript which is preserved in the British Museum, and is described in the former part of this Vol., p. 152. *seq.* Long before Dr. Woide executed this edition of the New Testament, it had been suggested to King Charles I. to cause a fac-simile of the *entire* MS. to be engraved. But the importance and value of such an undertaking do not appear to have been understood—at least they were not duly appreciated—by that monarch: he therefore refused to have it done. The circumstance is thus related by the industrious antiquary Aubrey, in his inedited "Remaines of Gentilisime and Judaisme," preserved among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, No. 231. folio 169. Writing on the disputed clause in 1 John v. 7, Aubrey says:—

"The last clause of this verse is not found in the ancient MSS. copies, e.g. that in the Vatican Library, and ye Tecla MS. in St. James's Library and others: as it is not in an old MS. in Magdalen Coll: Library in Oxford. That at St. James's was sent as a Present to King Charles the First, from Cyrillus, Patriark of Constantinople: as a jewel of that antiquity not fit to be kept amongst Infidels. Mr. . . . . Rosse (translator of Statius) was Tutor to ye D. of Mou-
gott him the place [of]
mouth, who made him Library-Keeper at St. James's: he desired K. Cha. I. to be at ye chardge to have it engraven in copper plates: and told him it would cost but £200, but his Ma^ty^ would not yield to it. Mr. Ross sayd 'that it would appeare glorious in History, after his Ma^ty^ death.' 'Pish,' sayd he, 'I care not what they say of me in History when I am dead.' H. Grotius, J. G. Vossius, Heinsius, &c. have made Journeys into England, purposely to correct their Greeke Testaments by this Copy in St. James's. Sr. Chr. Wren sayd that he would rather have it engraved by an Engraver that could not understand or read Greek, than by one that did."

In the reign of Charles II. the design of printing this manuscript was resumed; and the editing of the fac-simile was to have been confided to the Rev. Dr. Smith, to whom the King promised a canonry of Windsor, or of Westminster, for his labour. But, from some circumstance or other which cannot now be ascertained, this design was abandoned. (Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. ii. col. 1020.)

The value of such an undertaking has been better understood in our times: and the British Parliament nobly guaranteed the expense of the Fac-simile edition, which was executed under the editorship of the Rev. H. H. Baber. See an account of it in No. 3. p. 680. *infrà.*

Of Dr. Woide's fac-simile edition of the New Testament, twelve copies were printed on vellum. The fac-simile itself fills two hundred and sixty pages: and the preface, comprising twenty-two pages, contains an accurate description of the Manuscript, illustrated by an engraving representing the style of writing in various manuscripts. To this is subjoined an exact list of all its various readings, in eighty-nine pages; each reading is accompanied with a remark, giving an account of what his predecessors Junius (*i. e.* Patrick Young), Bishop Walton, Drs. Mill and Grabe, and Wetstein, had performed or neglected. The preface of Woide, and his collection of various readings, were reprinted, with notes, by Professor Spohn, at Leipsic, in 1790, in 8vo. To complete this publication there should be added the following:

1.* Appendix ad Editionem Novi Testamenti Græci è Codice Alexandrino descripti à G. C. Woide: in qua continentur Fragmenta Novi Testamenti juxta Interpretationem Dialecti Superioris Ægypti, quæ Thebaica vel Sahidica appellatur, è Cod. Oxoniens. maxima ex parte desumpta: cum Dissertatione de Versione Ægyptiaca. Quibus subjicitur Codicis Vaticani Collatio. Oxonii, è Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1799. Folio.

This work was prepared for the press, as far as the Gospel of St. Luke, and printed under the editorship of Dr. Woide; who also prepared for the press the Sahidic [Thebaic] fragments of St. John's Gospel. After his decease the delegates of the Clarendon press, in the University of Oxford, confided the completion of the work to the Rev. Dr. Ford, at that time Arabic reader in the University, under whose care it made its appearance. After a preface in which Dr. Ford gives an account of the work, there is an elaborate dissertation by Dr. Woide, in three sections. The first section treats on the Coptic and Sahidic [Memphitic and Thebaic] versions of the Old Testament, and on the texts from which those versions were made. In Dr. Woide's judgment they were both made from the Greek, and accurately express the phrases of the Septuagint version. Most of the additions, omissions, and transpositions, which distinguish the Septuagint from the Hebrew text, are discernible both in the Coptic [Memphitic] and in the Sahidic [Thebaic] versions. The second section treats, 1. On the Coptic [Memphitic] version of the New Testament, and on Dr. Wilkins's edition of it; and 2. On the Sahidic [Thebaic] version of the New Testament, and on the antiquity of both versions. In the third section Dr. Woide gives an account of the versions of the apocryphal books of the Old and New Testaments which are extant in both languages. The Sahidic [Thebaic] fragments, with a Latin version, then follow, and the work concludes with Dr. Bentley's collation of the Vatican manuscript so far as relates to the New Testament. [See above, p. 161.] Dr. Ford, the editor, has supplied three plates of fac-simile specimens of Sahidic manuscripts.

2. Psalterium Græcum, è Codice MS. Alexandrino, qui Londini in Bibliotheca Musei Britannici asservatur, Typis ad Similitudinem ipsius Codicis Scripturæ

fideliter descriptum, Curâ et Labore Henrici Herveii BABER, A. M. Musei Britannici Bibliothecarii. Londini, 1812. Folio.

This is an exact fac-simile of the book of Psalms, from the Codex Alexandrinus which has been already noticed. There is a chasm of about nine leaves in the original manuscript, from Psalm xlix. 19. to Psalm lxxix. 12. The types are the same as were used for Dr. Woide's fac-simile edition of the New Testament, noticed in p. 679. No. 1. The numbers of the Psalms and verses are subjoined at the foot of the page, for convenience of reference. Appropriate marks are introduced, to point out words which have either become obliterated in course of time, or have been designedly erased, or which have been re-written by a later hand. At the end of the volume there is a collation of the various readings of the Alexandrian MS. of the Book of Psalms, with the Roman edition of the Vatican text of the Septuagint, printed in 1587. Twelve copies of this elegant fac-simile were printed on vellum, to match with the same number of copies of Dr. Woide's edition.

3. Vetus Testamentum Græcum è Codice MS. Alexandrino, qui Londini in Bibliothecâ Musei Britannici asservatur, Typis ad Similitudinem ipsius Codicis Scripturæ fideliter descriptum, Curâ et Labore Henrici Herveii BABER, A. M. Londini, 1816–28. 4 vols. folio.

At the close of his preface to the preceding fac-simile edition of the Book of Psalms, the Rev. H. H. Baber announced his intention of proceeding with the Old Testament in a similar manner: but this was an undertaking too vast and too extensive for an unbeneficed clergyman. In consequence, therefore, of a memorial by Mr. B., seconded by the recommendation of several dignitaries of the Anglican church, as well as professors and heads of colleges in the two universities, the British Parliament engaged to defray the expense of completing this noble work. (See the Memorial and other Proceedings in the Literary Panorama, vol. i. N. S. pp. 465—478.) The first three volumes comprise the entire text of the Septuagint; and the fourth volume contains the Notes and the Prolegomena. The whole is executed in a splendid folio size, and in such a manner as faithfully to represent every iota of the original manuscript. The better to preserve the identity of the original, Mr. Baber has introduced a greater variety of type than Dr. Woide could command for his fac-simile edition of the New Testament, together with numerous wood-cuts. The tail pieces, or rudè arabesque ornaments at the end of each book, are also represented by means of fac-similes in wood. This truly national work is justly characterised by the Abbé Jager, as "Opus plane aureum" (Vetus Test. Græc. tom. i. præf. p. iv. Paris, 1839.) The edition was limited to two hundred and fifty copies, ten of which are on vellum. The execution of the whole of this noble undertaking is such as reflects the highest credit on the learned editor, and on his printers, Messrs. R. and A. Taylor.

C. *The Codex Ephremi* or *Ephræmi.*

4. Codex Ephræmi Syri Rescriptus: sive Fragmenta Novi Testamenti, e Codice Græco Parisiensi celeberrimo, quinti ut videtur post Christum sæculi, eruit atque edidit Constantinus TISCHENDORF. Lipsiæ, 1843. Folio.

Of this precious manuscript an account is given in the former part of this vol. p. 166. *seq.*; and Dr. Tischendorf has conferred no small favour on the students and lovers of biblical literature by this splendid fac-simile edition of the text of one of the most ancient manuscripts containing the Holy Scriptures in the Greek language. The prolegomena of Prof. Tischendorf contain a description of the manuscript, which he is of opinion was written probably at Alexandria, or certainly in Egypt, whence it was carried from Constantinople into Italy, and thence to Paris. Four different sorts of writing are discoverable in this manuscript, viz. 1. The most ancient (containing the Septuagint version and the Greek Testament), which the editor is of opinion was written in the fifth century; 2. The writing of the first corrector, whom he conjectures to have been a native of Palestine, and whose readings for the most part agree with those of the Constantinopolitan recension; 3. The writing of the second corrector, who lived at Constantinople, and whose readings altogether agree with those of the Constantinopolitan recension; and 4. The writing of the Syriac treatises of Ephrem, deacon of the church at Edessa, who is most generally known by the name of Ephrem the Syrian; to make room for whose productions, the most ancient writing was erased, in the thirteenth century, yet not so completely but that its readings could be and were collated, first for Küster's edition of Dr. Mill's Greek Testament, and subsequently with great accuracy for Wetstein's edition. After the original writing had been chemically restored, Tischendorf, with persevering labour and industry, which are beyond all praise, rendered this precious manuscript accessible to all biblical scholars by his beautifully executed transcript of the New Testament portion, in uncial or capital letters. It fills three hundred and six pages, which exactly agree with those of the original manuscript, the contractions and punctuation of which are accurately given. An Appendix of fifty pages contains the readings which have proceeded from the first and second correctors, with critical remarks on them. These critical observations are of great importance, and well deserve the attention of future editors of the Greek Testament. The limits necessarily prescribed to this notice do not admit of any detail of the readings contained in this Appendix. With respect, however, to the much litigated question whether ΘΣ (who) or ΘΕΟΣ (God) is the reading in 1 Tim. iii. 16., Dr. Tischendorf discovered the traces of the transverse line of the Θ in OΣ or ΘΣ in the Codex Ephræmi, as now brought to light, though it had escaped the researches of Wetstein and Griesbach. He is of opinion that both this transverse line and the mark of abbreviation above $\overline{\Theta\Sigma}$ proceeded *a secundâ manu*, that is, from the second corrector, who

lived in the ninth century; and he further states his opinion, after a careful collation of the Alexandrian manuscript in the British Museum, that ΟΣ was the reading of it as well as of the codex rescriptus Ephræmi. (Proleg. pp. 39—42. Excursus de 1 ad Tim. iii. 16.) A fac-simile engraving of the Codex Ephræmi concludes this volume. the typographical execution of which reflects the highest honour on its publisher, M. Bernhard Tauchnitz, Jun., of Leipzig.

4*. Codex Ephræmi Syri Rescriptus: sive Fragmenta Veteris Testamenti e Codice Græco Parisiensi celeberrimo, quinti ut videtur post Christum sæculi, eruit atque edidit Constantinus TISCHENDORF. Lipsiæ, 1845. Folio.

Forty-three folios of the Codex Ephræmi (containing fragments of the books of Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon, and of the apocryphal books of the Wisdom of Solomon and of the Wisdom of Sirach,) have been decyphered by Dr. Tischendorf, and fill one hundred and forty pages of his fac-simile edition of these fragments. In an Appendix of thirty-six pages he has given a comparison of the Readings of the Codex Ephræmi with the Readings, for the most part, of the *textus receptus* of the Septuagint Version, and with other critical documents; and also an explanation of some passages of the Codex Ephræmi, which were either difficult to decypher or were inaccurately written. A fac-simile engraving of the manuscript concludes this volume, which is executed in the same beautiful manner as the Fragments of the New Testament. For the convenience of purchasers, who may wish to bind Dr. Tischendorf's two publications in one volume, he has given a general title-page to the whole work.

D. *The Codex Bezæ.*

5. Codex Theodori Bezæ Cantabrigiensis, Evangelia et Acta Apostolorum complectens, quadratis literis, Græco-Latinus. Academia auspicante venerandæ has vetustatis reliquias, summâ qua fide potuit, adumbravit, expressit, edidit, codicis historiam præfixit, notasque adjecit, Thomas KIPLING, S.T.P. Coll. Div. Joan. nuper socius. Cantabrigiæ, e Prelo Academico, impensis Academiæ, 1793. 2 vols. folio.

This fac-simile of the Codex Bezæ (which manuscript is described above, p. 170. *seq.*) is executed with the utmost typographical splendour. In a preface of twenty-eight pages, the learned editor discusses the high antiquity of the manuscript; its nature and excellence; its migrations: the various collations of it which have been made at different times; and concludes with a very brief description of the manuscript itself, and an *Index Capitum*. To this succeeds the text of the manuscript, which is divided into two parts or volumes; the first ending with page 412., and the second containing pages 413. to 828. Opposite to the modern supplement, which concludes the Gospels on page 657., is the end of the Latin version of Saint John's third Epistle. Pages 829. to 854. contain Dr. Kipling's notes. The impression of this fac-simile was limited to two hundred and fifty copies; and it has often sold for six or eight guineas, according to the condition and binding of the copies. Dr. Kipling's fac-simile was criticised, with great severity, in the Monthly Review, (N. S.) vol. xii. pp. 241—246. And his preface was attacked, in no very courteous manner, in a pamphlet entitled "*Remarks on Dr. Kipling's Preface to Beza. Part the First. By Thomas Edwards, LL.D.*" 8vo. 1793. No second part ever appeared.

Although the execution of this noble undertaking did not answer the expectations of some learned men, in consequence of which it was held in comparatively little estimation for many years, yet its value is now more justly appreciated. "A critic of the first celebrity, who would have gladly seized an opportunity of exposing Dr. Kipling, was unable to detect the smallest error in the text. Porson himself collated the printed copy with the original manuscript, and the only fault he could detect was in a *single* letter of the margin. This fact must surely place the value of Dr. Kipling's publication far beyond the reach of controversy." (Brit. Crit. vol. xi. p. 619.)

E. *The Codex Laudianus.*

6. Acta Apostolorum Græco-Latina, Literis Majusculis, è Codice Laudiano characteribus uncialibus exarato et in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adservato, descripsit edidit que Tho. HEARNIUS, A.M. Oxoniensis, qui et Symbolum Apostolorum ex eodem codice subjunxit. Oxonii, è Theatro Sheldoniano, 1715. 8vo.

The Codex Laudianus, of which this edition is a transcript, is described in p. 187. *seq.*, where a fac-simile of this manuscript is given. This is the scarcest of all Mr. Hearne's publications; the impression having been limited to one hundred and twenty copies, at *ten* shillings each. A copy was sold at the auction of the Rev. Dr. Heath's Library, in 1810, for the sum of thirteen pounds two shillings: it now adorns the very valuable library of the Writers to the Signet at Edinburgh. Another copy sold at the auction of Mr. Gough's library for twenty pounds. A copy of this very rare edition is in the Library of the British Museum. [As to the prices of more recently sold copies, see p. 189.]

G. *The Codex Boernerianus.*

7. XIII. Epistolarum Pauli Codex Græcus, cum Versione Latinâ vetere, vulgo Ante-Hieronymianâ, olim Boernerianus, nunc Bibliothecæ Electoralis Dresdensis,

summâ fide et diligentiâ transcriptus et editus à C. F. Matthæi. Meissæ, 1791 (reissued in 1818); 4to.

Of the Codex Boernerianus, of which manuscript this publication is a copy, an account has been given in pp. 199, 200. The transcript is said to be executed with great accuracy, and is illustrated with two plates.

Z. *The Codex Rescriptus of the Gospel of Saint Matthew, in Trinity College, Dublin.*

8. Evangelium secundum Matthæum, ex Codice Rescripto in Bibliotheca Collegii SSæ. Trinitatis juxta Dublin: Descriptum Opera et Studio Johannis Barrett, S.T.P. Soc. Sen. Trin. Coll. Dublin. Cui adjungitur Appendix Collationem Codicis Montfortiani complectens. Dublini: Ædibus Academicis excudebat R. E. Mercier, Academiæ Typographus, 1801. 4to.

The Prolegomena fill fifty-two pages, and comprise, 1. A description of the manuscript itself, with an account of its age, and the mode of collating it adopted by the learned editor; and 2. An elaborate dissertation reconciling the apparent discrepancies between the genealogies of Jesus Christ as recorded by the Evangelists Matthew and Luke. The fragments of the Codex Rescriptus are then exhibited in *sixty-four* fac-simile plates, and are also represneted (but not correctly) in as many pages in the common Greek small type. This truly elegant volume concludes with a collation of the Codex Montfortianus with Wetstein's edition of the New Testament, which occupies thirty-five pages. An account of this manuscript is given in the first part of this volume, pp. 180. *seq.* [See as to its chemical restoration and re-collation by Tregelles, p. 181., and "Account of the Printed Text," p. 167.]

Δ. *The Codex San-Gallensis.*

9. Antiquissimus Quatuor Evangeliorum Canonicorum Codex San-Gallensis Græco-Latinus interlinearis, nunquam adhuc collatus. Ad similitudinem ipsius libri manu scripti accuratissime delineandum, et lapidibus exprimendum curavit H. C. M. Rettig. Turici, 1836. 4to.

This is a beautifully lithographed copy of a valuable manuscript of the four Gospels, written in the ninth or tenth century, and which is described in page 196. *seq. suprà.* The prolegomena of the editor detail the plan adopted in his publication, and the external appearance of the manuscript; which, he shows, must have been written in Switzerland, and by several copyists. Its affinity with the Codex Boernerianus of the Epistles is then proved. One chapter is devoted to the consideration of the confusion of letters occurring in the Codex San-Gallensis; another, to the marginal notes written on the manuscript; and a third, to its country, and to the age when it was written. The last chapter of the prolegomena contains a copy of the Poem of Hilary, Bishop of Arles, upon the Gospels, which is prefixed to the Codex San-Gallensis. The fac-simile then follows; and thirty-four closely printed pages of annotations terminate this carefully edited and little known volume, a copy of which is in the Library of the British Museum.

[P. and Q. *The Codices Guelpherbytani.*

10. Ulphilæ versionem Gothicam nonnullorum capitum Epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos .... una cum variis variæ literaturæ monimentis huc usque ineditis ... eruit F. A. Knittel. Brunswick, [1762]. 4to.

These palimpsest fragments are described above, p. 179. Knittel edited all that he could read of the text, and gave good fac-similes of the ancient writing.

Prof. Tischendorf has recently announced his intention of re-editing the text of these valuable palimpsests.]

[T. *Codex Borgianus.*

11. Fragmentum Evangelii S. Johannis Græco-Copto-Thebaicum Sæculi IV. ..... opera et studio F. Augustini Antonii Georgii. Romæ, 1789. 4to.

These fragments are described above, p. 180. Here may also be noticed the Fragmentum Woideanum mentioned on the same page, as published in Woide's Appendix to the Codex Alexandrinus.]

[H. *Fragmenta Coisliniana.*

12. These fragments, described above, p. 194., are contained in Montfaucon's "Bibliotheca Coisliniana," fol. 1715.]

[L. *Codex Regius*, 62.

13. Monumenta Sacra Inedita ..... eruit atque edidit Constantinus Tischendorf. Leipsic, 1846. 4to.

L. is described above, p. 194. Its text occupies the greater part of this magnificent volume. As the edition does not represent the MS. page for page, and as the MS. is in *two* columns, there

is a great inconvenience in *using* the edition; for after part of the first column of a page has been read, it is needful to turn over the leaf to complete it, and then *to turn back again* in order to begin the next column: this inconvenience did not strike the editor until his attention was called to it after the work had been published. Such inconveniences might be easily avoided in editing the text of MSS.]

[N. (J. N. Γ.) *Codex Purpureus.*

14. Tischendorf's Monumenta Sacra contains also the text of these fragments preserved in the Vatican, in the British Museum, and in the Imperial Library at Vienna: they are described above, p. 177. *seq.*]

[Θ. *Codex Tischendorfianus.*

15. Described above, p. 204.

Y. *Fragmenta Barberina.*

16. Described, p. 204.

W. *Fragmenta Parisiensia.*

17. Described, p. 204.

F. (or F^a). *Fragmenta Coisliniana.*

18. Described, p. 205.

The text of the above portions of four MSS. are given in Tischendorf's Monumenta Sacra: the volume also contains a transcript of B of the Revelation (see above, p. 206.) attempted to be made in spite of considerable difficulties.]

[D. *Codex Claromontanus.*

19. Codex Claromontanus sive Epistulæ Pauli omnes Græce et Latine ex codice Parisiensi celeberrimo ..... edidit Constantinus TISCHENDORF. Leipsic, 1852. Large 4to.

This MS. is described above, p. 190. The fac-simile edition is very beautiful, and it appears to be very well executed.]

[II. *Fragmenta Palimpsesta Tischendorfiana.*

20. Fragmenta Sacra Palimpsesta .... edidit Ænoth. Friderico Constantinus TISCHENDORF. [Also published under the title, "Monumenta Sacra Inedita, Nova Collectio. Volumen Primum."] Leipsic, 1855. 4to.

The first part of this volume contains the palimpsest fragments described above, p. 184. *seq.*]

[*Fragmentum Uffenbachianum. Fragmentum Harleianum.*

21. These fragments are described above, pp. 206, 7. The intention of Tischendorf to publish them (there mentioned) has since been carried out in his "Anecdota Sacra et Profana." Leipsic, 1855. 4to.

Reference may here be made to the Nitrian fragments (p. 186.), which were announced as prepared for publication by Tregelles, and subsequently by Tischendorf: the edition of the latter may soon be expected to appear; as to that of the former, and whether it will be published or not, mention has been made sufficiently above (p. 184.).]

[*Codex Friderico-Augustanus.*

22. Codex Friderico-Augustanus sive Fragmenta Veteris Testamenti e codice Græco omnium qui in Europa supersunt facile antiquissimo, in oriente detexit, in patriam attulit ad modum Codicis edidit Constantinus TISCHENDORF. Lipsiæ, 1846. Oblong folio.

This MS. contains portions of the LXX. translation of the Old Testament; it was discovered by Tischendorf in the East, and it is now deposited in the University Library at Leipsic. It consists of forty-three leaves of beautifully fine vellum; on each page the writing is in four columns; the whole of the fac-simile edition is most beautifully and carefully lithographed, so that it may be regarded as the best representative that has ever been published of an ancient MS. in the condition in which it has come down to us.

A small fragment of this MS. which was afterwards obtained was published in Tischendorf's "Fragmenta Sacra Palimpsesta," mentioned above. That work also contains the following portions of the LXX. from Codices Palimpsesti Tischendorfiani:—

23. Fragments of the Book of Numbers.

24. Fragments of Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, and Judges.

25. Fragments of the second and third of Kings.
26. Fragments of Isaiah.

Also from a MS. in the British Museum:—

27. Fragments of the Psalms.

Besides these, editions of the text of different MSS., some *very small portions*, have been published, and also parts of Lectionaries.]

SECT. IV.

PRINCIPAL EDITIONS OF THE GREEK TESTAMENT

BESIDES the works of Le Long and Masch, the history of the various editions of the Greek Testament is treated at considerable length by Pritius[1], by Dr. Mill and Wetstein in the Prolegomena to their critical editions of it, by Michaelis and his learned annotator Bishop Marsh[2], Dr. Griesbach[3], Professors Beck[4], and Harles[5], by Mr. Butler[6], and by Dr. Clarke[7], by Reuss[8], and by Tregelles.[9] To their labours, which have been consulted for this section, the reader is once for all referred, who is desirous of studying this important branch of the literary history of the sacred writings.

The following table exhibits the four principal *Standard-Text-Editions* of the Greek Testament, together with the principal editions which are founded upon them[10]:—

1. ERASMUS. 1516-19-22-27-35.

Aldi. Fol. Gr. 1518.—*Gerbelii.* Qto. Gr. 1521.—*Cephalæi.* Oct. Gr. 1524. 1534.—*Bebelii.* Oct. 1524. Gr. 1531-35.—(*Colinæi.* Oct. Gr. 1534.)—*Platteri.* Oct. Gr. 1538-40-43.—*Van Ess.* Oct. Gr. Lat. 1827.

2. COMPLUTENSIAN. 1514.

Plantin. Oct. Gr. 1564-73-74-90-91-1601-12. Fol. Gr. et Lat. 1572. Oct. 1574-83. Fol. 1584.—*Geneva.* Gr. 1609. 24mo. 1619, 1620. Qto.—*Goldhagen.* 1753. Oct. Gr.—*Gratz.* Gr. Lat. 1821. Oct.

3. ROBERT STEPHENS. 1546-49-50.

Oporini. Duod. Gr. 1552.—*Wechel.* Fol. Gr. 1597. Duod. 1600. Fol. 1601. Duod. 1629.—*Imp. Nicolai Dulcis.* Fol. Gr. 1687.—*Edit Regia.* Fol. Gr. 1642.—*Crispin.* Duod. Gr. 1553-63-1604. Duod. Gr. et Lat. 1612-22.—*Froschoveri.* Oct. Gr. 1559-66.—*Brylinger.* Oct. Gr. 1563.—*Voegelii.* Oct. Gr. 1564.—*Vignonii.* Duod. Gr. 1584-87-1613-15.—*Bezæ.* Fol. Gr. et Lat. 1565-82-89-98-1642. *Waltoni.* Fol. Gr. Lat. 1657.—*Millii.* Fol. Gr. 1707.—*Kusteri.* Fol. Gr. 1710-23.—*Birchii.* Gr. 1788. Fol. et Qto.—*Hardy.* Oct. Gr. 1768. 1776. 1819—*Valpy.* Gr. 1816; 1826. Oct.—*Lloyd.* Gr. 18mo. 1828. 1830.—*Greenfield.* Gr. 48mo. 1829.—*Bloomfield.* Gr. 1832-36-39-41. Oct.—*Cambridge.* 1834. 12mo.—*Trollope.* Gr. 1837. Oct.—*G. E. Grinfield.* Gr. 1843. Oct.

4. ELZEVIR. 1624-33, &c.

Boecleri. Oct. Gr. 1645.—*Curcellæi.* Oct. Gr. 1658-75-85-99.—*Felii.* Oct. Gr. 1675.—*Konigii.* Oct. Gr. 1697-1702.—*Gregorii.* Fol. Gr. 1703.—*G. D. T. M. D.* Oct. Gr. 1711-35.—*Wetstenii.* Fol. Gr. 1751-2.—*Birrii.* 1749. Oct.—*White,* 1808. Oct.—*Gaillard.* Duod. Gr. 1813.—*Basil.* 1825. Oct.—*Lond.* 1827. 48mo.[11]

[1] Introd. ad Lect. Nov. Test., pp. 403—423.
[2] Introduction to the New Test., vol. ii. part i. pp. 429—494.; part ii. pp. 844—885. Bishop Marsh's Divinity Lectures, part i. pp. 98—110.; part ii. pp. 1—46.
[3] Nov. Test., vol. i. prolegom. pp. iii.—xxxix.
[4] Monogrammata Hermeneutices Novi Testamenti, pp. 110—115.
[5] Brevior Notitia Literaturæ Græcæ, pp. 656—664., and also vol. iv. of his improved edition of Fabricius's Bibliotheca Græca, pp. 839—856.
[6] Horæ Biblicæ, vol. i. pp. 150—169.
[7] Bibliographical Dictionary, vol. vi. pp. 168—203.
[8] Geschichte d. Heil. Schriften Neuen Testaments, § 399. *seq.*
[9] Account of the Printed Text.
[10] This table is taken from Masch and Boerner's edition of Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra, and from Dr. Dibdin's Introduction to the Knowledge of the Classics, vol. i. pp. 55. 3rd edit., with the requisite corrections and additions.
[11] [It must be observed, that when editions are said to follow either of these leading texts, it must be understood in a *general* sense; for even the Elzevir text has rarely been reprinted without *some* alterations.]

The editions of Bengel, Bowyer, Griesbach, Alter, Harwood, Knappe and Theile, Tittmann and Hahn, Boissonade, Lachmann, Scholz, Naebe, Goeschen, Tischendorf, and Alford, are not formed on the text of either of the above editions.

Of the various editions of the Greek Testament, which have issued from the press, the following more particularly claim the notice of the biblical student: —

1. Novum Instrumetū omne diligenter ab ERASMO Roterodamo recognitum et emendatum. Basileæ, 1516, 1519, 1522, 1527, 1535, folio. Gr. Lat. edit. princeps.

Erasmus had the distinguished honour of giving to the world the *first* edition of the *entire* New Testament in 1516.[1] It was reprinted in 1519, 1522, 1527, and 1535. The first edition is of considerable rarity, and was executed with great haste, in the short space of six months. Some of the manuscripts which he consulted are preserved in the public library at Basle, but none of them are of very great antiquity. For the first edition he had only one *mutilated* manuscript of the Apocalypse (since totally lost); he therefore filled up the chasms with his own Greek translations from the Latin Vulgate. He also made use of readings found in the quotations of the Greek Fathers. The publication of this edition, in which he omitted the controverted clause in 1 John v. 7. because it was not in any of his manuscripts, involved him in a literary contest with the divines of Louvain, and with Stunica, the most learned of the Complutensian editors.[2] The editions of 1516, 1519, and 1522, were published *before* he saw the Complutensian Polyglott, from which he corrected the edition of 1527, particularly in the Apocalypse. Erasmus's editions were repeatedly printed after his death, particularly at Basle, Frankfort, and Leipsic. All his editions are much esteemed, notwithstanding their faults. A copy of the first edition, *on vellum*, is in the Cathedral library at York.

2. Novum Testamentum, Græce et Latine. Compluti, 1514. Folio.

This forms the fifth volume of the Complutensian Polyglott noticed in p. 714. *infrà*. Though it bears the date of 1514, yet as it was not allowed to be sold generally until 1522, before which time Erasmus had printed three editions of the New Testament, it is in fact entitled only to the second place in our list. The Greek text of this edition is printed with a peculiar accentuation, see p. 122. The characters seem to have been cut in imitation of those found in manuscripts of the twelfth century; and were probably taken from some manuscripts of that age, which were consulted by the Complutensian editors. The Complutensian edition contains the celebrated text relative to the heavenly witnesses in 1 John, v. 7, 8. Wetstein, Semler, and other Protestant critics, charged the editors with having altered the text, in order to make it conformable to the Latin Vulgate; but this charge as having any *general* application has been refuted by Goeze and Griesbach. Their vindication is pronounced satisfactory by Michaelis (who considers the Apocalypse to be the best edited part of the Complutensian Greek Testament); and also by his annotator, Bishop Marsh, who states that this charge, *in general*, is not true. For though he is of opinion, that in some few single passages — as in Matt. x. 25. and 1 John v. 7. — they follow the Vulgate in opposition to all the Greek manuscripts, he has ascertained, from actual collation, that there are more than two hundred passages in the Catholic Epistles, in which the Complutensian Greek text differs from the text of the Vulgate, as printed in the Complutensian edition. The manuscripts used for this edition are characterised as being very ancient and very correct, but this assertion is contradicted by internal evidence (see p. 714. *infrà*); and it is a most remarkable fact, that "wherever modern Greek manuscripts, manuscripts written in the thirteenth, fourteenth, or fifteenth centuries, differ from the most ancient Greek manuscripts, and from the quotations of the early Greek Fathers, in characteristic readings, the Complutensian Greek Testament almost invariably agrees with the modern, in opposition to the ancient manuscripts. There cannot be a doubt, therefore, that the Complutensian text was formed from modern manuscripts alone." (Bishop Marsh's Divinity Lectures, part i. p. 95. [p. 96. ed. 1842.]) The researches of the Danish professor Birch have shown that the Complutensian editors have made no use whatever of the Codex Vaticanus, though they boasted of valuable manuscripts being sent to them from the Vatican library.

3. Novum Testamentum, Græce. Argentorati, apud Wolphium Cephalæum, 1524. 8vo.

A rare and valuable edition, which was carried through the press by John Lonicerus. The edition of Gerbelius, printed at Hagenau (Hagenoæ) in 1521, in quarto, has been followed in this impression of the Greek Testament; which is divided into chapters, but not into verses [the invention of which is more recent]. Mark xi. 26. and the disputed clause in 1 John v. 7, 8. are both omitted.

---

[1] *The first portions ever printed* are noticed above, p. 117., fragments appended to a Greek Psalter, Venice, 1486. The first six chapters of St. John were executed by Aldus Manutius at Venice, in 1504; a copy is in the Royal Library of Wurtemburg at Stuttgart. The whole of St. John's Gospel was said to have been published at Tübingen, in 1514, but this was really only the first fourteen verses.

[2] In his disputes with Stunica, Erasmus professed his readiness to insert this verse if it were found in a single manuscript. Though Stunica could not produce one, yet as it was afterwards discovered in the Codex Britannicus (or Montfortianus), a manuscript of no great antiquity, Erasmus felt himself bound to insert it, and accordingly admitted it into his third edition of 1522.

4. Simonis COLINÆI.—Ἡ Καινη Διαθηκη. Ἐν Λευτετια των παρησιων, παρα τω Σιμωνι Κολιναω, δεκεμβριου μηνος δευτερου φθινοντος, ετει απο της Θεογονιας α. φ. λ. δ. (Paris, 1534. 8vo.)

An edition of singular rarity, beauty, and correctness: it follows in part the text of the Erasmian and Complutensian editions. Some manuscripts were also employed. Colinæus was a very careful printer, and his edition is highly esteemed for accuracy.

5. Novum Testamentum, Græce. Lutetiæ, ex officina Roberti STEPHANI Typographi, Typis Regiis. 1546, 12mo. 1549, 12mo. 1550, folio.

The FIRST of these editions is usually called the *O mirificam Edition*, from the introductory sentence of the preface, *O mirificam regis nostri optimi et præstantissimi principis liberalitatem.* It has always been admired for the neatness of its typography, as well as for its correctness, *only twelve* errata (it is said) having been discovered in it. Robert Stephens compiled this edition from the Complutensian, and the edition printed at Basil, in 1531, and again in 1535, by John Bebelius (which last followed the editions of Erasmus, and that of Aldus, printed in 1518,) together with the fifth edition of Erasmus according to Griesbach, and from fifteen manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris. Griesbach (tom. i. proleg. pp. xiv.—xxxi.) has given a long and critical examination of this edition, and of the manuscripts consulted by Stephens for his three editions. Stephens's first edition differs from the Complutensian text in 581 instances, exclusive of the Apocalypse, in which he closely follows Erasmus. The SECOND edition closely resembles the first in its exterior appearance, but differs from it in 67 places; of which four are doubtful readings, 37 not genuine, and 26 genuine; so that this latter edition has eleven readings of less authority than the former, to which, however, it is preferred on account of its greater rarity and correctness. It is this second edition which has the remarkable erratum *pulres* for *plures*, in the last line but one of the first page of the preface, occasioned by the transposition of a single letter. The THIRD edition of 1550, in folio, is a chef-d'œuvre of splendid typography. It was once supposed to have been formed entirely on the authority of Greek manuscripts, which Stephens professes, in his preface, to have collated for that purpose, a second, and even a third time. But this opinion could hardly have been formed by those who knew the book itself. So far, however, was this from being the case, that the researches of critics have shown that, except in the Apocalypse, it is scarcely anything more than a reprint of Erasmus's fifth edition. Though its value as a critical edition is thus considerably reduced, the singular beauty of its typography (which has rarely been exceeded in modern times) has caused it to be considered as a distinguished ornament to any library. Robert Stephens reprinted the Greek New Testament at Geneva in 1551, in 8vo., with the Vulgate and Erasmus's Latin versions, and parallel passages in the margin. This is the scarcest of all his editions, and is remarkable for being the first edition of the New Testament divided into verses. (Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. pp. 446. 448. part ii. pp. 848, 849. Griesbach, Nov. Test. p. xv.) The text of Stephens's *third* edition was beautifully printed at the Cambridge University (or Pitt) Press, in 1836. It is described, *infrà*, p. 705. No. 67.

6. Novum Testamentum, cum versione Latina veteri, et nova Theodori BEZÆ, Genevæ, folio, 1565, 1576, 1582, 1589, 1598. Cantabrigiæ, 1642, folio.

The New Testament of 1565 is the first of the editions conducted by Theodore Beza, who was a native of France and a Protestant, and fled to Switzerland on account of his religion. The basis of his text was the third edition of Robert Stephens, printed in 1550, from which he departed whenever he thought he had good reasons for such departure. "The critical materials which he employed were for the most part the same as those which had been used by Robert Stephens. But he had likewise the advantage of that very ancient manuscript of the Gospels and the Acts, which he afterwards sent to the University of Cambridge, and which is known by the name of the Codex Bezæ. He had also a very ancient manuscript of St. Paul's Epistles, which he procured from Clermont in France, and which is known by the name of the Codex Claromontanus. Lastly, he had the advantage of the Syriac version, which had been lately published by Tremellius, with a close Latin translation. But the use which he made of his materials was not such as might have been expected from a man of Beza's learning. Instead of applying his various readings to the emendation of the text, he used them chiefly for polemical purposes in his notes. In short, he amended Stephens's text in not more than fifty places; and even these emendations were not always founded on proper authority." (Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part i. p. 109. [ed. 1842. p. 110.]) Beza's *third* edition of 1582 is considered as the most complete of those printed under his own eye; but all his editions have the Vulgate Latin version, and a new one of his own, together with philological, doctrinal, and practical notes. The reprint of Beza's Testament, at Cambridge in 1642, with the addition of Joachim Camerarius's notes, is considered as the *editio optima.*

The "critical labours" of Beza "claim an especial notice from the deference paid to them by the translators of the English authorised version; who though they did not implicitly follow Beza's text, yet have received his readings in many passages, where he differs from Stephens." (Scrivener's Supplement to the Authorised English Version of the New Testament, p. 7.) Mr. S. has specified fifty-six instances in which our translation agrees with Beza's Edition of the New Testament, against that of Stephens; and twenty instances in which our translation agrees with Stephens against Beza. (Ibid, pp. 7, 8.)

7. Novum Testamentum Græcè, Lugduni Batavorum. Ex officina ELZEVIRIANA, 1624. 12mo.

This is the first of the celebrated Elzevir editions, and deserves (says Bishop Marsh) to be

particularly noticed, because the text of the Greek Testament, which had fluctuated in the preceding editions, acquired in this a consistency, and seemed, during upwards of a century, to be exposed to no future alterations. The text of this edition has been the basis of almost every subsequent impression. Wetstein adapted his various readings to it; and it has acquired the appellation of "*Textus Receptus.*" "The person who conducted this edition (for Elzevir was only the printer) is at present unknown; but whoever he was, his critical exertions were confined within a narrow compass. The text of this edition was copied from Beza's text, except in about fifty places; and in these places the readings were borrowed partly from the various readings in Stephens's margin, partly from other editions, but certainly not from Greek manuscripts. The *textus receptus*, therefore, or the text in common use, was copied, with a few exceptions, from the text of Beza. Beza himself closely followed Stephens; and Stephens (namely, in his third and chief edition) copied solely from the fifth edition of Erasmus, except in the Revelation, where he followed sometimes Erasmus, sometimes the Complutensian edition. The text therefore in daily use resolves itself at last into the Complutensian and the Erasmian editions." (Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part *i.* p. 110. [ed. 1842, p. 111.])

The Elzevir edition of 1624 was reprinted at Leyden in 1633, and a third time in 1641, at Amsterdam in 1656, 1662, 1670, and 1678, and also at Sedan, in 1628.—Of these various impressions, the Leyden edition of 1633 is the best and in most request: it has the text divided into separate verses. The edition printed by Jannon, at Sedan, has long been regarded as a typographical curiosity. It is, however, greatly inferior in point of execution to the beautifully small and clear edition printed by Bleau at Amsterdam in 1638. (Brunet, Manuel, tom. iii. pp. 432, 433. Dibdin's Introd. to the Classics, vol. *i.* pp. 136, 137.) Good copies of these miniature editions are scarce and dear; but they are both surpassed in smallness of size and in typographical neatness by the London edition of 1827, published by Mr. Pickering.[1] See No. 53. p. 699. *infrà.*

8. Novum Testamentum, studio et labore Stephani CURCELLÆI. Amstelædami, 1658, 12mo. 1675, 1685, 12mo. 1699, 8vo. Gr.

All the editions of Curcellæus or Courcelles are in great repute for their beauty and accuracy: the text is formed on that of the Elzevirs. He collected the greatest number of various readings to be found in any edition of the New Testament prior to that in the sixth volume of Bishop Walton's Polyglott. These various lections are given from a collation of manuscripts and printed editions, and are partly at the foot of the page, and partly at the end of the Acts and St. Paul's Epistles. The authorities are not given, however, and conjectures are introduced. Curcellæus has also given a valuable collection of parallel passages. The edition of 1675 contains a prologue or preface to St. Paul's Epistles, which Boecler had printed a few years before from a manuscript brought from the East by Stephen Gerlachius, and differs from the first edition only in having all the various readings placed at the foot of the page. The third and fourth editions were printed after the death of Curcellæus, and differ from the second only in having the text printed in columns. In 1695, John Gottlieb Moller, a divine of Rostock, published a dissertation against the Curcellæan editions, entitled *Curcellæus in editione originalis N. T. textus variantium lectionum et parallelorum Scripturæ Locorum additamentis vestita, socinizans.* Rumpæus (Com. Crit. ad Nov. Test. p. 280.) has charged Courcelles with unnecessarily multiplying various readings, and making them from conjecture, in order to subserve the Socinian scheme. Michaelis admits that these charges are not wholly unfounded. The passages noticed by Rumpæus are 1 John v. 7.; John x. 30., and xvii. 22., concerning the doctrine of the Trinity; Rom. ix. 5., 1 John v. 20., and John xvii. 3., concerning the Son of God; and Rom. iii. 25., Matt. xxvi. 39. 42., concerning the satisfaction made by Jesus Christ.

9. Novum Testamentum, Gr. Lat. in the fifth volume of the London Polyglott, which is described in pp. 715—717. *infrà.*

This edition is deserving of particular notice, as being the first edition of the New Testament which is furnished with a complete critical apparatus. The text is taken from that of Robert Stephens's folio edition of 1550, without *intentional* alteration, whose various readings Bishop Walton has incorporated in his sixth volume, together with the various readings of the Alexandrian Manuscript; and in addition to them he has given a collection of extracts from sixteen Greek manuscripts, which were collated under the direction of Archbishop Usher. "They are described at the head of the collation in the sixth volume by Walton himself; and a further account of them is given in the Prolegomena to Mill's Greek Testament (§ 1372—1396.), and in Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament (vol. ii. chap. viii.). But the extracts from the Greek manuscripts were neither the sole nor the chief materials which the Polyglott afforded for the emendation of the Greek text. In addition to the Latin Vulgate, it contains the Syriac, the Arabic, and the Ethiopic versions of the New Testament, with the Persian in the Gospels. And these oriental versions are not only arranged in the most convenient manner, for the purpose of comparing them with the Greek, but they are accompanied with literal Latin translations, that even they, who are unacquainted with the oriental languages, might still have recourse to them for various readings, though indeed with less security, as every translator is liable to make mistakes."—(Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part ii. p. 5. [ed. 1842, p. 116.])

---

[1] [From the variations of the texts of Stephens (1550) and of the Elzevirs not having been accurately distinguished, few reprints of the Elzevir (if any), with the exception of Pickering's, are really free from some Stephanic readings.]

10. ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΝΗΣ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ. Novi Testamenti Libri Omnes. Accesserunt Parallela Scripturæ Loca, necnon variantes Lectiones ex plus 100 MSS. Codicibus et antiquis versionibus collectæ. Oxonii, è Theatro Sheldoniano. 1675. 8vo.

This edition was superintended by the learned Dr. John FELL, Bishop of Oxford, whose design in giving it to the public was, to remove the apprehensions which had been raised in the minds of many persons ignorant of criticism relative to the supposed uncertainty of the Greek text in the New Testament, by the great number of various lections contained in Bishop Walton's Polyglott. To show how little the integrity of the text was affected by them, Bishop Fell printed them under the text, that the reader might the more easily compare them. To the readings copied from the London Polyglott, he added those quoted by Curcellæus, and the Barberini readings, also Marshall's extracts from the Coptic [Memphitic] and Gothic versions, and the readings of twelve Bodleian, four Dublin, and two Paris manuscripts. As Bishop Fell's edition sells at a low price, it may be substituted for the more expensive critical editions of the New Testament by those who cannot purchase them. The text is formed according to that of Robert Stephens, and the Elzevirs; though Wetstein has accused it of retaining the errors of the former, as well as of some of Walton's Polyglott. Bishop Fell's edition was reprinted at Leipsic in 1697 and 1702, and at Oxford in 1703, in folio. This magnificent edition, which takes its name from the editor, Dr. Gregory, contains no accession of critical materials, and sells at a low price.

11. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Græcum, cum lectionibus variantibus MSS. Exemplarium, Versionum, Editionum, SS. Patrum et Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, et in easdem notis. Studio et labore Joannis MILLII, S.T.P. Oxonii, e Theatro Sheldoniano. 1707. Folio.

The labour of thirty years was devoted to this edition by Dr. Mill, who finished it only fourteen days before his death. The text, which is that of Robert Stephens's edition of 1550, is beautifully printed without intentional change[1]; and the various readings and parallel passages are placed below. Dr. Mill has inserted all the previously existing collections of various readings; he collated several original editions, procured extracts from hitherto uncollated Greek MSS., and revised and augmented the extracts from the Gothic and Coptic versions which had appeared in Bishop Fell's edition; and added numerous readings from other ancient versions, and from the quotations of the New Testament in the writings of the Fathers. The prolegomena contain a treasure of sacred criticism. Michaelis observes that, "notwithstanding those of Wetstein, they still retain their original value, for they contain a great deal of matter which is not in Wetstein; and of the matter which is common to both, some things are more clearly explained by Mill." This edition was reprinted by Küster at Rotterdam, in 1710, in folio, with the readings of twelve additional MSS., some of which had been previously, but imperfectly, collated. Whatever readings were given in Mill's appendix, as coming too late for insertion under the text, were in this second edition transferred to their proper places. In point of accuracy, however, Küster's edition is considered inferior to that of Dr. Mill. There are copies of Küster's edition, with the date of Amsterdam, 1723, in the title-page; but it is nothing more than the edition of 1710 with a new title-page. Some copies are also dated 1746. To render this edition more easy of reference, the Rev. Joseph HALLETT, jun., a learned dissenting minister, in 1728, published an Index, containing an account of the MSS. consulted by Mill and Küster; intitled *Index Librorum MSS. Græcorum et Versionum Antiquarum Novi Fœderis, quos viri eruditissimi J. Millius et L. Kusterus cum tertiâ editione Stephanicâ contulerunt.* This publication is in 8vo., and is not of common occurrence.

The various readings of Dr. Mill, amounting to 30,000, were attacked by Dr. Whitby, in 1710, in an elaborate work entitled *Examen Variantium Lectionum Johannis Millii*, with more zeal than knowledge of sacred criticism. It was afterwards annexed to Whitby's Commentary on the New Testament. Dr. W.'s arguments were applied by Anthony Collins against Divine Revelation, in his Discourse on Free-thinking; which was refuted by Dr. Bentley under the assumed title of *Phileleutherus Lipsiensis*, "whose reply," says Bishop Marsh, "has been translated into several foreign languages, and should be studied by every man who is desirous of forming just notions of biblical criticism." (Lectures, part ii. p. 13. [ed. 1842, p. 124.])

12. Dr. Edward WELLS's Greek Testament.

Between the years 1709 and 1719 the following work appeared in eleven parts:—

An Help for the more easy and clear understanding of the Holy Scripture, being the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, explained after the following method. I. The original or Greek text, amended according to the best and most ancient readings. . . . . By Edw. WELLS, D.D., Rector of Cotesbach in Leicestershire. Oxford, 1718. 4to.

The other part of the New Testament had similarly appeared as to form and plan previously.

Dr. Wells's edition deserves mention here as being the first attempt to *use* critical materials for the revision of the text; although the Greek text itself is but a small part of his "Help," which also comprehends a revised English translation, a paraphrase, and notes. Dr. Wells afterwards published a translation and paraphrase of the Old Testament; but there he did not add the original text of the sacred books.

[1] [Mill was only aware of *twelve* variations between the Stephanic and Elzevir texts; hence he or his corrector was several times misled. In this country *the text of Mill* has often been reprinted, as though it had some independent existence.]

13. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum, post priores Steph. Curcellæi et D. D. Oxoniensium labores. Cum prolegomenis. G. D. T. M. D. et notis in fine adjectis. Amstelodami, ex officina Wetsteniana. 1711; 1735. Small 8vo.

These are beautiful editions, but the second is said to be the most accurate. The editor of the *first* was Gerard Von Maestricht (*Gerardus De Trajecto Mosæ Doctor*), a syndic of the republic of Bremen; the *second* was revised by the celebrated critic J. J. Wetstein. Having been published by his relative Henry Wetstein, a bookseller of Amsterdam, these editions of the New Testament are sometimes improperly called Wetstein's; and from the name of Curcellæus being printed in the title, they are in some catalogues erroneously styled *Nov. Test. Græc. Curcellæi.*

The text is formed on the second Elzevir edition of 1633, and Curcellæus's editions. It has a very judicious selection of parallel texts, which are placed immediately under the Greek text, and below them is a selection of various readings, taken from upwards of 100 manuscripts and versions. Prefixed are prolegomena, containing an account of manuscripts and collectors of various readings, with 43 critical canons to enable the reader to determine concerning the various lections exhibited in the work (almost all of which the editor wishes him to reject); an abstract of Dr. Whitby's *Examen* above noticed; and the prefaces of Henry Wetstein, Curcellæus, and Bishop Fell. These editions are ornamented with an engraved frontispiece, copied from that of the splendid folio Paris edition of 1642, a plan of Jerusalem, an ichnograph of the Temple, and two maps. At the end there are 38 pages of critical notes, containing an examination of the most important various readings which occur in the course of the work. Michaelis does not speak very highly of the edition of 1711; but Dr. Dibdin says that, upon the whole, the edition of 1735 "may be considered as the very best critical duodecimo (rather small octavo) edition of the Greek Testament, and the biblical student will do well to procure so valuable and commodious a publication." (On the Classics, vol. i. p. 97.)[1]

14. Acta Apostolorum Græco-Latina, Literis Majusculis, e Codice Laudiano ..... descripsit ediditque Tho. Hearnius..... Oxonii e Theatro Sheldoniano, 1715. 8vo.

See a notice of this edition in page 681. No. 6. *suprà*, among the fac-simile editions of manuscripts.

15. The New Testament, in Greek and English, containing the Original Text, corrected from the authority of the most authentic Manuscripts, and a new Version, formed agreeably to the Illustrations of the most learned Cammentators and Critics. With Notes and various Readings. [By Daniel Mace.] London, 1729. 2 vols. 8vo.

This is a beautifully printed book; whose editor has altered various passages in conformity with the Arian hypothesis. His arbitrary alterations and bold criticisms were exposed by Dr. Leonard Twells in *A Critical Examination of the late New Text and Version of the Greek Testament.* London, 1732, 8vo. Michaelis and other critics, with more discretion than Twells, have also very severely and justly censured the very great liberties taken by Mace. (Introd. to N. T. vol. ii. pp. 463, 464.)

16. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Græcum. Edente Jo. Alberto Bengelio. Tubingæ, 1734. 4to. 1763. 4to.

This is an excellent edition, formed with an extraordinary degree of conscientiousness, sound judgment, and good taste, to which all subsequent critics have borne willing testimony. John Albert Bengel, or Bengelius, as he is generally called in this country, abbot of Alpirspach in the duchy (present kingdom) of Wirtemburg, was led to direct his attention to sacred criticism, in consequence of serious and anxious doubts arising from the deviations exhibited in preceding editions; and the result of his laborious researches was the edition now under consideration. The text is preceded by an *Introductio in Crisin Novi Testamenti*, and is followed by an *Epilogus* and *Appendix*.

The text is not formed on any particular edition, but is corrected and improved according to the editor's judgment; and so scrupulous was Bengel, that he studiously avoided inserting any reading which did not exist in some printed edition, except in the Apocalypse; in which book alone he inserted readings that had never been printed, because it had been printed from so few manuscripts, and in one passage had been printed by Erasmus from no manuscript whatever. Beneath the text he placed some select readings, reserving the evidence in their favour for his Apparatus Criticus. His opinion of these marginal readings he expressed by the Greek

[1] In 1720, the celebrated critic, Dr. Richard Bentley, circulated proposals for a new edition of the Greek Testament, with various lections, which was never executed. The proposals themselves are printed in the Biographia Britannica (article *Bentley*, note *K.*); and the illustrative specimen, Rev. xxii., is given in Pritius's Introd. ad Lect. Nov. Test. pp. 415—419. A detailed account of Bentley's proposed work is given in Bishop Monk's Life of Dr. B., whose critical materials for his intended edition of the Greek Testament, amounting to nineteen volumes, are preserved in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge; but Bentley left nothing in a state of preparation for the press. (Bishop Burgess's Anniversary Discourse, delivered to the Royal Society of Literature, in 1830. Appendix, p. 62.) See also Tregelles's "Account of the Printed Text," pp. 57—68.

letters α, β, γ, δ, and ε, and some few other marks. Thus, α denotes that he held the reading to be genuine; β, that its genuineness was not absolutely certain, but that the reading was still preferable to that in the text; γ, that the reading in the margin was of equal value with that in the text, so that he could not determine which was preferable; δ, that the reading in the margin was of less value; and ε, that it was absolutely spurious, though defended by some critics. Bengel's apparatus was printed, after his death, by Burk, at Tübingen, in 1763, 4to., with important corrections and additions. Several small impressions of Bengel's Greek Testament have been printed in Germany, without the Critical Apparatus; viz. at Stuttgart, 1734, 1739, 1753, 8vo.; at Tübingen, 1762, 1776, 1790, 8vo.; and at Leipsic, 1737, 8vo. A copious and interesting account of Bengel's critical edition of the New Testament, and of the reception it met with, is given in Burk's Memoir of his Life and Writings (pp. 226—250.), which has been well translated from the German by the late Rev. R. F. Walker, M.A. London, 1837. 8vo.

17. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Græcum editionis receptæ, cum Lectionibus Variantibus Codicum MSS., Editionum aliarum, Versionum et Patrum, necnon Commentario pleniore ex Scriptoribus veteribus, Hebræis, Græcis, et Latinis, historiam et vim verborum illustrante. Opera et studio Joannis Jacobi Wetstenii. Amstelædami, 1751, 1752, 2 vols. folio. Editio altera, aucta et emendata, curante J. A. Lotze. Vol. I. Quatuor Evangelia complectens. Roterodami, 1831. Royal 4to.

Of all the editions of the New Testament this is pronounced by Michaelis to be the most important, and the most necessary to those who are engaged in sacred criticism. Wetstein's Prolegomena, which contain a treasure of sacred criticism, were first published in 1730. The text is copied from the Elzevir editions; the verses are numbered in the margin; and the various readings, with their authorities (containing a *million* of quotations), are placed beneath the text. Wetstein's edition is divided into four parts, each of which is accompanied with Prolegomena, describing the Greek manuscripts quoted in it. The first part contains the four Gospels; the second, the Epistles of St. Paul; the third, the Acts of the Apostles; and the fourth, the Apocalypse. To the last part are annexed two Epistles in Syriac, with a Latin version; which, according to Wetstein, were written by Clement of Rome. But Dr. Lardner has shown that they are not genuine. (Works, 8vo. vol. xi. pp. 197—226., 4to. vol. v. pp. 432—446.) The critical observations on various readings, and on the interpretation of the New Testament, "must be studied," says Bishop Marsh, "by every man who would fully appreciate the work in question." Michaelis has criticised the labours of Wetstein with great severity; but the latter has been vindicated by Bishop Marsh, both in his notes on Michaelis (pp. 865—877.), and in his Divinity Lectures (part ii. pp. 21—23. [ed. 1842, pp. 132—135.])

In consequence of the great rarity, and very high price of Wetstein's edition, Dr. Lotze was induced to undertake a new impression of it; which was to have been greatly improved by the correction of errors, and the more accurate exhibition of various readings from MSS. and particularly from those derived from ancient versions, in which Wetstein is acknowledged to have been defective. But the decease of the learned editor (whose valuable critical and theological library was dispersed by auction in the summer of 1833) has caused this projected edition to be abandoned. The Prolegomena of Wetstein, therefore (forming a royal quarto volume of 279 pages), are all that has been published by Dr. Lotze. He retained Wetstein's text, with the exception of those passages in which the latter had thrown out unjust observations upon other critics, especially the pious and euridite Bengel, and also with the omission of his literary quarrels with Frey and Iselius: and he has added, from the second volume of the folio edition, Wetstein's critical observations upon various readings, and his rules for judging of their value, together with most of the notes of Dr. John Solomon Semler, who republished the Prolegomena at Halle in 1764. Dr. Lotze has further subjoined, in an Appendix, Dr. Glocester Ridley's learned Dissertation on the Syriac Versions of the New Testament, in which the errors of Wetstein are corrected, and his deficiencies are supplied. This edition of Wetstein's Prolegomena is very neatly executed.[1]

18. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, sive Novum D. N. J. C. Testamentum Græcum cum Variantibus Lectionibus, quæ demonstrant Vulgatam Latinam ipsis è Græcis Codicibus hodienum extantibus Authenticam. Accedit Index Epistolarum et Evangeliorum, Spicilegium Apologeticum, et Lexidion Græco-Latinum. Cura et Opera P. Hermanni Goldhagen. Editio Catholica et Novissima. Moguntiæ, 1753. 8vo.

Michaelis states that he has never been able to discover from what edition Goldhagen took his text: he has given fifty-two readings from the Codex Molshemiensis, a manuscript containing the Gospels, Acts, and Epistles, and which formerly belonged to the college of Jesuits at Molsheim in Alsace. (Introd. to New Test. vol. ii. part i. pp. 283. 490.) The book is not common: a copy is in the British Museum.

19. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Græcum. In Sectiones divi-

[1] [None need regret that Wetstein's Greek Testament was not re-edited by Lotze; the want of judgment and mistakes in the Prolegomena that Lotze edited are noticed in "Account of Printed Text," pp. 81, 82.]

sit, Interpunctiones accuratè posuit, et Dispositionem Logicam adjecit Christianus SCHOETTGENIUS. Lipsiæ, 1744; 1749, 8vo. Wratislaviæ, 1765, 8vo.

The divisions into sections and the punctuation are reputed to be judiciously executed. The ordinary divisions of chapters and verses are retained in the margin. An account of the principal alterations is given in the Appendix.

20. Novum Testamentum Græcum ad fidem Græcorum solum MSS. nunc primum expressum, adstipulante Jo. Jac. Wetstenio, juxta Sectiones Alberti Bengelii divisum; et novâ interpunctione sæpius illustratum. Accessere in altero voluminе emendationes conjecturales virorum doctorum undecunque collectæ. Londini, cura, typis et sumptibus G[ulielmi] B[OWYER.] 1763. 2 vols. 12mo.

A very valuable edition, and now scarce; it was reprinted in 1772, but not with the same accuracy as the first edition. The Conjectures were published in a separate form in 1772, and again in 4to. in 1782, to accompany a handsome quarto edition of the Greek Testament, which was published by Mr. Nichols in 1783, with the assistance of the Rev. Dr. Owen. It is now extremely rare and dear. The Conjectures were reprinted in 1812, with numerous corrections and additions. In his edition of the New Testament, Mr. Bowyer adopted the emendations proposed by Wetstein.

21. Novum Testamentum Græce, edidit J. J. GRIESBACH. 1774–5–7. (Ed. prima.)

This edition is noticed below in connection with Griesbach's revised edition of 1796—1806.

22. Novum Testamentum Græce, perpetua annotatione illustratum. Editio KOPPIANA. Gottingen, 1778, &c. 8vo.

This edition, in which the Commentary, &c., are the principal features, requires to be mentioned in this list from its containing a revised Greek Text.

23. Novum Testamentum, Græce et Latine, Textum denuo recensuit, Varias Lectiones numquam antea vulgatas collegit—Scholia Græca addidit—Animadversiones Criticas adjecit, et edidit Christ. Frid. MATTHÆI. Rigæ, 1782—1788. 12 vols. 8vo.

Of Professor Matthæi's recension of manuscripts some account has already been given above, pp. 76, 77. "The scurrility which the professor mingled in his opposition to Griesbach's system of classification, tended greatly to injure the work at the time of its appearance, and to lower the author in the esteem of the candid and moderate; but now that the heat of controversy has cooled down, the value of his labours begins to be more highly appreciated, and more impartially appealed to, on the subject of the various readings of the Greek text." (Dr. Henderson's Biblical Researches, p. 53.) The late Bishop Middleton considered it as by far the best edition of the Greek Testament extant; and though Michaelis has criticised it with considerable severity, he nevertheless pronounces it to be absolutely necessary for every man who is engaged in the criticism of the Greek Testament. As, however, Matthæi undertook a revision of the Greek text on the authority of *one* set of manuscripts of the Byzantine family, Bishop Marsh regrets that he made so partial an application of his critical materials. "And since no impartial judge can admit that the genuine text of the Greek Testament may be established as well, by applying only a *part* of our materials, as by a judicious employment of the whole, the edition of Matthæi is only so far of importance, as it furnishes new materials for future uses; materials, indeed, which are accompanied with much useful information and many learned remarks." (Bishop Marsh's Lectures, part ii. p. 31. [ed. 1842, p. 142.])

24. Novum Testamentum Græce. Ad Codices Mosquenses utriusque Bibliothecæ S. S. Synodi et Tabularii Imperialis, item Augustanos, Dresdenses, Goettingenses, Gothanos, Guelpherbytanos, Langeri, Monachienses, Lipsienses, Nicephori et Zittaviensem, adhibitis Patrum Græcorum Lectionibus, Editionibus N. Testamenti principibus et Doctorum Virorum Libellis criticis, iterum recensuit, Sectiones majores et minores Eusebii, Euthalii, et Andreæ Cæsariensis notavit, primum quoque nunc Lectiones Ecclesiasticas, ex usu Græcæ Ecclesiæ designavit, ac Synaxaria Evangeliarii et Praxapostoli addidit, et Criticis interpositis Animadversionibus edidit Christianus Fridericus MATTHÆI. Vol. I. Wittebergæ, 1803; Vol. II. Curiæ Variscorum, 1806; Vol. III. Ronneburgi, 1807, 8vo.

In this *second* edition of Matthæi's Greek Testament, the critical annotations are placed at the end of the volume; some various readings are at the foot of each page. Matthæi is very severe on the editorial labours of Dr. Griesbach.

25. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. The New Testament, collated with the most approved manuscripts; with select notes in English, critical and explanatory, and references to those authors who have best illustrated the sacred writings. By Edward HARWOOD, D.D. London, 1776, 2 vols. 12mo.; 1784, 2 vols. 12mo.

"This edition," says the learned annotator of Michaelis, "is certainly entitled to a place among the critical editions of the Greek Testament, though it is not accompanied with various

readings: for, though Dr. Harwood has adopted the common text as the basis of his own, he has made critical corrections wherever the received reading appeared to him to be erroneous. The manuscripts, which he has generally followed when he departs from the common text, are the Cantabrigiensis in the Gospels and Acts, and the Claromontanus in the Epistles of St. Paul." These Dr. Harwood considered as approaching the nearest of any manuscripts now known in the world to the original text of the sacred records. "It is not improbable that this edition contains more of the ancient and genuine text of the Greek Testament than those which are in common use: but as no single manuscript, however ancient and venerable, is entitled to such a preference as to exclude the rest, and no critic of the present age can adopt a new reading, unless the general evidence be produced, and the preponderancy in its favour distinctly shown, the learned and ingenious editor has in some measure defeated his own object, and rendered his labours less applicable to the purposes of sacred criticism." (Bishop Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. part ii. pp. 884, 885.) At the end of the second volume there is a catalogue of the principal editions of the Greek Testament, and a list of the most esteemed commentators and critics. The work is very neatly printed: and under the Greek text are short critical notes in English, chiefly relating to classical illustrations of Scripture. In the list of commentators and critics, those are most commended by Dr. Harwood who favour the Socinian scheme, to which he was strongly attached, and he therefore admitted or rejected a variety of readings, according as they favour or oppose the Socinian doctrine.

26. Novum Testamentum Græcum è Codice MS. Alexandrino, qui Londini in Bibliothecâ Musei Britannici asservatur, descriptum à Carolo Godofredo Woide. Londini, 1786. Folio.

See an account of this edition in page 678. No. 1. *suprà*, among the fac-simile editions of manuscripts containing the New Testament.

27. Novum Testamentum Græcum, ad Codicem Vindobonensem Græcè expressum: Varietatem Lectionis addidit Franciscus Carolus Alter. 1786, 1787. 2 vols. 8vo.

This edition differs entirely from those of Mill, Wetstein, and Griesbach. "The text of this edition is neither the common text nor a revision of it, but a mere copy from a single manuscript, and that not a very ancient one (the Codex Lambecii I.), in the imperial library at Vienna. The various readings, which are not arranged as in other editions, but printed in separate parcels as made by the collator, are likewise described from Greek manuscripts in the imperial library: and the whole collection was augmented by extracts from the Coptic, Sclavonian, and Latin versions, which are also printed in the same indigested manner as the Greek readings. Alter's edition therefore contains mere materials for future uses." (Bp. Marsh's Lectures, part ii. p. 32. [ed. 1842, p. 143.]) Where the editor has discovered manifest errata in the Vienna manuscript, he has recourse to the text of Stephens's edition of 1546.—See a more copious account of this edition in Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 880—882., where it is said that Alter's edition is a work with which no one engaged in sacred criticism can dispense. [This opinion, however, was expressed *before* Alter's labours had been used by Griesbach.]

28. Quatuor Evangelia, Græcè, cum Variantibus a textu Lectionibus Codd. Manuscriptorum Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ; Barberinæ, Laurentianæ, Vindobonensis, Escurialensis, Havniensis Regiæ; quibus accedunt Lectiones Versionum Syrarum Veteris, Philoxenianæ, et Hierosolymitanæ, jussu et sumptibus regiis edidit Andreas Birch. Havniæ, 1788. Folio et 4to.

This splendid and valuable work, containing only the four Gospels, is the result of the united labours of Professors Birch, Adler, and Moldenhawer, who for several years travelled into Germany, Italy, France, and Spain, at the expense of the King of Denmark, in order to examine and collate the precious remains of sacred antiquity. Birch collated all the Greek manuscripts quoted, except those in the library of the Escurial, which were collated by Moldenhawer. The Syriac collations were made by Adler. A detailed account of these manuscripts is given in the Prolegomena; from which we learn that the manuscripts which passed under his inspection were very numerous. In the Vatican, forty were collated; in the Barberini library, ten; in other Roman libraries, seventeen; in the libraries at Florence and in other parts of Italy, thirty-eight; in the imperial library at Vienna, twelve; and in the royal library at Copenhagen, three. The text is from Robert Stephens's edition of 1550; but the great value of this splendid work, and in which it surpasses all former editions, consists, *first*, in the very complete extracts which are given from the celebrated *Codex Vaticanus*, described above, p. 158. *seq.*; and, secondly, in the extracts from the *Versio Syra Hierosolymitana*, which is remarkable for its agreement with the Codex Bezæ, where it is wholly unsupported by any other authority; a circumstance which shows the value and antiquity, not so much of the manuscripts themselves, as of the text which they contain.

In 1798, Professor Birch published, at Copenhagen, a collection of various readings to the Acts and Epistles, drawn from the same sources; intituled *Variæ Lectiones ad textum Actorum Apostolorum, Epistolarum Catholicarum et Pauli, e Codd. Græcis MSS. Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ, Barberinæ, Augustinianorum Eremitarum Romæ, Borgianæ Velitris, Neapolitanæ Regiæ, Laurentianæ, S. Marci Venetorum, Vindobonensis Cæsareæ, et Hafniensis Regiæ, collectæ et editæ ab Andrea Birch, Theol. D. et Prof.*; in 1800, he published *Variæ Lectiones ad Apocalypsin*; and in 1801, *Variæ Lectiones ad Textum IV. Evangeliorum e Codd. MSS. iterum recognitæ et quam plurimis accessionibus auctæ*; all in 8vo., to the four Gospels. The completion of the magnificent

edition of the Greek Testament, begun in 1788, was prevented by a calamitous fire at Copenhagen, which consumed the royal printing-office, together with the beautiful types and paper, which had been procured from Italy for that purpose.

29. XIII. Epistolarum Pauli Codex Græcus, summâ fide et diligentiâ transcriptus et editus à C. F. MATTHÆI. Meissæ, 1791, 1818; 4to.

See a notice of this edition in p. 681. No. 7. *suprà*, among the fac-simile editions of the manuscripts containing the New Testament.

30. Codex Theodori Bezæ Cantabrigiensis, Evangelia et Acta Apostolorum complectens, quadratis literis, Græco-Latinus. . . . . Edidit . . . . notasque adjecit, Thomas KIPLING, S.T.P. Cantabrigiæ, 1793. 2 vols. folio.

See an account of this edition in p. 681. No. 5. *suprà*, among the fac-simile editions of manuscripts containing the New Testament.

31. Novum Testamentum Græcè, Textum ad fidem Codicum Versionum et Patrum recensuit et Lectionis Varietatem adjecit D. Jo. Jac. GRIESBACH. Editio secunda. Londini et Halæ Saxonum, 1796, 1806. 2 vols. large 8vo.

Notwithstanding the different opinions entertained by some learned men relative to the correctness of Dr. Griesbach's system of *recensions* or editions of manuscripts, all parties have united in commendation of the learning, diligence, and labour which he bestowed upon his arduous undertaking.

Dr. Griesbach commenced his critical labours, first, by publishing at Halle, in 1774, the historical books of the New Testament, under the following title: *Libri Historici Novi Testamenti, Græce, Pars I. sistens Synopsin Evangeliorum Matthæi, Marci, et Lucæ. Textum ad fidem Codd. Versionum et Patrum emendavit et lectionis varietatem adjecit Jo. Jac. Griesbach.* (2d edit. Halæ, 1797; 3d edit. Halæ, 1809; 8vo.) *Pars II. sistens Evangelium Johannis et Acta Apostolorum*, Halæ, 1775, 8vo. This edition was published as a manual or text-book for a course of lectures which Professor Griesbach was at that time dilivering at Jena, and in which he explained the first three Evangelists *synoptically*, that is to say, by uniting together the three narrations of the same event. The received text, which is adopted, is divided into one hundred and thirty-four sections, and is printed in three columns; and Griesbach indicated by various marks the alterations which he judged necessary to be made. The various readings, taken from the edition of Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein, were not chosen until they had undergone a very severe revision; but this edition also contained other lections, which the learned editor found in manuscripts, preserved in the British Museum at London, and also in the Royal Library at Paris. In 1775, Dr. Griesbach published the Apostolical Epistles and the Apocalypse, in a similar manner; but as many persons had expressed themselves dissatisfied with his synoptical arrangement of the historical books, he printed another edition of them in 1777, in the usual order. This volume forms the *first* part of his *first edition*, of which the Epistles and Revelation, printed in 1775, are considered as the *second* part. A few copies were struck off in 4to., which are both scarce and dear. This edition is of a very convenient and portable size, and was that principally used in the Universities of Germany.

The first volume of the second edition appeared in 1796, in large octavo, with the imprint of *Londini et Halæ Saxonum* in the title-page; and the second with that of *Halæ Saxonum et Londini*, on account of the expense of the paper of the fine copies having been munificently defrayed by his Grace the late Duke of Grafton, at that time Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. These are most beautiful books, and are now only procurable at a very high price, though, through his Grace's liberality, they were originally sold, we believe, at twelve or fourteen shillings per volume. *Fifty copies* were struck off in large paper in quarto. But the whole of these two volumes was printed at Jena, under Griesbach's own eye. In addition to the various readings exhibited in Griesbach's first edition, he collated the Latin Versions, published by Sabatier and Blanchini; and corrected mistakes made by Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein, in their quotations from the oriental versions. He also inserted the principal readings collected by Matthæi, Birch, and Alter; together with extracts from the two Wolfenbüttel manuscripts published by Knittel, and the readings of the Sahidic [Thebaic] version, furnished by Woide, Georgi, and Münter. Of the Armenian version a collation was made for him by Bredenkampf, of Bremen: and the Sclavonic version was collated for him by Dobrowsky at Prague.

The first volume contains the four Gospels. To these are prefixed copious prolegomena, exhibiting a critical history of the printed text, a catalogue of all the manuscripts from which various readings are quoted, and an account of the method pursued by Griesbach in executing this second edition, together with the principal rules for judging of various readings. The text is printed in two columns, the numbers of the verses being placed in the margin, below which are the various lections.

The second volume contains the remaining books of the New Testament, which is preceded by an introduction or preface, accounting for the delay of its appearance, and an account of the manuscripts consulted for that volume. At the end are *forty pages*, separately numbered, consisting of a *Diatribe* on the disputed clause relative to the three witnesses in 1 John v. 7, 8., and of additional various readings to the Acts of the Apostles, and St. Paul's Epistles, with two pages of corrections. Griesbach's second edition was republished at London in 1809, in two elegant 8vo. volumes; one, printed by Mr. Collingwood of Oxford, and the other by Mr. R. Taylor, of London; the text is printed in long lines, and the notes in columns, and Griesbach's addenda of various readings are inserted in their proper places. A very few inaccuracies have

been discovered in these insertions, which perhaps could hardly be avoided in a work of such minuteness. This edition, which consisted of one thousand copies, having been exhausted, a second London edition issued from the press of Messrs. R. & A. Taylor, in two volumes, 8vo. 1818. It is executed in the same handsome form as before, and possesses some advantages even over Griesbach's own second edition. In the first place, the addenda of various lections above noticed have been newly collated, and inserted in their various places with great accuracy. Secondly, the reading of Acts xx. 28. in the Vatican manuscript (which Griesbach could not give, in consequence of Professor Birch, who collated it, having lost or mislaid his memorandum of that particular text) is here printed from a transcript obtained by Mr. R. Taylor from the keeper of the Vatican library. The reading of the clause in question, in the Codex Vaticanus, is thus determined to be conformable to the lection of the *Textus Receptus*, viz. Την Εκκλησιαν του Θεου, *the Church of God.* And, lastly, as Griesbach, in his Leipsic edition of 1805, preferred some readings different from those adopted in that of Halle, 1796—1806, a Synoptical Table is given, indicating such differences. Bishop Marsh has given a high character of the labours of Dr. Griesbach, in his Divinity Lectures, part ii. pp. 44, 45. [Ed. 1842, pp. 155, 156.] Strictures on them may be seen in the Rev. F. H. Scrivener's Supplement to the authorised English version of the New Testament, vol. i. pp. 9—16.

To complete Griesbach's edition of the New Testament there should be added the following publications: —

1. Curæ in Historiam Textus Græci Epistolarum Paulinarum. Jenæ, 1774, 4to.

2 Symbolæ Criticæ, ad supplendas et corrigendas variarum N. T. Lectionum Collectiones. Accedit multorum N. T. Codicum Græcorum Descriptio et Examen. Halæ, 1785, 1793, 2 vols. small 8vo.

3. Commentarius Criticus in Textum Græcum Novi Testamenti. Particula prima, Jenæ, 1798. Particula secunda, Jenæ, 1811.

32. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Ex Recensione Jo. Jac. GRIESBACHII, cum selecta Lectionis Varietate. Lipsiæ, 1803—1807. 4 vols. imperial 4to. or folio.

This is a most sumptuous edition; the text is formed chiefly on that of Griesbach's second edition, and on that of Knappe, noticed in p. 696. No. 86. *infra.* The type is large and clear; the paper beautiful and glossy; at the foot of the page are some select various readings; and each volume is decorated with an exquisitely engraved frontispiece.

33. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Ex Recensione Jo. Jac. GRIESBACHII, cum selecta Lectionum Varietate. 2 vols. small 8vo. Lipsiæ, 1805. A new Edition, 1825 [very incorrect], also in 2 vols. 8vo.; Cambridge (New England), 1809, 2 vols. 8vo.; Glasguæ, 1817, 18mo.; Philadelphia, 1822, 12mo.; Londini, 1829, 18mo., and 1841, 12mo.

The Leipsic edition of 1805 contains the text, together with a selection of the principal various readings, and an extract from the Prolegomena of the second edition. It is very neatly printed, and forms a valuable manual for constant reference. This was the edition chiefly used in the universities of Germany. The Anglo-American edition, printed at Cambridge, is handsomely executed; and the typography of the large-paper copies is very beautiful. The reprints at Glasgow, Philadelphia, and London, are also neatly executed; and the London edition, published in 1841, is beautifully and accurately printed by the editors, Messrs Richard and J. E. Taylor, from the Leipsic editions of 1805 and 1825.

34. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Textum ad Fidem Codicum Versionum et Patrum recensuit, et Lectionis Varietatem adjecit D. Jo. Jac. Griesbach. Volumen I., Quatuor Evangelia complectens. Editionem tertiam emendatam et auctam curavit D. David SCHULZ. Berolini, 1827. 8vo. [No more published.]

A new edition of Dr. Griesbach's revision of the Greek text of the Gospels having become necessary, the task of editing it, with such additional various readings as have been discovered since the date of that distinguished critic's last labours, was confided to Dr. Schulz, who has executed it in the following manner: —

In the first place, he procured and collated the various printed books of which Griesbach had made use in preparing his edition, as well as the various critical materials which the researches of learned men had discovered within the last thirty years; that is, from the date of the first volume of his second edition, in 1796. Dr. Schulz then proceeded to correct all the typographical errors he had detected; and he expunged a great number of stops, especially commas, which (he states) had been unnecessarily introduced by modern editors, and which in many instances only tended to obscure the sacred text. He has also deviated in very many places from the received mode of placing certain accents, and has made various improvements in the spelling of certain words.

These preliminary steps having been taken, Dr. Schulz examined anew the principal authorities cited by Griesbach, to which he could procure access, and noticed in what respects they differed from the notation of former editors. He then inserted readings from some new manuscripts and versions, which had hitherto been either little known or altogether neglected. More particularly he examined anew,

1. The Alexandrian Manuscript of the New Testament edited by Dr. Woide, the Cambridge Manuscript edited by Dr. Kipling, and the Latin Manuscripts edited by Sabatier and Blanchini; to which he added a collation of the celebrated Codex Vaticanus from the papers of Dr. Bentley,

printed at Oxford in 1799, in the Appendix to Dr. Woide's edition of the Alexandrian MS., which was unknown to Griesbach, and which in many instances differs from Dr. Birch's readings collected from the same manuscript.

2. Dr. Barrett's splendid fac-simile of the Codex Rescriptus of part of St. Matthew's Gospel published at Dublin in 1801, and here noted by the letter Z.

3. The *entire* collation of the Codex Cyprius, made and described by Dr. Augustine Scholz, and printed in pp. 80—90. of his *Curæ Criticæ in Historiam Textus IV. Evangeliorum*, but very inaccurately, in consequence of Dr. S.'s absence on his biblico-critical travels, so that he could not personally edit his collation of the Codex Cyprius. (Scholzii Nov. Test. vol. i. p. xl.) The possessor of Dr. Schulz's edition of the Greek Testament must therefore place no dependence upon the readings of the Codex Cyprius as exhibited by him. Further, he has selected from Dr. Scholz's *Biblische-Kritische Reise* (Biblico-critical Travels) the various readings contained in certain MSS. preserved in the Royal Library at Paris, which he has noted by the numbers 240, 241, 242, 243, and 244. To these are added principal various readings from,

4. The Codex Rehdigeranus, containing a Latin Ante-Hieronymian Version of the four Gospels, written in the seventh or eighth century, which the editor had himself transcribed in the year 1813.

5. The Codex Messanensis I. of the fourteenth or fifteenth century, in quarto, inspected by Münter; of which an account is given in Dr. Birch's Prolegomena ad Varr. Lectt. Evv. v. xciii. *et seq.* This MS. is numbered 237. by Dr. Schulz.

6. The Codex Syracusanus in the Landolini Library, which was also inspected by Dr. Münter, and which is described by Birch, p. xcvi. *et seq.* This is numbered 238.

7. The Berlin Manuscript of the four Gospels, of the eleventh century, of which a description was published by Pappelbaum in 1823. It is numbered 239.

8. The Codex Gronovianus 131., a manuscript of the four Gospels collated by Dermout in his Collectanea Critica in Novum Testamentum, part i. (Lugd. Bat. 1825); this is numbered 245.

9. The Codex Meermannianus, containing the four Gospels, Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of James, Peter, 1 John, and a fragment of the Epistle to the Romans, also collated by Dermout: this is numbered 246.

10. The readings of the Gothic Version from Zahn's correct edition published in 1805, and the new readings contained in the fragments of this version first published by Mai in 1819, together with the fragments of the Sahidic [Thebaic] Version published in the Appendix to Woide's fac-simile of the Codex Alexandrinus, and the fragments of the Basmurico-Coptic Version edited by Engelbreth in 1811.

Dr. Schulz has also enriched his edition with many valuable notes relative to the Syriac, Arabic, Persian, and Ethiopic versions, written by C. Benedict Michaelis, in his own copy of Küster's edition of the New Testament, which is now deposited in the Library of the Orphan House at Halle. Further, Dr. S. had constantly open before him the more valuable critical editions of the New Testament, as well as other works which might afford him any assistance, including the editions of Stephens, Mill, Wetstein, Birch, Matthæi (two editions), and Knappe, and also Griesbach's edition printed at Leipsic in 1805, which differs from his own second edition in very many respects; but which exhibits that form and condition of the sacred text, which in his latter years and maturest judgment Dr. Griesbach deemed to be true and correct. The readings peculiar to these later editions have been diligently noted.

The Symbolæ Criticæ and other works of Griesbach mentioned in page 694., together with the critical publications of Gersdorf, Bode, Bowyer, Valckenaer, and Wassenberg, were in like manner constantly at hand; and in doubtful or more important cases, the best editions of the most valuable of the Fathers were consulted.

The typographical execution of this edition is much more neat and commodious than that of Griesbach's second edition. There, the text was printed in two columns, and the notes were printed in a mass in long lines, with the notation of chapters and verses in the margin, which rendered it perplexing to the eye to compare the various readings therein contained. In Dr. Schulz's third edition the text is printed in long lines, and the notes are very distinctly exhibited in two columns, each note forming a distinct paragraph. The convenience, thus afforded, in consulting the work, is very great. Besides the editor's preface, and the corrected preface of Griesbach (which is enlarged in the catalogue of MSS.), the volume now published contains the four Gospels: at the end there are eighteen closely-printed pages of addenda, which ought to be carefully transcribed and inserted in their proper places before the book can be advantageously consulted: these addenda have principally been caused by the acquisition of many hundreds of various readings, obtained from M. Dermout's Collectanea Critica in Novum Testamentum (of which an account will be found in a subsequent page), and which did not come into Dr. Schulz's possession until after the present volume was finished. Such additions are unavoidable in a work embracing so many thousand minute references and figures; and every candid scholar will readily extend to such a laborious undertaking as the present, the liberal apology offered by Bishop Marsh for Wetstein:—"That mistakes and oversights are discoverable in the work, detracts not from its general merits. No work is without them; and least of all can consummate accuracy be expected where so many causes never ceased to operate." (Bp. Marsh's Divinity Lectures, part ii. p. 28. [ed. 1842, p. 134.]) The second volume was to have contained the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, but it was discontinued, not in consequence of the death of the learned editor, but rather from bibliopolic reasons.

34.* Two ingenious attempts have been made to exhibit in English, and for the benefit of English readers, the results of Griesbach's critical labours on the Greek Text of the New Testament, by publishing the text of the authorised English

version, altered or amended according to the judgment of that eminent critic, viz.:

1. The New Testament in the common Version, conformed to Griesbach's Standard Greek Text. [By J. G. PALFREY, D.D.] Boston [Massachussets], 1830. 12mo.

In this edition, the text of our authorised English version is reprinted without note or comment: and the words are in no case altered, except where a change in the original Greek required it,— that is, in conformity to the emendations of the Greek text made by Dr. Griesbach. In the translations which the editor has introduced, to correspond with the amended Greek, he states that, "It has been his careful endeavour to imitate the style of the received version, and no one has been admitted without study and consideration." [Preface, p. viii.] From an examination of different parts of Dr. Palfrey's volume, the writer of these pages is enabled to state that he has not observed any departure from the principles by which Dr. P. professes to have been guided.

2. The New Testament, translated from Griesbach's Text. By Samuel SHARPE London, 1840. 12mo. [Second Edition, 1844. Further corrections, January 1849. A Third Edition, 1856.]

In rendering the Greek Text into English, the translator professes to have made no change from our authorised version merely for the sake of changing; "being well aware how much every new word grates upon the ear that is accustomed to its beautiful simplicity. His aim" (he states) "has been, to give the meaning and idiom of the corrected Greek text as far as possible in the well-known words of that version." Mr. Sharpe's work "sometimes improves upon, sometimes falls below, the authorised version." (Eclectic Review, New Series, vol. viii. p. 487.) The Songs of Zechariah, of the Virgin Mary, and of Simeon, are judiciously printed in the hemistich form, according to the laws of Hebrew Poetry. [The translator seems to have had a definite object (though not avowed in his Preface), namely, to oppose the doctrines of the Godhead and atonement of Christ.][1]

35. Evangelium secundum Matthæum, ex Codice Rescripto in Bibliotheca Collegii SSæ. Trinitatis juxta Dublin: Descriptum Opera et Studio Johannis BARRETT, S.T.P. . . . . Dublini, 1801. 4to.

See an account of this edition in p. 682. No. 8. *suprà*, among the fac-simile editions of manuscripts containing the New Testament.

36. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Recognovit atque insigniores lectionum varietates et argumentorum notationes subjecit Geo. Christianus KNAPPIUS. Halæ, 1797, 8vo.; 2d edit. 1813, 2 vols. 8vo.; and numerous subsequent reprints, all in 2 vols. small 8vo.; Londini, 1824, 2 vols. in one, 8vo.

In this edition of the New Testament, which received the warm approbation of Griesbach in his preface to the splendid edition above noticed, Dr. Knappe has availed himself of Griesbach's labours; and has admitted into the text not only those readings which the latter considered to be of *undoubted* authority, but likewise some others which Dr. K. himself regarded as such, but without distinguishing either of them. Such words, also, as it might on the same grounds be thought right to exclude from the text, as not originally belonging to it, are here inclosed in brackets, partly of the common kind, and partly formed on purpose for this edition. The most probable readings are marked with an asterisk: to all of them the word *alii* is prefixed, in order to distinguish them from the rest of these lections, which in reality are those in which the exegetical student is chiefly interested. Great attention is paid to typographical and grammatical accuracy, to the accents, and to the punctuation, which differ in this edition from those of Leusden or Gerard von Maestricht in more than three hundred places. Very useful summaries are likewise added under the text. The second impression, published in two volumes, in 1813, is very neatly printed, and is corrected throughout. In editing it, Dr. K. has availed himself of Griesbach's second volume, which was not published when his first edition appeared. The third edition is a neat reprint of the second, of which the London edition is also a reprint. The fourth edition is revised with great care, and the additions at the end are arranged in a more convenient form. Dr. Knappe's edition has obtained a large measure of public approbation.

37. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. The New Testament in Greek, according to the Text of Mill and Stephens, and the Arrangement of Mr. Reeves's Bible. [Edited by John REEVES, Esq.] London, 1803. 8vo.

This edition is printed with singular neatness.

38. Novum Testamentum Græcè, ex Recensione Griesbachii, nova Latina versione illustratum, indice brevi præcipuæ lectionum et interpretationum diversitatis

[1] [Another revision of the English version with Griesbach's text was also published in 1840 "by a Layman," the late Mr. Edgar Taylor.]

instructum, edidit Henricus Augustus SCHOTT. Lipsiæ, 1805; Editio secunda, 1811; Editio tertia, 1825. 8vo. Editio quarta novis curis adornata, 1839. 8vo.

The text is formed after that of Griesbach; under it are printed the most important various readings, together with very concise notes. The Latin version in the third edition professes to be so much corrected, as to be in effect a new translation, and in the fourth edition the work has been further revised and corrected: many of its interpretations and notes, however, are in the worst style of German neologism.

39. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Lectiones Variantes, Griesbachii judicio, iis quas textus receptus exhibet anteponendas vel æquiparandas, adjecit Josephus WHITE, S. T. P., Linguarum Heb. et Arab. in Academia Oxoniensi Professor. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1808. 2 vols. crown 8vo.

This is a very neat and accurate edition. The Textus Receptus is adopted; and Professor White has contrived to exhibit in a very intelligible form—1. Those readings which in Griesbach's opinion ought, either certainly or probably, to be removed from the received text; 2. Those various readings which the same editor judged either preferable or equal to those of the received text; and, 3. Those additions which, on the authority of manuscripts, Griesbach considers as fit to be admitted into the text. "An intermediate advantage to be derived from an edition thus marked is pointed out by the learned editor at the conclusion of his short preface; viz. that it may thus be seen at once by every one, how very little, after all the labours of learned men, and the collation of so many manuscripts and versions, is liable to just objection in the received text." (British Critic, vol. xxxiv. (O. S.) p. 386.)

40. Novum Testamentum Græcum; juxta exemplar Wetstenii, Glasguæ, et J. J. Griesbachii, Halæ impressum: accedunt Prolegomena in Evangelia, in Acta, et in Epistolas Apostolorum. Accurante Gulielmo Whitfield DAKINS. Editio Stereotypa, Londini, 1808, royal 8vo. Numerous subsequent editions are in 12mo.

41. Novum Testamentum Græcum et Latinum, secundùm curam Leusdenii et Griesbachii, editum ab A. H. AITTON. Lugduni Batavorum, 1809. 18mo.

A neat impression, into the text of which the editor has introduced most of Griesbach's emendations.

42. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Le Nouveau Testament Grec. Nouvelle Edition, publiée par F. GAILLARD, M[inistre] D[u] S[aint] E[vangile.] Genève, 1813. 2 tomes, 12mo.

This edition contains the Textus Receptus printed in paragraphs.

43. Testamentum Novum Græcè, ad fidem Recensionis Schoettgenianæ; addita ex Griesbachii apparatu Lectionis varietate præcipuæ. Upsalæ, 1820. 8vo.

A reprint of Schoettgenius's text, which has been noticed in p. 24. No. 19., with the addition of select various readings from Griesbach.

44. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Ad fidem optimorum librorum recensuit Augustus Heinricus TITTMANNUS. Lipsiæ, 1820. 18mo.

The text of the edition in 18mo. is a corrected one; that is, Professor Tittmann has inserted in it such various readings as are in his judgment preferable to those commonly received, and which have been approved by the most eminent critics; and he has printed an index of the altered passages at the end of the volume. Its portability, in addition to its intrinsic excellence, is no mean recommendation of it to students of the New Testament; the Greek characters, though small, being very distinctly and neatly stereotyped. The 8vo. edition of the same text is beautifully stereotyped. There are copies of both editions on fine paper.

45. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Manuale. Glasguæ, ex Prelo Academico: impensis Rivingtons et Cochran, Londini, 1821. 32mo.

This edition contains the Greek text only: it follows the text of Aitton, except in a few instances, in which the received readings are supported by the best authorities, and consequently are most to be preferred. This edition is beautifully printed on the finest blue tinted writing-paper: it was read SIX TIMES, with the utmost care, in passing through the press, and will be found to be unusually accurate. No contractions are used.

46. Novum Testamentum Græco-Latinum. Vulgata Interpretatione Latina Editionis Clementis VIII. Græco Textui ad Editionem Complutensem diligentissime expresso e regione opposita. Studio et curâ Petri Aloysii GRATZ. Tubingæ, 1821. Editio nova, 1828. 2 tomis 8vo. The second impression is the most correct.

An edition which is not of very common occurrence in this country. The first part or volume contains the four Gospels; the second, the remaining Books of the New Testament. The Greek text is a reprint of that in the Complutensian Polyglott, with the exception of the contractions, and the correction of some orthographic errors. This has been so diligently compared in the last edition, that this impression may be regarded as all but faultless. Opposite to the Greek

text is the Latin Vulgate Version, according to the Clementine Recension. The punctuation has also received great attention from the editor, who expresses in his preface a deep sense of its importance. Some of his changes in the punctuation suggest new modes of interpretation: of these the most important are Rom. xi. 8., where the parenthesis is removed, and Luke vi. 9. where a note of interrogation is inserted after τί. At the foot of each page are exhibited various readings, from Robert Stephens's third edition, printed in 1550; from Matthæi's critical edition, and from Griesbach's last edition. To the labours of these editors Professor Gratz pays a brief but high tribute of commendation; and in critical decisions he generally coincides with Griesbach, though occasionally he adopts the suggestions of Matthæi, particularly in relation to the text of the Apocalypse. In order to ensure correctness, the proof-sheets were repeatedly read by the editor and his friends. After the editor's preface, follow the preface of Jerome on the four Gospels, addressed to Damasus, bishop of Rome, and Pope Clement VIII.'s preface to his edition of the Latin Vulgate Bible: together with a synopsis of the four Gospels, and parallel passages. The frequent appeals made to the Complutensian text, and the extreme rarity of that Polyglott, concur to render this very neatly printed edition by Professor Gratz an acceptable present to the Biblical critic.

47. Novum Testamentum. Textum Græcum Griesbachii et Knappii denuò recognovit, Delectu Varietatum Lectionis Testimoniis confirmatarum, Adnotatione cùm Criticâ tùm Exegeticâ et Indicibus Historico et Geographico, Vocum Græcarum Infrequentiorum et Subsidiorum Criticorum Exegeticorumque, instruxit Joannes Severinus VATER, Theol. Doct. et Prof. Hal. Halis Saxonum, 1824. 8vo.

In this neatly printed edition of the Greek Testament, the text of each book or epistle is exhibited in continuous paragraphs, with the numbers of the chapters and verses in the margin, for the convenience of reference; and in the Gospels the parallel passages are also referred to in the margin. The punctuation of the text is frequently improved. Below the text are exhibited, in long lines, the principal various readings, divested of Griesbach's stenographic marks, with the authorities on which they rest; and beneath them, in two columns, are brief but satisfactory exegetical notes on passages which are really difficult. Four indexes are subjoined, viz.—1. Historical and Geographical, of the Names of Persons and Places occurring in the New Testament; 2. Of the more difficult and uncommon Greek words; 3. Of the Manuscripts and other critical aids for determining various readings; and, 4. Of Exegetical or Expository Aids, comprising a list of the best commentaries on particular books, chapters, and verses. . . . . The book is printed on two papers—one inferior, which is bad enough; the other on a better sort of paper, which is both easy to read, and pleasant to the eye. (Universal Review, vol. ii. pp. 683, 684.)

48. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum, curante Jo. Fr. BOISSONADE. Parisiis, 1824. 2 tomis, 18mo.

In this beautifully and accurately printed edition of the Greek Text, Professor Boissonade states, that he followed the best copies, particularly that of Dr. Griesbach; yet not so servilely, but that he has availed himself of the judgment of other critics, and especially of the Vulgate Latin Version. The value of this edition, considered as a critical one, is much diminished by the total omission of any notes, to apprise the reader when the editor has departed from the received text, as also on what authority he has adopted particular readings. To specify two or three instances:—On the authority of Griesbach, he omits the doxology of the Lord's Prayer in Matt. vi. 13. On the same authority, in Acts xx. 28. he reads τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Κυρίου, *Church of the Lord*, instead of τοῦ Θεοῦ, *of God*. So also, in 1 Tim. iii. 16. he reads ὃ ἐφανερώθη, *which* (mystery) *was manifested*, instead of Θεὸς, *God*. But the much disputed clause in 1 John v. 7. is printed, as in the Complutensian and other editions, without any intimation that its genuineness has been denied, although that clause is omitted in Griesbach's edition, and is now generally considered to be spurious.

49. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Textui antè Griesbachium vulgo recepto additur Lectionum Variantium earum præcipue, quæ à Griesbachio potiores censentur, Delectus. Basileæ, 1825. 2 tomis, 8vo.

This very neat edition may occasionally be met with. The text is reprinted from an edition of the Greek Testament, edited at Basle by Andrew Birr, in 1749; who added a copious selection of parallel passages. The preface to the present edition is signed with the initial letters J. H. Whoever the editor may be, he has in many passages improved the punctuation, as well as the selection of parallel texts. Those various readings of Griesbach's which affect the sense are retained; and the editor has sometimes vindicated the ordinary Greek text against the proposed alterations of that critic. The Epistle of Jude is placed immediately after St. Peter's second Epistle, on account of the similarity of its subject. The passages cited from the Old Testament are exhibited in a very distinct form.

50. Novum Testamentum Græcè et Latinè, expressum ad binas editiones a Leone X. approbatas, Complutensem scilicet et Erasmi Roterodami. Additæ sunt aliarum novissimarum Recensionum Variantes Lectiones Græcæ, unà cum Vulgatâ Latinâ Editionis Clementinæ, ad exemplar ex Typographiâ Apostolicâ Vaticanâ Romæ, 1592, correctis corrigendis ex Indicibus Correctoriis ibidem editis, necnon, cum additis Lectionibus ex Vaticanis Editionibus Latinis, de annis 1590, 1592.

1593, 1598, Variantibus; adpositisque locis parallelis. Studio et curâ Leandri Van Ess. Tubingæ, 1827. 8vo.

The revised texts, consulted by Dr. Van Ess for this edition of the Greek Testament, are, the original Complutensian, the five editions of Erasmus, Robert Stephens's edition, printed at Paris in 1546, with the preface *O mirificam*, &c. Matthæi's second edition, published at Wittemberg in 1803—1807, and Griesbach's manual edition, published at Leipzig in 1805, with select various readings. The following is the plan followed by Dr. Van Ess in the *Greek* text of his edition: —

1. The text adopted is fundamentally that of Erasmus's fifth edition; and it is preferably retained in all those places where the revisions above enumerated vary from that edition.

2. Where the text of the Complutensian and Erasmus's fifth edition *agrees* (as most frequently is the case) the text alone is uniformly adopted.

3. Where these two texts *differ*, that reading of one or other of them is retained, which is supported by the authority of Griesbach's text.

4. All the readings of the five recensions above enumerated, which vary from the text of Van Ess's edition, are placed in notes at the foot of the page: and where no various reading is specified, the texts of the several editions uniformly agree.

The *Latin* text of the Vulgate is printed opposite to the Greek, on each page, according to the edition printed at the Vatican press at Rome, in 1592, with the requisite corrections from the Roman "Index Correctorius." References to parallel passages are added in the notes, together with the various readings from the editions of the Latin Vulgate printed at the same press in the years 1590, 1592, 1593, and 1598.

The ordinary divisions of chapters and verses are retained; but there are no summaries or tables of contents. The critical execution of this neatly printed edition has not received due attention. "Besides the errors in accentuation, which are very numerous, there are many others servilely transcribed from Gratz's first edition, which have since been corrected; and not a few typographical mistakes of the Complutensian Polyglott are enumerated here as various readings." (Biblical Repertory, vol. v. p. 137. Princeton, New Jersey, 1829.)

51. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum. Accedunt Parallela S. Scripturæ Loca, necnon Vetus Capitulorum Notatio, et Canones Eusebii. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1828; Editio altera, 1830; royal 18mo.

For this very commodious edition of the Greek Testament, junior biblical students (for whose use it is especially designed) are indebted to the Right Rev. Charles Lloyd, D.D. Bishop of Oxford. The plan of it is as follows: —

The text, which is that of Dr. Mill, is printed in paragraphs, with the division into sections [*in general*] and the punctuation of John Albert Bengel: the numbers of the chapters and verses are placed in the margin on the left of each page, in which are inserted the κεφαλαια or chapters found in ancient manuscripts, of which an account is given above, pp. 30, 31. These are printed from Kuster's edition of the Greek Testament, for the convenience of those who may wish to consult manuscripts for particular passages of the New Testament. In the other margin there are printed select but highly valuable Parallel References to Scripture, according to the edition of Courcelles (or Curcellæus). The Epistle to Carpianus and the canons of Eusebius (of which an account is given, pp. 30, 31.) are prefixed, for the purpose of enabling any one who may be so disposed, to compile for himself a harmony of the four Gospels.

52. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Græcè, secundum editiones probatissimas expressum; cum Ariæ Montani Interpretatione Latina. Curante Carolo Christiano Leutsch. Lipsiæ, 1828. 8vo.

A neat reprint of the Greek text, after that of Dr. Knappe's critical editions, with the Latin version of Arias Montanus, which from its general fidelity is held in high estimation by Protestants and Romanists. The Greek text and the Latin translation are printed in columns on each page: the ordinary divisions of chapters and verses are retained.

53. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Londini, impensis G. Pickering, 1828, 48mo.

This is the first Greek Testament printed in England with diamond type; and it is also the smallest in point of size which has ever been printed. The matrices, from which the types were cast, were cut by Mr. Caslon. The text is stated to be copied exactly from the Elzevir edition of 1624; and, in order to ensure the greater correctness, every proof sheet was critically examined eight times. There is a frontispiece, engraved on steel, representing the Last Supper, after the celebrated picture by Leonardo da Vinci.

54. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum ad Exemplar Millianum, cum emendationibus et lectionibus Griesbachii, præcipuis vocibus ellipticis, thematibus omnium vocum difficiliorum, atque locis scripturæ parallelis: studio et labore Gulielmi Greenfield. Londini, 1829. 48mo.

The Greek text of this beautifully executed pocket-edition of the New Testament is printed after Dr. Mill's edition (No. 11. p. 688. *suprà*) in columns, and with the usual divisions of chapters and verses. The critical emendations and various readings include the principal of those in Griesbach's edition of 1805 (No. 33. p. 694. *suprà*). These emendations and readings, together with the themes of the more difficult words, and a selection of really parallel passages, are all clearly exhibited in a column in the centre of each page. Such of Griesbach's various readings as could not be inserted in the central column are printed in an appendix. Two neat

miniature maps, — one of Palestine, and another illustrating St. Paul's Travels, — increase the utility of this very *portable* manual edition of the Greek Testament; as a companion to which, Mr. Greenfield published, in 1829, "The Polymicrian Lexicon to the New Testament," also in 48mo. "Elegance and accuracy of typographical execution, and the extreme smallness of the volume, which renders it a curiosity, are but the least of its recommendations. The work does the highest honour to the editor's fidelity, competent learning, and sound judgment." (Eclectic Review, February, 1832, vol. vii p. 160.)

55. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, sive Novum Testamentum Græcè; cui subjicitur Selectio copiosa Lectionum Variantium Emendationumque Griesbachii præcipuarum, necnon quamplurimæ Voces Ellipticæ: accurante Gulielmo Duncan. Edinburgi, 1830. 12mo.

A greatly improved edition of the Greek Testament first published at Edinburgh in 1811 by Mr. Adam Dickinson, with a small selection of various readings, for the use of the senior classes in schools. It was stereotyped in 1817, and was subsequently often reprinted. The text is, for the most part, that of Dr. Mill: at the foot of the pages are printed the principal elliptical words, collected from the publications of Bos, Leisner, and other eminent critics. In the text all the words and passages, absolutely rejected by Griesbach as spurious, are pointed out by inclosing them within brackets. The editor (Mr. Duncan) has annexed a copious selection of the most important of Griesbach's various readings and emendations, which appears to have been made with great care. The typographical execution is very neat.

56. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Textum ad fidem Testium Criticorum recensuit, Lectionum Familias subjecit, e Græcis Codicibus Manuscriptis qui in Europæ et Asiæ Bibliothecis reperiuntur fere omnibus, e Versionibus Antiquis, Conciliis, Sanctis Patribus et Scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis quibuscunque, vel primo vel iterum collatis, Copias Criticas addidit, atque Conditionem horum Testium Criticorum, Historiamque Textûs Novi Testamenti in Prolegomenis fusius exposuit. præterea Synaxaria Codicum Parisiensium typis exscribenda curavit Dr. J. Martinus Augustinus Scholz. Lipsiæ, 1830—36. 2 vols. 4to.

The preceding copious title-page of this work will convey to the reader an idea of the plan adopted by the learned editor, Dr. J. M. A. Scholz, who devoted *twelve* years of incessant labour previously to the printing of his arduous work. In order to obtain materials, he visited in person the libraries of Paris, Vienna, Landshut, Munich, Berlin, Trèves, London, Geneva, Turin, Florence, Venice, Parma, Rome, Naples, of the Greek Monasteries at Jerusalem, of St. Saba, and the Isle of Patmos; and collated, either wholly or in part, all the manuscripts of the New Testament which are to be found in the libraries just enumerated (in Greek, Latin, Arabic, &c.), comparing them with the text of Griesbach. He also professes to have examined anew most of the ancient versions, as well as the passages cited from the New Testament in the writings of the Fathers of the Christian Church, and of succeeding ecclesiastical authors, and in the acts of councils. In addition to all which sources, he has availed himself of the printed collations of preceding critical editors of the Greek Testament.

Vol. I. contains the Prolegomena and the four Gospels. The Prolegomena, which fill one hundred and seventy-two pages, comprise a critical history of the text of the New Testament, together with a copious history and critical estimate of all the sources of various readings consulted by Professor Scholz, distinguishing the MSS. collated by others from those which he had himself collated for the first time, either wholly or in part. These MSS. form a total of six hundred and seventy-four; of which number three hundred and forty-three were collated by his predecessors in this department of sacred literature, — 286 of various portions of the New Testament, and 57 evangelisteria or lesson-books extracted from the four Gospels; and three hundred and thirty-one were for the first time collated by Dr. Scholz himself, viz. 210 MSS. of parts of the New Testament, and 121 evangelisteria. Of the theory of recension adopted by Dr. S. in his Prolegomena, and in his Biblico-Critical Travels, and of the two classes of instruments or documents to which he refers all the MSS. of the New Testament, an account is given above, pp. 94—103. To the Prolegomena succeed the four Gospels, which fill four hundred and fifty-two pages, separately numbered. The text, which is generally that called the *textus receptus*, is judiciously printed in paragraphs, with the numbers of chapters and verses placed in the side margin: not a word is professedly altered without the support of the most decisive testimonies. In the inner margin below the text are placed the *families* of readings, as Dr. Scholz terms them; that is the general readings found in the two great classes of manuscripts, viz. the Constantinopolitan, and the Alexandrine: and beneath these, in the lower margin, are given the more detailed specifications, which are very clearly and commodiously disposed in two columns, and in the following order: viz. 1. Manuscripts of the greatest antiquity, which are written in uncial or capital letters, — these are designated by the letters of the alphabet, from A to Z, and by the two Greek letters Γ and Δ; 2. Manuscripts written in cursive or ordinary Greek characters; 3. Evangelisteria (the references to these two classes of manuscripts are by Arabic figures); 4. The readings found in the several ancient versions; and, 5. The quotations found in the writings of the Fathers and other ecclesiastical authors and in the acts of councils.

Vol. II. contains the text of the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles, and the Apocalypse, with the various readings, which are displayed in the same order as in the first volume. The Prolegomena comprise an account of the manuscripts of those books, whether collated by previous

editors, or by himself; including some addenda to the Prolegomena of the first volume. An Appendix is subjoined, which treats on the additions prefixed and annexed to the manuscripts of the Acts and Epistles; and 2. On the Synaxaria and Menologia found in the manuscripts of the Acts and Epistles which are preserved at Paris.

This is the most copious critical edition of the Greek Testament, with various readings, which has ever been published. It was not, however, received in Germany with that attention which it obtained in England. In reviewing Dr. Scholz's labours, "it must not, however, be supposed that any large portion of them [*i.e.* the critical materials] has been carefully examined by this indefatigable editor; we ought rather to wonder that a private individual could do so much, than to murmur at the slight and cursory manner in which the great bulk of his documents has been inspected." (Rev. F. H. Scrivener's Supplement to the authorised English Version of the New Testament, p. 17.) In pp.18—23., Mr. S. has given a copious criticism on Dr. Scholz's labours, to which the reader is necessarily referred. [See also above, pp. 132, 133.: the misprints and inaccuracies of statement detract considerably from the use which might have been made of this edition considered as a storehouse of materials.] It was announced that Dr. Scholz was preparing a new edition of the Greek Testament, with a selection of the principal various readings, to be published in 8vo., an undertaking prevented by the death of the editor.

57. Novum Testamentum Græcè, novâ Versione Latinâ donatum, ad optimas recensiones expressum, selectis Variis Lectionibus perpetuoque singulorum librorum argumento instructum (additâ III. Pauli ad Corinthios Epistola), edidit M. Fred. Aug. Adolph NAEBE. Lipsiæ, 1831. 8vo.

In the arrangement of the Greek text of this edition, Dr. Naebe "has chiefly followed the revision of Griesbach, consulting, however, the critical labours of Drs. Schulz and Scholz, and availing himself of not a few of the emendations proposed by Knappe, Schott, Vater, and Tittmann. He has also carefully corrected the punctuation throughout. In framing his Latin version, the editor acknowledges his obligations to the critical and exegetical commentaries and treatises of Grotius, Wetstein, Noesselt, Keil, Rosenmüller, Kuinöel, Paulus, Pott, Borger, Heinrichs, Tittmann, Tholuck, Winer, Bretschneider, Fritzsche, and many others, and especially to the Latin versions of Castellio, Reichard, Schott, Thalemann, and Jaspis. His version" [therefore, is an eclectic one: it] "is accurate, perspicuous, and concise; and though it pretends not to elegance of Latinity, it is nowhere barbarous or uncouth. The *principal* various readings only are given, which are best supported by critical testimonies; and the brief summaries of contents in the several chapters will be found a convenient aid to the student. In compiling them, M. Naebe has followed, sometimes Fritzsche, sometimes Knappe, sometimes Jaspis, sometimes Eichhorn, and sometimes Hug, according as one or other of these critics appeared to have treated the several subjects with the greatest accuracy. The third Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, which is here given in La Croze's Latin version from the Armenian translation of the New Testament, is confessedly apocryphal, and of no use whatever to the Biblical student." (Foreign Quarterly Review, vol. viii. p. 497.)

58. Novum Testamentum Græcè, ex recensione Caroli LACHMANNI. Berolini, 1831. 12mo.

The editor of this impression of the Greek Testament states that he has framed it upon the principles developed in Ullmann's and Umbreit's "*Theologische Studien und Kritiken*," 1830, pp. 817—845. Dr. Lachmann professes that he has in no instance followed his own judgment, but that he has restored the text as it was received by the Oriental Church in the first four centuries; and further, that wherever he could, he has given a preference to those readings which could be supported by the consent of the Italians and Africans. Wherever there was a discrepancy between all the authorities, he has indicated it partly in brackets, and partly in the margin. The Apostolic Epistles are given in a different order from that which is found in every other edition. After the Acts come the seven Catholic Epistles: these are followed by those written by St. Paul, in the following order, viz. Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, 1 and 2 Thessalonians, Hebrews, 1 and 2 Timothy, Titus; the Apocalypse terminates the volume. At the end there are *forty-three pages* containing the reading of the Textus Receptus, which Lachmann had rejected from the text. The type of this edition, which has been several times reprinted, is very neat. This edition has been received in Germany with much deference.

59. Testamentum Novum Græce et Latine Carolus LACHMANNUS recensuit. Philippus Butmannus, Ph. F. Græcæ Lectionis Auctoritates, apposuit. Berolini, 1842–50. 2 tomis. 8vo.

The text of the preceding edition, with some revision, is reprinted in this, to which the younger Buttmann has added the critical authorities for the various readings. The preface of Lachmann is characterised by a bitterness of temper towards certain learned editors of the New Testament, and also towards his reviewers in Germany, "which is anything but creditable to his character as a scholar or a Christian." The only manuscript authorities consulted for this edition are,—A. The Codex Alexandrinus; B. The Codex Vaticanus; C. The Codex Ephræmi (a palimpsest: the readings are those of Wetstein, Tischendorf's fac-simile edition not being published when Vol. I. appeared); D. The Codex Bezæ; Δ. The Codex Claromontanus, containing St. Paul's Epistles[1]; E. The Codex Laudianus of the Acts; G. The Codex Boemerianus

[1] In 1830, twelve years *before* Lachmann published the first volume of his second edition, Dr. Scholz assigned the letter Δ to the Codex San Gallensis. Critical students will do well

of St. Paul's Epistles; H. The Coislin Fragments of St. Paul's Epistles; P. and Q. The Wolfenbüttel Fragments of the Gospels; T. The Borgian Greek and Sahidic [Thebaic] Fragments of Saint John's Gospel; and, Z. The Palimpsest Manuscript of St. Matthew's Gospel.

The Greek Text is printed in paragraphs, below which are various readings, with their respective authorities; and at the foot of the page is the Latin version of Jerome, commonly termed the Vulgate, in a text which Lachmann has formed for himself, chiefly from two antient Latin manuscripts. The only Fathers whom he cites as authorities are Irenæus and Origen among the Greeks; and, among the Latins, Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, Hilary of Poictiers, and Lucifer Bishop of Cagliari: all of whom lived and wrote before or in the fourth century, below which Lachmann does not come. The Rev. F. H. Scrivener has given a severe but just critique on this edition of the New Testament in vol. i. pp. 23—30. of his "Supplement to the authorised English Version of the New Testament." Professor Tholuck thus briefly characterises Lachmann's edition: "His text is only a reproduction of the readings found in the most antient manuscripts. It is therefore not at all suited to the use of students.[1] It cannot be called a critical edition of the New Testament, but only a preparation for such an edition." (Theological Encyclopædia and Methodology, translated by E. A. Park, in Bibliotheca Sacra and Theological Review, vol. i. p. 354. New York, 1844.) [The editor refers to what has been said above, pp. 134, 135., and also in his "Account of the Printed Text," pp. 97—117., as containing an estimate of Lachmann's edition very different from that given above, and in the subjoined notes. Lachmann's censors forgot that *they* were "bitter," and they did not inform themselves as to what he really proposed.]

60. 'Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. The New Testament; with English Notes, Critical, Philological, and Explanatory. [By the Rev. E. Valpy, B.D.] A New Edition, London, 1831. 3 vols. 8vo.

The former edition of this Greek Testament appeared in 1826, and in this new edition the work is greatly improved. The text is that of the editio princeps, at the foot of which are exhibited the principal various readings; and below these are placed copious critical, philological, and explanatory notes, in English, selected with great care from Raphelius, Kypke, Palairet, Schleusner, Rosenmüller, and other distinguished foreign critics. Ample use has been made of Bishop Middleton's Treatise on the doctrine of the Greek Article, an abstract of which is prefixed to the first volume. Verbal criticism is also introduced, together with observations on the Greek Idiom from Vigerus, on the Ellipses from Bos, and on the Particles from Hoogeveen. As the notes on the Gospel of St. Matthew are full and copious, there was less necessity in many instances, especially in the parallel passages, for the same extended mode of illustration; but a frequent reference is made from one to the other; and thus the student is induced to consult and to compare the whole body of annotations, and is further enabled to fix more durably on his mind the result and fruit of his industry and research. Two Maps of Judæa adapted to the Gospel History and of the Travels of the Apostles (both copied by permission from the Maps illustrating the earlier editions of this work), with Greek and English Indexes, contribute to enhance the utility of this edition.

61. 'Η ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. The Greek Testament; with English Notes. By the Rev. Edward Burton, D.D. Oxford, 1831. 2 vols. 8vo. [Subsequent editions in *one* vol. 8vo.]

The text of Bishop Lloyd's editions, printed at Oxford, in 1828 and 1830, is adopted in this edition of the Greek Testament. The divisions of chapters and verses are thrown into the margin, in which the parallel references of Curcellæus are printed after a very careful revision of them, which enabled Dr. Burton to detect numerous errors. These corrected marginal references are very valuable, not only as pointing out the parallel passages in the four Gospels, but also as frequently saving the insertion of a note, where a quotation is made from the Old Testament, which does not require any further illustration. Below the text are placed the notes, which (the editor states) "are calculated for those persons who are not reading the Greek Testament for the first time, but who as yet have little acquaintance with the labours of critical commentators." (Pref. p. iii.) They are partly explanatory and philological, and partly critical on the various readings occurring in the New Testament. In preparing these critical notes, Dr. Burton examined for himself, with no small labour and attention, the copious materials which had been collected by Griesbach: and, after weighing the evidence adduced

---

to bear this in mind, to prevent confusion; [which could not arise, as Cod. San-Gallensis contains only the Gospels, Cod. Claromontanus only St. Paul's Epistles.]

[1] That Lachmann's edition of the New Testament "is not adapted to ordinary use" (Prof. Tholuck remarks) "is evident from the following considerations:—

"First, Since there are so few codices, which are written in uncial characters, and are preserved entire, Lachmann has been obliged sometimes to adopt readings which are authorised only by a single codex. Thus he has given the whole text, from the fourth to the twelfth chapter of 2 Corinthians, according to no other authority than that of Codex B., and the whole text, from Hebrews ix. 14. to the end of the epistle, on the basis of Codex A. merely. [But see above, p. 135., as to the character of this *assertion* of Tholuck.]

"In the second place, all the most antient codices contain sometimes the same errors of the copyist; and these errors are therefore adopted by Lachmann. Thus, in Eph. i. 15., the words τὴν ἀγάπην are omitted. In Heb. vi. 14., instead of ἢ μήν these manuscripts insert εἰ μήν." (Bibliotheca Sacra. vol. i. p. 354.)

by him in favour of any particular reading, Dr. B. noted down all the variations from the received text, which seem to have a majority of documents in their favour. The most remarkable variations are simply stated in the notes: but, in hundreds of instances, where the difference consists in the collocation of words, in the addition or the omission of the article, the substitution of ὅτι for καὶ, &c. &c., Dr. Burton has not thought it necessary to mention the variation. In all the cases which he *has* noticed, the various reading is probably that which ought to be admitted into the text. The dates, which he has followed in the Acts of the Apostles and in arranging the apostolic epistles, differ from those commonly adopted. Dr. B. has stated his reasons for preferring this chronological scheme in "An Attempt to ascertain the Chronology of the Acts of the Apostles and of St. Paul's Epistles" (London, 1830, 8vo.), to which the reader is necessarily referred. Two very useful indexes terminate this edition of the Greek Testament: viz. 1. A list of the most remarkable Greek terms explained in the notes; and 2. An index of facts and proper names. The typographical execution of this edition is singularly beautiful and accurate.

62. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. The Greek Testament; with English Notes, critical, philological, and exegetical. By the Rev. S. T. BLOOMFIELD, D.D. Cambridge and London. 1832. Second Edition, London, 1836. (Reprinted at Boston, [Massachussetts], in 1837.) Third Edition, London, 1839. 2 vols. 8vo. Fourth Edition, 1841. Fifth Edition, 1843. 2 vols. 8vo. [Succeeding editions in following years. Supplemental vol. of notes. *Ninth* Edition: revised, 1855.]

Of the FIRST of these editions of the Greek Testament, the Text is a new Recension, formed on the basis of that of R. Stephens, adopted by Dr. Mill, from which there is no deviation but on what the editor regarded as the fullest evidence; such alterations only having been introduced as rest on the united authority of MSS., Versions, Fathers, and early printed editions; and which have been adopted in one or more of the critical editions of Wetstein, Griesbach, Matthæi, and Scholz. Nothing has been omitted which is found in the Stephanic text: such words only as are, by the almost universal consent of editors and critics, regarded as interpolations being placed within distinctly marked brackets, more or less inclusive according to the degree of suspicion attached to the words. Nothing has been inserted but on the same weighty authority; and even those words are indicated as insertions by being printed in smaller characters. All altered readings (which are comparatively few, and generally found in the Editio Princeps) have asterisks prefixed, the common readings being indicated in the Notes. And such readings as, though left untouched, are generally thought to need alteration, have an obelisk prefixed. In all cases the reasons for any deviation from the Stephanic, or common text, are given. Thus, the reader possesses the advantage of having both texts placed before him, the common text and the corrected text, constituting, it is conceived, the true Greek Vulgate. The punctuation has been most carefully corrected and adjusted, after a comparison of all the best editions. To each verse is subjoined, in the *outer* margin, a select body of parallel references from Curcellæus's edition of the New Testament, the *inner* margin being appropriated to the numbers of chapters and verses. The citations from the Old Testament, and the words of any speaker, are clearly indicated by a peculiar mode of printing. Under the text are copious notes (mostly original, but partly derived, with acknowledgment, from various Commentators, ancient and modern) comprising whatever respects the interpretation, or tends to establish the grammatical sense. In these the editor has endeavoured to unite comprehensiveness with brevity, so as to form one consistent body, in epitome, of exegetical and philological annotation, of which the matter (very carefully digested) is, in its general character, elementary, and introductory to the larger commentaries, especially Dr. Bloomfield's Recensio Synoptica Novi Testamenti, noticed in a subsequent page: and it further systematically indicates the interpretation of controverted passages; being especially adapted to the use of academical students and candidates for the sacred office, though intended also as a manual edition for theological readers in general.

The SECOND edition is greatly enlarged and improved; the text having been re-examined and corrected. The punctuation was diligently revised, and by enlarging the size of the page much new important critical and exegetical matter was added (amounting to 160 pages), including concise introductions to the several books of the New Testament and copious indexes of Greek words and phrases, and of the matters explained in the Notes. The harmony of the Gospels is represented by a tabular synopsis of parallels in the margin, showing at one view what portions of each Gospel are peculiar to that Gospel or are common to the others.

Much as had been done in the two preceding impressions, the THIRD edition, which is stereotyped, is yet further enlarged (to the extent of not less than 200 pages), and very materially improved. In addition to his own researches, Dr. Bloomfield has availed himself of various suggestions for the improvement of his work, which in its present state exhibits the result of the labours of all preceding critical editors of the New Testament, as well as of his own researches for more than thirty years. The following are the leading features of this edition:—

1. The Text has again been carefully examined and finally[1] settled, so as to form—in effect—a new recension; which is so constructed as to represent both the common and the corrected text, and at the same time adverts to the various texts formed by the best preceding critical editors, especially Griesbach, Matthæi, and Scholz. The readings of Dr. Scholz's text, when

[1] [But see below as to the *ninth* edition.]

varying from that of the present edition, are given in the critical notes. The punctuation has been again revised, and various improvements have been introduced.

2. The Tabular Parallels, representing the harmony of the four Gospels, which had originally been derived from Dr. Vater's edition (noticed in No. 47. p. 698. *suprà*), have been re-collated and revised, and many alterations have been introduced, either by the removal of references which were not strictly parallel, or by the introduction of new and important parallel references, chiefly derived from the Rev. Edward Greswell's "Harmonia Evangelica," and "Dissertations." And the Collection of Marginal References throughout the New Testament has been materially corrected and improved.

3. But the chief change will be found in the Annotations. Among these, the *Critical Notes* are greatly increased in number, especially by a perpetual reference to Dr. Scholz's edition of the Greek Testament (noticed in p. 700. No. 56.), the results of whose labours, as far as is practicable, are laid before the reader. The *Exegetical Notes* have received equal attention, and now form a perpetual commentary in epitome; in which the opinions of many writers are condensed. In these notes numerous parallel constructions are introduced from Classical Authors, besides some select elucidations from Rabbinical Writers. The *Glossarial Notes*, the object of which is to establish or illustrate the sense of all really difficult words or phrases, are made so comprehensive, as, with the aid of the Greek Index of words and phrases explained, to render it less frequently necessary for the student to refer to a Lexicon.

4. The typographical execution of this edition of the Greek Testament is beautiful and correct: and its value is not a little enhanced by the addition of an entirely New Map of Palestine and Syria, which is prefixed to the first volume. This map, which is adapted to illustrate not only the New Testament, but also the works of the Jewish historian, Josephus, has been drawn by Mr. Arrowsmith, from the more recent and important authorities, under the special direction of Colonel Leake.

Upon the whole, without depreciating the merit of the labours of preceding editors, this third edition of the Greek Testament, by Dr. Bloomfield, may justly be regarded [in the opinion of the *author*] as the most valuable for biblical students, that has yet been issued from the press in this country.

The fourth and fifth editions are reprints of the third, with a few unimportant corrections.

[The NINTH edition of Dr. Bloomfield's Greek Testament is in many respects a re-wrought work. An endeavour has been made to reconstruct the critical materials, and to introduce into the body of annotation much more than before. Some of the changes are explained in the preface; others must be learned from the work itself. The writer of these remarks has already expressed his judgment as to the critical opinions of Dr. Bloomfield (see "The Book of Revelation translated from the ancient Greek Text," Introd. pp. xix—xxii.), his severe censure of those who differ from him, and the needless conjectures which (though avowedly objecting to all conjecture) he sometimes suggests and occasionally adopts. The writer has also shown ("Account of Printed Text," pp. 262—264.), that Dr. Bloomfield's statements as to the opinions of others, as to their citations from MSS., and as to the readings of MSS. (as given in what may be called the common sources of information), require to be examined carefully in every case. A reference will suffice without repeating these things, farther than to say, that in general they are just as applicable to the ninth edition as they were to those that preceded.

In several places a change of opinion on Dr. Bloomfield's part is manifest; and this explains how some of the annotations are inconsistent in their parts or not in accordance with the text. In St. Mark's Gospel the tabular parallels are retained, while in the others they are omitted. It should be remarked, that the influence of Mr. Alford's Greek Testament has been far from small on this remodelled edition of Dr. Bloomfield.]

63. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. The Greek Testament, with brief English Notes, chiefly philological and explanatory, especially formed for the use of Colleges and Public Schools, and also adapted to serve as a convenient Manual for general purposes. By the Rev. S. T. BLOOMFIELD, D.D. London, 1837. Fourth Edition, 1845. 12mo.

This edition is avowedly designed for the use of colleges and schools, and also for such general students, for whom a larger and more expensive edition would be unsuited. The text is that of Dr. Bloomfield's large octavo edition. The punctuation has been most carefully attended to, so as materially to diminish the labour, and facilitate the progress of the biblical student. The notes, though concise, are clear and satisfactory: and a good index of the Greek words and phrases explained, concludes this cheap and commodious edition of the Greek Testament.

64. Novum Testamentum Græcè ad optimorum librorum fidem recensuit Antonius JAGMANN. Cum selecta Lectionum Varietate. Monachii. 1832. 8vo.

This is professedly a manual edition for the use of such students in the Universities of Germany as are unable to procure the larger and more expensive critical editions of the New Testament. The text is for the most part taken from Tittmann's edition (No. 44. p. 697. *suprà*). Various readings are selected from the editions of Griesbach, Matthæi, Gratz, and Knappe. As might be expected from a Romanist, the editor has been guided very materially by the authority of the Latin Vulgate version. A tabular harmony of the four Gospels is prefixed: and the volume, which is very neatly printed, concludes with an index of the Epistles and Gospels for every Sunday and festival of the Romish Church.

65. Novum Testamentum Græcè et Latinè. Ex Recensione Knappiana, ad-

jectis variis et Griesbachii et Lachmanni lectionibus, edidit Adolphus Goeschen. Lipsiæ, 1832. 8vo.

This also is a manual edition for the use of German Biblical Students. The text is taken from Knappe's edition; and below it are the principal various readings adopted by Griesbach and Lachmann. The Latin version, which is placed below them, is said to be close and faithful. The divisions of chapters are retained, but the numbers of the verses are given in the margin: and to each chapter is prefixed a copious summary of its contents. A chronological table terminates this convenient, cheap, and beautifully printed edition of the New Testament.

66. Antiquissimus Quatuor Evangeliorum Canonicorum Codex San-Gallensis Græco-Latinus interlinearis, ... edidit H. C. M. Rettig. Turici, 1836. 4to.

See an account of this edition in No. 9. p. 682. *suprà*, among the fac-simile editions of Manuscripts containing the New Testament.

67. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Ex editione Stephani tertia, 1550. The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; according to the authorised version. The Greek and English texts arranged in parallel columns. A New Edition, with the addition of the marginal references. Cambridge, at the Pitt Press, 1836 12mo. [Also reprinted.]

For this beautifully and accurately printed edition of the New Testament, biblical students are indebted to the late Rev. James Scholefield, M. A., Regius Professor of Greek; who states, that "The only variations, introduced into this edition from that of Robert Stephens, 1550, (besides occasional changes in the punctuation, and the correction of manifest typographical errors,) are the following:—In Matt. vi. 24. and Luke xvi. 14. the word μαμωνᾷ is uniformly printed after Griesbach; whereas in Stephens it varies between the single and double μ. 2. In Matt. xxiii. 13, 14. the order of the verses is inverted, to make it agree with the English version. 3. In Mark xiv. 19., John viii. 9., Romans xii. 5., καθεῖς is uniformly printed as one word, which, in the first passage, Stephens divides into two. 4. In 1 Peter iii. 11. the words ἀγαθὸν ζητησάτω are retained, though omitted in Stephens's edition; as this omission appears to have been purely accidental, contrary to all MS. versions, and former editions. In the marginal references, which are introduced into this edition, the translations, inclosed between brackets, are those, which have been added subsequently to 1611, chiefly by Dr. Blayney, in his revision, published at Oxford, 1769."

68. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. The New Testament in Greek, chiefly from the Text of Mill, with copious English notes . . . . To which are annexed a Chronological Harmony, and three Indexes. By the Rev. William Trollope, M. A. London, 1837. 8vo.

For an account of this edition of the Greek Testament, see the Christian Remembrancer for February, 1838 (vol. xx. pp. 65—70.).

69. The New Testament in Greek and English, with the usual Marginal References and Readings, a Marginal Harmony, or Concordance of Words, and a graduated collection of various Readings from Griesbach. Arranged and edited by Edward Cardwell, D.D. Oxford, 1837. 2 vols. 12mo.

70. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Griesbach's Text, with the various Readings of Mill and Scholz. London, 1837, small 8vo. [Second Edition, revised 1850.]

"This title-page, brief as it is, describes the work very well. It gives the reader, in a portable form, in short, the readings of three well-known texts of the New Testament. In addition to this, Griesbach's probable readings are given in foot-notes; and there is an useful and compendious account of the various editions of the New Testament prefixed, together with a harmony," presenting some features of difference from other arrangements, "chronological and other useful tables, together with parallel passages given in the margin." Brief prefaces are prefixed to each book; and, for the convenience of those who may use this edition for theological purposes, a body of parallel references is given in the margin; and the facility of comparison is much increased by observing a distinct notation for parallels of single passages or ideas, and for those furnishing a detailed narrative of the same events. Great care has been taken to admit only such as are really, and not merely verbally, parallel passages. "The work is well and clearly printed, and has two engravings, a coloured fac-simile specimen of the Cotton manuscript" of the four Gospels, "and of a manuscript of the thirteenth century in the *cursive*" or ordinary Greek "character." (British Magazine, February, 1838, vol. xiii. p. 179.)

[Several inaccuracies were found in the edition of this Greek Testament, which appeared in 1837; these arose principally from undue confidence having been placed on the reprint of Griesbach's *Manual*, which appeared at Leipsic in 1825, the errors of which are so great as to extend to the omission of words or clauses. In consequence, this Greek Testament was subjected to a thorough revision before the edition of 1850 was issued. It has been sometimes stated that this revision of the text and readings was executed by Dr. Tregelles; it may prevent the repetition of a mistake to mention, that though Dr. T. was consulted on the subject of the revision, no part was undertaken or accomplished by him, except part of the introduction and some of the remarks prefixed to each book. He neither read nor revised the text itself.]

71. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Græcè, post Joh. Aug. Hen. Tittmannum olim Prof. Lips. ad fidem optimorum librorum secundis curis recognovit, Lectionumque varietatem notavit, Augustus HAHN. Editio stereotypa Lipsiæ, 1840. 8vo.

71.* Novum Testamentum Græcè, post J. A. H. Tittmannum, olim Prof. Lips. ad fidem optimorum librorum secundis curis recognovit, Lectionumque varietatem notavit Augustus HAHN, in Acad. Vratisl. Professor. Editio Americana stereotypa; curante Edvardo ROBINSON, S.T.D. Neo-Eboraci et Bostoniæ. 1842. 8vo.

Of Professor Tittmann's useful manual edition of the Greek Testament, a brief notice has been given in p. 697. No. 44. *suprà*. That edition being long since exhausted, the publisher, Mr. Charles TAUCHNITZ, of Leipsic (to whose liberal enterprise biblical students are largely indebted for various valuable works), applied to Dr. Hahn to undertake a new edition, with such improvements as he might think proper to make. The improvements which Dr. Hahn has made are so considerable as justly to entitle his labours to distinct and honourable notice. The following is the plan adopted by Dr. Hahn: —

First, he corrected all the typographical errors in Tittmann's edition, as well as errors in punctuation, and in some instances the improper use of capital letters. "The accentuation also was faulty in many places, as well as the mode of writing words with the *coronis*, e. g. κἀγώ for κἀγώ, &c. The Iota subscript in such words as τῇ, omitted by Tittmann, Hahn judges to be wrongly omitted, and has restored it. The circumflex removed by Tittmann, in such words as ζῆλος, λαῖλαψ, and the like, Hahn restores. Many other smaller faults, which he specifies, he has laboured to correct; as well as the defects already enumerated above.

Thus much, as to correctness in the printing of the new edition. Next, as to the choice of readings.

Hahn has exhibited, in the margin of the work, the various readings of Griesbach's two later editions, those of the first volume of the third edition by Schulz, and also the readings of Knapp, of Scholz, and of Lachmann. The abbreviations which are used in referring to these authorities, are all sufficiently explained in the preface. The variations from the *Textus receptus* are also noted in the margin. The modes of designating suspected clauses, and of marking the beginning of verses, are all explained in the preface, and appear to be generally easy and judicious.

"The received text, the editor says, is never abandoned without the most weighty reasons. When there is a disagreement among critical editors, whether it should be admitted or rejected, Hahn has taken care to note who are for it and who are against it. Where he has differed in judgment from other critics, the nature of his appeal to them advertises the reader who are with the editor, and who are against him. In some cases he differs from all of them; and then, although he does not state his reasons in the margin, because the nature of his plan forbids him thus to enlarge, yet he assures his readers that he never ventures to dissent from all the other critical editions, unless he has what he deems to be good and forcible reasons for so doing. The critical reader, in such a case, must resort to Wetstein, or Griesbach's second critical edition in two volumes, or to Scholz, where he will find most, if not all of the authorities on which the judgment of Hahn rests; or in case he does not find satisfaction there, he must resort to the context, and to the comparison of parallel passages.

"It will be seen, at once, that there is no proper ground of complaint against the editor, in this case, because he has not detailed his reasons; for to do this would be to swell the work into a form so large, as to frustrate the object of making a manual."

Thus Dr. Hahn has given "a *syllabus* of all that is contained in the various recensions of the New Testament text, which is of any importance. Griesbach's last edition (1796, 1806) contains embodied all the critical results which had preceded that time; and Scholz, Schulz, Knapp, and Lachmann, have given nearly all that has been developed since that period. Almost every month some new readings are coming to light, and the way is thus preparing for a critical recension at a future period, which will place all preceding editions merely on the shelf of the historian of criticism.

"In addition to this important syllabus of the critical recensions, which Hahn has presented in his margin, his edition possesses some other advantages over the preceding manuals of this nature, which deserve a passing notice.

"In a Prolegomenon of some length he has given a brief, but quite intelligible and appropriate, description of all the important *uncial* manuscripts. These, critics have generally deemed to be the most ancient and of the best authority. Their names, distinctive qualities, probable age, extent of contents, and the symbol used by critics to designate them, are all to be found in Hahn's description. The manuscripts in the *cursive* or small-text Greek he has not undertaken to describe; because, as he thinks, the great mass of them originated in the tenth century, and only a few in the ninth. Of course, if such be the fact, the weight of authority belonging to them must be small. The *uncial* manuscripts are divided into four classes, viz. I. Manuscripts of the Gospels. II. Of the Acts and Catholic Epistles. III. Of the Epistles of Paul. IV. Of the Apocalypse. — All the important ones, under each head, are specified and briefly described. Next to this syllabus of uncial manuscripts comes a brief account of the ancient *Versions* made directly from the Greek. These are the Itala and other Latin versions before the time of Jerome; the Vulgate by Jerome; the Peshito or Old Syriac, and also the Philoxenian Syriac Version; the Egyptian Versions; the Ethiopic, Arabic, Gothic, and Slavonic Versions. Last of all is a reference to the citations of the Fathers, and the nature of the appeal to them is briefly stated. Inasmuch as the Versions and the Fathers are cited in Griesbach and Scholz, as witnesses for or against any particular reading, and may be there found, Hahn does

not produce them in his margin. He would no more do this, in consistency with his plan, than he would cite all the manuscript authorities. The results of all the recensions is what Hahn has undertaken to give, not the process by which those results were made out. The larger editions of Wetstein, Griesbach, Scholz, and Lachmann must be consulted for the process.

"Every thing about this edition of Hahn wears the air of great neatness. The type is excellent; the paper good; the printing unusually correct; and the pointing judicious. It is truly a work of *multum in parvo*. The reader has before him the decisions of all the distinguished recent text-critics, as well as that of Hahn himself, and he is therefore at liberty, and is furnished with means, to examine and judge for himself. Hahn does not bind him by his own judgment. When he differs from others, he gives notice of it, and tells the reader how others have decided." (Bibliotheca Sacra, New York, 1843, pp. 274—277.)

The North American reprint is beautifully and accurately executed under the able editorship of Professor Robinson. By enlarging the size of the page, Hahn's edition of 693 pages is compressed into 563 pages.

72. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Textum ad fidem antiquorum testium recensuit: brevem Apparatum Criticum, una cum Variis Lectionibus Elzevirorum, Knappii, Scholzii, Lachmanni subjunxit; Argumenta et Locos Parallelos indicavit; Commentationem Isagogicam, notatis propriis lectionibus Edd. Stephanicæ tertiæ atque Millianæ, Matthæianæ, Griesbachianæ, præmisit Ænotheus Fridericus Constantinus TISCHENDORF. Lipsiæ, 1841. Square 12mo.

This edition will be "found useful by those who wish to possess in a small compass the latest information on the subject of various readings." (Scrivener's Suppl. to the Authorised English Version of the New Test. vol. i. p. 31.) The prolegomena treat,—1. On the different recensions of the text of the New Testament, especially that of Dr. Scholz, on whom he is unmercifully severe; 2. On the plan which Dr. Tischendorf pursued in preparing this edition; and 3. On the editions collated with the text of his own edition. To these he has added, 4. An Index of the critical aids to which he had recourse (Manuscripts, Versions, and the Greek and Latin Fathers, and ecclesiastical writers), and of the contracted references to them which he has adopted. Following the steps of Griesbach, he has throughout given the predominance to the Alexandrian or African manuscripts. The text is very neatly printed in long lines, the verses being exhibited in the outer margin, and the parallel passages in the inner margin. The various readings are at the foot of the page. The typographical execution of this edition is very neat.

73. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Græcè et Latinè. In antiquis testibus Textum Versionis Vulgatæ indagavit, Lectionesque variantes Stephani notavit, V. S. Venerabili Jager in consilium adhibito, Constantinus TISCHENDORF. Parisiis, 1842. Imperial 8vo.

The text of the Greek Testament and of the Latin Vulgate version is printed in parallel columns. As a critical edition it is of no value to the scholar, as the text *is only a cento of* those various readings selected from Greek manuscripts which are in accordance with the Clementine edition of the Latin vulgate version, the only version allowed to be authentic by the Romish church. In the appendix are printed the various readings which occur in Robert Stephens's third edition (Paris, 1550), and in Griesbach's second edition (Halæ Saxonum, 1796—1806) of the Greek Testament; and which readings differ from the text as printed by Tischendorf. This edition is a companion to the imperial octavo edition of the Septuagint, which is noticed in p. 725. No. 25. *infrà*; and both, though sold separately, form part of the series of classic authors whose works are in course of publication from the press of Messrs. Didot. The volume is printed in the same upright sharp Greek characters as Didot's other publications.

[74. Novum Testamentum. Textus Græcus Versionis Vulgatæ Latinæ, quem in antiquis testibus V. S. Venerabili Jager in consilium adhibito indagavit Constantinus TISCHENDORF. Parisiis, 1842. Small 8vo.

This is the Greek text alone of the preceding edition; but without the appendix of various readings: it is on that account of even less utility, if possible, than the one just mentioned. (See "Account of Printed Text," p. 118.)]

75. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Ad antiquos testes recensuit, Lectionesque Variantes Elzevirorum, Stephani, Griesbachii, notavit Constantinus TISCHENDORF. Parisiis, 1842. Small 8vo.

[This resembles in *appearance* very closely the preceding edition; it was, however, intended to be nearly the same text as the Leipsic edition (above, No. 72.). In an appendix subjoined at Midsummer, 1843, to the unsold copies of the Leipsic edition, Tischendorf states of this Paris impression, "editionem destinatam illam quidem imprimis ad Francogallorum et Anglorum usum:" in *this* country, however, it has not been much used; and it soon came to Tischendorf's knowledge that the work of altering the setting of type so as to adapt it to the Leipsic readings had been performed very carelessly; so that it was about the most incorrect edition ever printed. It is said that the proprietors have caused the stereotype plates to be

recently revised; but even then it is a text of no *critical* importance, as only exhibiting Tischendorf's earliest opinions, and that without the authorities on which they were based.]

[76. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Ad antiquos testes recensuit, Apparatum Criticum multis modis auctum et correctum apposuit, Commentationem Isagogicam præmisit Constantinus TISCHENDORF, Theol. Dr. et Prof. Editio Lipsiensis secunda. Lipsiæ, 1849. Small 8vo.

This is the most complete edition of Tischendorf hitherto published: it contains many of the results of his own collations and transcripts of MSS.; the authorities, however, are given compendiously, and the readings are *selected*, so that it does not present anything like a complete critical apparatus. It is needless to describe it in detail here, as its leading features have been enumerated above, pp. 138, 139. See also "Account of the Printed Text," pp. 118—129.]

[77. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Ad antiquos testes denuo recensuit, Apparatum Criticum omni studio perfectum apposuit, Commentationem Isagogicam prætextuit Constantinus TISCHENDORF. Editio septima. 8vo.

The first part of this edition was issued about the close of 1855. It appears from the statements made by Dr. Tischendorf that its progress through the press will be but slow, as it is to contain a *complete* conspectus of the various readings of the MSS. collated by the editor and of the ancient versions, &c. In filling up the outline furnished by his edition of 1849, the editor has evidently taken considerable pains; but as it was not formed at once from the materials themselves, but only by adding in what had been previously passed by, it is not surprising that omissions may still be noticed: perhaps, however, when the Prolegomena appear it will be found that the editor acted on some definite principle as to what he passed by. This edition is called the *seventh*, by adding to the two former Leipsic and the three Paris editions, certain impressions of the mere text. When this edition is complete it will probably be the most full and convenient *manual* of the various readings and their authorities that has ever appeared.]

78. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. The New Testament: consisting of the Greek Testament of Scholz, with the readings, both textual and marginal, of Griesbach; and the variations of Stephens, 1550; Beza, 1598; and the Elzevir, 1633; with the English authorised Version and its Marginal Renderings. London, [1842.] Small 8vo.

In this very neatly printed and portable edition, the typographical inaccuracies occurring in the Greek text of Scholz have been carefully corrected, and every variation between it and Griesbach's smaller edition, printed at Leipsic in 1805, has been pointed out; together with all those readings of the value of which Griesbach has expressed any judgment. The variations of Stephens, Beza, and the Elzevirs are given from the editions specified in the title. The English authorised version is printed according to the first edition of 1811 (the italic words of which have been carefully followed), with the whole of the marginal renderings. The paragraphs into which the English text has been divided have been arranged to correspond with the Greek.

79. ΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΝΗΣ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ ΑΠΑΝΤΑ. Καντεβριγιᾳ. Ἐκ τοῦ Τυπογραφιου Πιττικου, ετει ᾳωμγ'. [Edited by the Rev. Joseph JOWETT, A.M. Cambridge: at the Pitt Press, 1843.] 18mo.

A very beautiful *pocket* edition of the Greek Testament. It contains the Textus Receptus, taken from the first Elzevir edition printed at Leyden in 1624, which is divided into sections or paragraphs according to Bengel's edition printed in 1734. At the foot of the page are printed parallel passages from Courcelles's edition, printed at Amsterdam in 1675, which have been carefully revised and corrected by the editor, the Rev. Joseph JOWETT, A.M.

80. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, ΕΚ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΛΑΙΑΣ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑ ΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΟΜΕΝΗ. Novum Testamentum Græcum, Editio Hellenistica. [Edited by the Rev. Edward William GRINFIELD, M.A.] Londini, 1843. 2 vols. 8vo.

The express design of the learned editor is to illustrate the style of the New Testament by a minute and comprehensive analysis of the Septuagint version of the Old Testament, and thus to substitute, in lieu of rabbinical authorities and heathen writers, the more appropriate and befitting aids which are so abundantly furnished by that ancient and venerable translation. The subject, indeed, has been incidentally noticed by some lexicographers, but it was reserved for the Rev. E. W. Grinfield to apply this version on a larger scale to the critical understanding of the New Testament.

For this purpose he has, with singular industry and patience of research, collated almost every word and phrase of the Greek Testament which is to be found in the Septuagint; and which he has placed under each separate verse, so that the eye may immediately perceive the illustration. When a word or phrase does not occur in the Septuagint, assistance is sought from the Greek Apocryphal books, and also from the Jewish authors, Philo and Josephus, both of whom wrote in the Greek language. Occasionally, a striking illustration is inserted from the writings of the Apostolic fathers, or from some of the earliest Hellenistic remains; but these are uniformly inclosed in brackets, in order to show their minor importance, and to intimate that they are designed merely for philological purposes. The quotations from the

works of Philo are particularly valuable, as they are almost in the very words of the Septuagint. This is a very important testimony to the authenticity of that version, and to the fact that it has come down to us without any serious mutilation. Philo has cited several thousand passages from the Old Testament, which are almost invariably in the words of the Septuagint version, as we now find it extant in what is commonly called the Vatican text. There is also another benefit to be derived from this beautifully and accurately executed edition of the Greek Testament, which cost the learned editor the unremitting labour of *ten* years: viz. That, while it lays open the various forms of the New Testament Greek, it leads on the mind of the thoughtful student to the interior meaning of the sacred writers.

At the end of the work there is a comprehensive list of the texts (upwards of three hundred) which are cited in the New Testament from the Old. These are judiciously exhibited in parallel columns, so as to enable the student to judge for himself how nearly they in general approach to the language of the Septuagint version.

81. Codex Ephræmî Syri Rescriptus . . . . Edidit Constantinus TISCHENDORF. Lipsiæ, 1843. Folio.

For an account of this edition see p. 680. No. 4. *suprà*, among the facsimile editions of manuscripts containing the New Testament.

82. Ἡ ΚΑΙΝΗ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ. Novum Testamentum Græcè. Ex recognitione Knappii emendatius edidit, Argumentorumque Notationes, Locos Parallelos, Annotationem Criticam, et Indices adjecit Carolus Godofredus Gulielmus THEILE, Prof. Lipsiensis. Editio stereotypa. Lipsiæ, 1844. 18mo.

For this edition biblical students are indebted to the enterprising publisher, Mr. Bernhard Tauchnitz, jun., to whose zeal for promoting the study of sacred literature willing testimony has already been offered in the preceding pages. Professor Theile, the editor, has accurately reprinted the text of Knappe's edition of the Greek Testament, which is described in p. 696. No. 86. *suprà*. The Greek text is printed in two columns in a small but distinct type, being divided into chapters and verses. At the head of each chapter the editor has placed a summary of its contents; and in the inner part of each column he has printed the *really* parallel passages. The books of the New Testament are followed by seventy pages of "Annotatio Critica," which exhibit the various readings in the editions of the Textus Receptus, Griesbach, Knappe, Scholz, Hahn, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, and also the oldest manuscripts which support particular readings. The work concludes with an index of passages from the Old Testament which are cited in the New, and also of the "Pericopæ Evangelicæ," or sections of the Epistles and Gospels which are read on Sundays and on certain festival days in the Lutheran churches in Germany.

Prof. Theile's edition of the Greek Testament is specially adapted for those who have not much time for minute critical inquiries concerning various readings, or who cannot command access to the larger and more expensive critical editions of the Greek Testament; and whether we consider the neatness of the typographical execution, the low price at which it is sold, or the critical results which it exhibits in a comparatively small space, it demands and is deserving of every commendation.

83. ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΙΣ ΙΗΣΟΥ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ *ἐξ Ἀρχαιων Αντιγραφων ἐκδοθεισα.* The Book of Revelation in Greek, edited from ancient authorities: With a new English Version and various Readings. By Samuel Prideaux TREGELLES. London, 1844. 8vo.

This beautifully and accurately printed edition of the Apocalypse contains—1. The Greek text, edited on the authority of the most ancient manuscripts and versions; 2. On the opposite page a faithful English version of the Greek text; 3. Beneath the text are exhibited the readings, which are more or less probable; the readings of the Elzevir edition printed in 1624, and a selection of the various readings which are at all supported by ancient manuscripts, by many more recent manuscripts, or by the earliest printed editions, together with a classified statement of the authorities for such readings. To the whole is prefixed an introduction containing an account of the object and plan of this edition; a review of the state of the Greek text of the Book of Revelation, and of the sources of the emendation of the Greek text, together with the mode adopted by the editor in arranging the critical materials and forming the text.

[This was the first attempt of the present writer to direct *public* attention in this country, through the revision of any part of the *text* of Holy Scripture, to the principle of recurrence to the older authorities and better attested readings. It was almost on its first appearance described as above (with farther commendations) by Mr. Horne. It is in many respects what the editor would now regard as very incomplete. Some of the inaccuracies are attributable to the same causes as the various readings in MSS. They gave the present writer a practical lesson that the tendency of the ancient copyists has been transmitted to their undoubted successors the modern compositors, namely, to remove supposed mistakes, and to avoid imagined solecisms, even when the question is what is the plural termination of a foreign word.

This edition has been for some years out of print; the English translation of the revised Greek text was issued separately, after having been again revised: "The Book of Revelation translated from the ancient Greek text, by S. P. Tregelles, 1849." 12mo. In the introduction to the Greek and English Revelation in 1844, the editor announced his intention of preparing a Greek text based on ancient authorities (a work begun in 1838), and the detailed *prospectus* of the edition was circulated in 1848, and appended to the English translation of the Apocalypse in 1849.]

84. The British Edition of the Greek Testament; comprising a full and exact Collation of all Manuscripts of the Original Greek, and of the Peshito Syriac Version, now deposited in Great Britain; with the Elzevir Text and Critical Prolegomena. By the Rev. Frederick Henry SCRIVENER, M.A. London. 2 vols. 4to.

This important edition was announced in 1845. Its editor was advantageously known to biblical scholars by his "Supplement to the authorised English Version of the New Testament; being a critical Illustration of its more difficult passages from the Syriac, Latin, and earlier English Versions;" the first volume of which had been some time before the public. The design of this arduous work (which was honoured by the patronage of his Grace the late Archbishop of Canterbury and *twenty-three* other prelates) was to put the biblical scholar in possession of *all* the various readings of the manuscripts of the New Testament, Greek and Syriac, now deposited in these realms, and which have been almost entirely neglected by critical editors since the time of Mill. It is stated by Mr. Scrivener in his Prospectus, that out of about 160 *Greek* MSS. existing in this country, nearly *sixty* have not been examined at all, while our acquaintance with most of the rest is too slight or inaccurate to be depended on for critical purposes.[1] His *Syriac* materials were to consist of about ten MSS. in the British Museum, which have not hitherto been examined, a collation of three others for which he is indebted to the well-known liberality of Professor Lee, and to the previous collections made by Schaaf, Adler, Jones, and other labourers in this important department of biblical literature.

[It seems as if Mr. Scrivener had relinquished the intention of publishing the edition above announced. The "Collation of about twenty Greek MSS. of the Holy Gospels" which he published in 1853 (see above, p. 145.), contains a portion of the materials which were proposed to be included in the edition thus announced. If it had appeared it would have given very exact information as to the MSS. in this country: whether these materials would *in general* be of importance as authorities for restoring the Greek text, or whether they would not be for the greater part evidences of the deteriorations brought in by copyists, is wholly a different question. Those who least agree with the critical estimate formed by Mr. Scrivener, must bear full testimony to his zeal and the exactitude of what he has been able to accomplish.]

[85. The Apocalypse, or Book of Revelation; the original Greek Text, with MSS. collations; an English translation and harmony, with Notes . . . by Chr. WORDSWORTH, D.D. Canon of Westminster, formerly Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, &c. London, 1849. 8vo.

The Greek text in this edition is twofold: Scholz's and that formed by the editor, on the authority of the oldest MSS. A Greek Testament by the same editor has now been announced.]

[86. The Greek Testament; with a critically revised Text, a digest of various readings, marginal references to verbal and idiomatic usage, Prolegomena, and a critical and exegetical Commentary. For the use of Theological Students and Ministers. By Henry ALFORD, M.A., Vicar of Wymeswold, Leicestershire, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In two volumes. Vol. I. containing the four Gospels. London, 1849. 8vo.

The Greek Testament . . . . By Henry ALFORD, B.D., Vicar of Wymeswold, Leicestershire, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In three volumes. Vol. II. containing the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles to the Romans and Corinthians. London, 1852. 8vo. Vol. III. 1856.

The Greek Testament . . . . By Henry ALFORD, B.D., Minister of Quebec Chapel, London, and late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In three volumes. Vol. I. containing the Four Gospels. *Second Edition.* London, 1854. 8vo.

——— in *four* volumes. Vol. III. containing Galatians to Philemon. London, 1856.

Mr. Alford's editions are specified above, so far as material change or revision has been introduced: the plan has gradually expanded from *two* volumes to *four*, the last of which is yet to be published. Mr. Alford's critical principles, and the formation of his text, have been considered above (pp. 142—144.). The notes of this editor on questions of philology and interpretation show that he has thought for himself; though without objecting to adopt the opinions of others. It should be observed that some of his theories are peculiar, and such as cannot easily be reconciled with the absolute accuracy of the facts detailed by the inspired writers. His extreme dislike of those whom he speaks of as *harmonisers* has led him thus to magnify many of the seeming difficulties in the narrations of the Evangelists; even where the merest explanation would be deemed amply sufficient if the difficulty had been found in the productions of ordinary writers. The "marginal references to verbal and idiomatic usage" deserve to be specially noticed: for they appear to have been compiled with immense labour and scrupulous care, though they are more likely to be passed by with but little observation than any other portion of the work.

[1] Of these the Codex Cottonianus, the text of which has been since published by Tischendorf, was specified by Mr. Scrivener as having been almost entirely neglected.

Those who study them most will most fully apprehend their utility: those who wish to learn *passively* will derive no benefit from them, since it involves thought and *industry* to use them.

In connection with charges of plagiarism brought against Mr. Alford's first edition of vol. i. it is right to refer to his very satisfactory and complete refutation contained in "A Reply to a recent Article in the 'Christian Remembrancer.' London: Rivingtons, 1851." This is not the place to remark farther than has been done above, upon any peculiarities of statement found in Mr. Alford's pages. Much may in succeeding editions be brought to a consistent tone of thought and expression as to the plenary authority of all Scripture statements.]

[87. BAGSTER's Large-Print Greek Testament. Ἡ Καινη Διαθηκη. The New Testament, the 'Received Text," with selected various readings from Griesbach, Scholz, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, and references to parallel passages. London, [1851.] 8vo.

This edition, from the size of the type, is remarkably convenient for ordinary reading. In the title, "text of Mill" would be more exact than "received text."]

[88. The Epistle to the Hebrews, in Greek and English, with an Analysis and Exegetical Commentary. By Samuel H. TURNER, D.D., Professor of Biblical Learning and Interpretation of Scripture in the General Theological Seminary, and of the Hebrew Language and Literature in Columbia College, N.Y. New York, 1852. 8vo.

The Epistle to the Romans, in Greek and English. (By the same.) New York, 1853. 8vo.

The Epistle to the Ephesians, in Greek and English. (By the same.) New York, 1856. 8vo.

The plan of these three volumes is similar: the Greek Text and the English version are placed in parallel columns; and the notes (in which questions of textual criticism are occasionally discussed) occupy the greater portion, and at times the whole of the page.]

[89. The New Testament in Greek, with English Notes. By the Rev. J. F. MACMICHAEL, M.A. London, 1853.]

[90. The Greek Testament, with Notes, Grammatical and Exegetical. By W. WEBSTER, M.A., of King's College, London, late Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge; and W. F. WILKINSON, M.A., Vicar of St. Werburgh, Derby, late Theological Tutor in Cheltenham College. Vol. I., Gospels and Acts. London, 1854. 8vo.

"This Commentary is certainly superior to those generally placed in the hands of theological students in England, before the appearance of Mr. Alford's edition. With this it has no claim whatever to be ranked, and can only hold its ground in so far as it addresses itself to a different class of students, who may not be prepared to deal with the momentous questions discussed in Mr. Alford's notes. . . . . The notes are brief and clearly expressed, and will doubtless be found useful under the limitations intimated above." (Rev. J. B. Lightfoot, in "Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology," Dec. 1855, p. 360.)

The text is *substantially* that of Stephens, 1550. The principal purpose of the edition appears to be the exegetical notes; in this portion of their work the editors profess especially to maintain, in all its fulness, orthodox and evangelical truth.]

[91. A Critical and Grammatical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians, with a revised translation, by C. J. ELLICOTT, M.A., Rector of Pilton, Rutland, and late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. London, 1854. 8vo.

[91.* ——— on St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians. 1855.

"On the whole, Mr. Ellicott's editions of the Galatians and Ephesians stand at the head of the New Testament literature of England for patient and accurate scholarship, and will not suffer from a comparison with the best works of Germany." (Rev. J. B. Lightfoot, in "Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology," March, 1856, p. 85.)

As to the text adopted by Mr. Ellicott, see above, p. 144.]

[92. The Epistles of St. Paul to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans; with Critical Notes and Dissertations. By Benjamin JOWETT, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Balliol College, Oxford [now Regius Professor of Greek]. London, 1855. 2 vols. 8vo.

The text adopted by Professor Jowett is that of Lachmann; which he upholds with a degree of absoluteness which would never have been done by Lachmann himself. In the department of criticism these volumes are an earnest endeavour to introduce uncertainty into all New Testament philology, and to represent St. Paul as using in his Epistles a tongue with the force and the proprieties of which he was but partially acquainted. (See this discussed by Mr. Lightfoot, in "Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology," March, 1856, pp. 103—109.)

It is well known that Professor Jowett has made these volumes the vehicle for introducing many theological novelties, so as virtually (and probably expressly) to set aside the real atonement and sacrifice of Christ and other truths on which real Protestants are and have been fully agreed as taught most expressly by the inspired writers of the New Testament.]

[93. The Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians; with Critical Notes and Dissertations. By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, M.A., Canon of Canterbury, late Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford, &c. London, 1855. 2 vols. 8vo.

Mr. Stanley also adopts implicitly the text of Lachmann, and that, too, in the parts in which Lachmann himself gave the warning as to the caution that should be observed. (As to this work in general, see Mr. Lightfoot, as referred to in connection with Mr. Jowett's volumes.)

In the department of philology Mr. Stanley appears to have engaged in that for which he was not fitted; and that it has been needful to vindicate St. Paul's use of words and his language in general from the uncertainty which was mistakenly alleged to pervade it.

The only bearing which Mr. Jowett's and Mr. Stanley's volumes have on the text of the New Testament is found in their acquiescence in what they *supposed* to be the definite conclusions of Lachmann. Hence it has been needful to re-examine and to restate what that critic proposed, and what he considered that he had effected: he sought to recover the true *basis* for the genuine text, so that that end might *afterwards* be the more surely and definitely reached.]

[94. The Greek Text of the Gospels, with prolegomena, notes, and references, for the use of Schools and Colleges. By the Rev. H. C. Adams, M.A., late Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford. London, 1856. Small 8vo.]

[95. The Greek New Testament, edited from ancient authorities; with the various readings of all the ancient MSS., the ancient versions, and earlier ecclesiastical writers (to Eusebius inclusive); together with the Latin Version of Jerome, from the Codex Amiatinus of the sixth century. By S. P. Tregelles, LL.D. 1 vol. 4to. (Now in the Press.)

I should not have given the title of my own unfinished work in the list of editions, had not the Rev. T. H. Horne thus introduced it (in the *appendix* to his Bibliographical List) when it was first definitely announced. The previous collations, and the manner in which I use the materials so collated, are mentioned above, pp. 140, 141, and in "Account of the Printed Text," pp. 132—174. The authorities are so arranged as to bring together those which belong to the same class: thus the most ancient body of MSS. are always placed first; then the later uncials which agree with them as to text; then a few cursive MSS., the text of which is of special importance; and afterwards the mass of the later uncials. The ancient versions have been thoroughly re-examined as far as possible; and the early citations have been specially gathered together and re-verified: to all of these the reference to the passage of the writer is fully given. The evidence, in all cases of real conflict, is fully stated on both sides. At every opening it is at once shown *what* MSS. and versions are cited as being extant in the two pages before the eye; and where any of these are defective, it is at once noticed in the margin. The *order* in which these authorities are placed in the conspectus differs in this particular from Mr. Alford's edition, that the more ancient are placed first *here* as well as in the notes; so that it is at once evident whether any of these leading authorities are or are not extant in the passage under consideration.

The portions of the Greek text, and various readings, given above, p. 345. *seq.*, show the arrangement of authorities, &c. in this edition now in progress.]

On the Critical Edition of the Greek Testament, reported to be edited at Rome, by Cardinal Mai.

Much interest was excited in consequence of an announcement, in the year 1836, by Dr. Wiseman (since titular bishop of Melipotamus, subsequently a Cardinal, and also styled Abp. of Westminster), that the late Cardinal Mai was employed on a new critical edition of the Greek Testament. The following is the statement of Dr. Wiseman:—

> "When Monsignor Mai, lately librarian of the Vatican, suggested to Leo XII. the propriety of publishing the New Testament of the Codex Vaticanus, his Holiness replied, that he would wish the whole, including the Old, to be accurately printed. Upon this, the learned prelate undertook the task, and advanced as far as St. Mark's Gospel. Not satisfied with the execution of the work, he has since recommenced it on a different plan. The New Testament is finished, and the Old considerably advanced. This publication will be the most satisfactory proof of how little apprehension is felt in Rome of any 'injury to the Christian religion' from the critical study of the Holy Scriptures." (Lectures on the Connection between Science and Revelation, vol. ii. lect. x. pp. 190, 191.)

The interest produced by this announcement was yet further augmented in the year 1842 by the following intelligence from the "Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne," for April, 1842 (published at Paris), which was circulated throughout Europe in various literary journals.—

> "The illustrious Cardinal Angelo Mai has just finished a work, on which he has been engaged for more than ten years, viz. an edition of the New Testament,

with the variations of all the MSS. found in the principal libraries of Rome and of the rest of Italy, and with numerous notes full of philological researches. The text taken by the cardinal for the basis of his edition is that of the celebrated MS. numbered 1209, in the library of the Vatican, which is dated as far back as the sixth century. At the suggestion of his Eminence, the Roman Government has resolved to publish, at its own expense, a fac-simile of that manuscript, which is in golden uncial letters" (?) "and in the continuous style of writing (*scriptio continua*); that is to say, the words are not separated by spaces. The celebrated engraver, Ruspi, has been ordered to engrave on copper this fac-simile, copies of which are to be transmitted to all the sovereigns of Christendom." (Annales de la Philosophie Chrétienne, Avril, 1842, pp. 320, 321.)

Notwithstanding these pompous announcements, *nothing at all* has been done towards *publishing* the Greek Testament at Rome. Although (as the reader will perceive on referring to the above cited extract from Dr. Wiseman's Lectures) it was asserted in 1836, that is, only *ten* years [*now twenty*] ago, that "the New Testament" was "finished, and the Old considerably advanced;" yet not a single page of the Holy Scriptures has been published at Rome.

From private information obtained by the author from Italy in 1843 and 1844, he is enabled to state, that NO GREEK TESTAMENT, *edited by Cardinal Mai*, HAS BEEN PUBLISHED, and probably for the same reason that prevented the Abate Spoletti's projected publication of the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, which was submitted to and privately approved by Pope Pius VI., viz. That "the Codex Vaticanus differed from the Latin Vulgate, and might, therefore, if made known to the public, be prejudicial to the interests of the Christian Religion[1];" that is, "to the interests" and designs of popery. Not one edition of the New Testament in the original Greek has ever issued from the Roman press. Cardinal Bellarmine, indeed, is said to have been engaged by Pope Paul V. to superintend the printing of an authentic and faithful edition of the New Testament in Greek; but when "the work was finished, and corrected with the strictest care so as to be ready for the press, *the Pope who had ordered it changed his mind, and no longer wished it.*"[2] As no edition of the New Testament in Greek has ever appeared at Rome, in all probability not one will ever be published there; so long, at least, as the modern church of Rome continues unreformed from the unscriptural and anti-scriptural doctrines and practices, which, in the so-called Creed of Pius IV.[3], she has superadded to the ancient *faith once for all* (ἅπαξ) *delivered to the saints.* (Jude 3.)

[To the above mention made of this edition of Cardinal Mai, by Mr. Horne in 1846, the editor has only to add a reference to pp. 162, 163. above, where he has given a brief statement of more recent results of inquiry, including what he could learn from Cardinal Mai personally.]

SECT. V.

POLYGLOTT BIBLES, OR EDITIONS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS WITH VERSIONS IN SEVERAL LANGUAGES.

THE honour of having projected the first plan of a Polyglott Bible is due to the illustrious printer, ALDUS MANUTIUS the elder; but of this projected work only one page was printed; it contains the first fifteen verses of the first chapter of the Book of Genesis in collateral columns of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, which must have been printed between 1498 and 1501. The typographical execution is admirable:

[1] Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, translated by Bishop Marsh, vol. ii. part II. p. 644.

[2] "Poiche terminatane l'opera, e rettificata secondo ogni più isquisita pruova, l'hebbe tutta in essere di stamparsi, *il papa che l'avea comanduta, cambiato pensiero, più non la volle.*" Vita di card. Bellarmino dal P. Bartoli, lib. iii. pp. 168, 169. Torino, 1836.

[3] All the dogmas peculiar to the modern church of Rome were not collected together into one formulary of faith until Pius IV. reduced them into the form of a creed, by annexing to the *ancient* Nicene or Constantinopolitan creed twelve new articles of belief (the *modern* dates of most of which are known), and publishing the whole in a bull as a Creed (which is now commonly called by his name), in the year 1564. These new articles of belief, therefore, come into the world fifteen hundred and sixty-four years too late, to be the doctrines of Jesus Christ and his divinely inspired apostles.

M. Renouard has given a fac-simile of it in his excellent work on the productions of the Aldine Press.[1] A copy of this specimen page (perhaps the only one that is extant) is preserved among the manuscripts in the Royal Library at Paris, No. MMM.LXIV.

In 1516 there was printed at Genoa, by Peter Paul Porrus (in Ædibus Nicolai Justiniani Pauli) the *Pentaglott* Psalter of Agostino Giustiniani, Bishop of Nebbio.[2] It was in Hebrew, Arabic, Chaldee, and Greek, with the Latin Version, Glosses and Scholia. In 1518 John Potken published the Psalter in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Ethiopic, at Cologne. But the first Polyglott edition of the entire Bible was that printed at Alcalà in Spain, viz.

1. Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, complectentia Vetus Testamèntum, Hebraico, Græco, et Latino Idiomate; Novum Testamentum Græcum et Latinum; et Vocabularium Hebraicum et Chaldaicum Veteris Testamenti, cum Grammaticâ Hebraicâ, nec non Dictionario Græco; Studio, Opera, et Impensis Cardinalis Francisci Ximenes de Cisneros. Industria Arnaldi Gulielmi de Brocario artis impressorie magistri. Compluti, 1514, 1515, 1517. 6 vols. folio.

The printing of this splendid and celebrated work, usually called the *Complutensian Polyglott*, was commenced in 1502: though completed in 1517, it was not published until 1522, and it cost the munificent Cardinal Ximenes 50,000 ducats. The editors were Ælius Antonius Nebrissensis, Demetrius Ducas, Ferdinandus Pincianus, Lopez de Stunica, Alfonsus de Zamora, Paulus Coronellus, and Johannes de Vergera, a physician of Alcalà or Complutum. The last three were converted Jews. This Polyglott is usually divided into six volumes. The first four comprise the Old Testament, with the Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, in three distinct columns, the Chaldee paraphrase of the Pentateuch only being at the bottom of the page with a Latin interpretation; and the margin is filled with Hebrew and Chaldee radicals. The fifth volume contains the Greek Testament, with the Vulgate Latin version in a parallel column; in the margin there is a kind of concordance, referring to similar passages in the Old and New Testaments. And at the end of this volume, there are, 1. A single leaf containing some Greek and Latin verses; 2. *Interpretationes Hebræorum, Chaldæorum, Græcorumque Nominum Novi Testamenti*, on ten leaves; and, 3. *Introductio quam brevis ad Græcas Litteras, &c.*, on thirty-nine leaves. The sixth volume contains, 1. A separate title; 2. *Vocabularium Hebraicum totius Veteris Testamenti, cum omnibus dictionibus Chaldæis, in eodem Veteri Testamento contentis*, on one hundred and seventy-two leaves; 3. An Alphabetical Index, on eight leaves, of the Latin words occurring in different parts of the work; 4. *Interpretationes Hebraicorum, Chaldaicorum, Græcorumque Nominum, Veteris ac Novi Testamenti, secundum Ordinem Alphabeti*; 5. Two leaves, entitled *Nomina quæ sequuntur, sunt illa, quæ in utroque Testamento vicio Scriptorum sunt aliter scripta quam in Hebræo et Græco, et in aliquibus Bibliis nostris antiquis, &c.*; 6. Fifteen leaves, entitled *Introductiones Artis Grammaticæ Hebraicæ et primo de modo legendi et pronuntiandi.* These several pieces are sometimes placed in a different order from that above indicated. With the exception of the manuscript cited as the Codex Rhodiensis (now utterly lost), and the Codex Bessarionis presented to Cardinal Ximenes by the republic of Venice, the MSS. consulted by his editors were partly purchased at an unbounded expense, and partly lent to him by Pope Leo X. out of the Vatican Library, whither (we are informed by Alvaro Gomez, the cardinal's biographer) they were returned as soon as the Polyglott was completed. The MSS. belonging to Ximenes were subsequently deposited in the library of the University of Alcalà. Learned men had long suspected that they were of modern date. As it was important to collate anew the manuscripts at Alcalà, Professor Moldenhawer and Tychsen, who were in Spain in 1784, went thither for this purpose: but they were informed that above thirty-five years before, in 1749, they had been sold by an illiterate librarian to a dealer in fireworks as materials for making rockets. (Marsh's Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. pp. 440, 441.) Notwithstanding this statement, there is "good reason to believe that those learned Germans were the subjects of an imposition practised upon them by some people in the Spanish University, who were not disposed to permit their manuscript treasures to be scrutinised by Protestants." Sir John Bowring, during the short time that Spain enjoyed the blessings of a constitutional government, "had the opportunity of carefully examining the manuscripts at Alcalà: he has published reasons amounting to a demonstration, that no sale or destruction of manuscripts ever took place. By his personal examination he found THE SAME Scripture manuscripts which had been described by Alvaro Gomez, who died in 1580;" and he adds, "that the manuscripts in question are *modern* and *valueless*, there can be no longer any question." (Monthly Repository for 1821, vol. xii. p. 203., and vol. i. N. S. for 1827, p. 572., cited in Dr. J. P. Smith's "Answer to the Manifesto of the Christian Evidence Society," &c., pp. 48, 49. (*Third Edition.*) [All this has been amply confirmed by the investigations of the late Dr. James Thomson. See above, p. 121.]

The impression of the Complutensian Polyglott was limited to 600 copies; three were struck off on vellum. One of these was deposited in the Royal Library at Madrid, and another in the

---

[1] Renouard, Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes, tom. iii. pp. 44, 45., second edition. (Paris, 1826); or p. 389. third edition (Paris, 1834).

[2] The memoir of *Columbus*, introduced as a note on Psalm xix., is a curious feature in Giustiniani's Pentaglott Psalter.

Royal Library at Turin. The third (which is supposed to have been reserved for Cardinal Ximenes), after passing through various hands, was purchased at the Pinelli sale, in 1789, for Count M'Carthy of Thoulouse, for four hundred and eighty-three pounds. On the sale of this gentleman's library at Paris, in 1817, it was bought by George Hibbert, Esq., for 16,100 francs, or *six hundred and seventy-six pounds three shillings and four pence*; and, at the sale of Mr. Hibbert's library in 1829, it was sold to Messrs. Payne and Foss, booksellers, of Pall Mall, for *five hundred guineas*. Copies of the Complutensian Polyglott, on paper, are in the libraries of the British Museum and Sion College, and also in several of the College Libraries in the two Universities of Oxford and Cambridge.

2. Biblia Sacra Hebraice, Chaldaice, Græcè, et Latine, Philippi II. Regis Cathol. Pietate, et Studio ad Sacrosanctæ Ecclesiæ Usum, Christophorus Plantinus excudebat. Antverpiæ, 1569—1572. 8 vols. folio.

Five hundred copies only were printed of this magnificent work, which is sometimes called the *Royal Polyglott*, because it was executed at the expense of Philip II., King of Spain, and the *Antwerp Polyglott* from the place where it was printed. The greater part of some of the volumes of the impression being lost in a voyage to Spain, this Polyglott has become of extreme rarity. It was printed in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Chaldee; and contains, besides the whole of the Complutensian Polyglott, a Chaldee paraphrase of part of the Old Testament, which Cardinal Ximenes had deposited in the Public Library at Alcalà, having particular reasons for not publishing it. This edition also has a Syriac version of the New Testament. The Polyglott itself fills five volumes. The sixth volume contains the Hebrew text with the interlineary Latin translation of Xantes Pagninus, as reformed by Arias Montanus, the principal editor of this noble undertaking; and also the Greek text of the New Testament with a literal interlineary Latin version by Montanus. The seventh and eighth volumes are filled with lexicons and grammars of the various languages in which the Scriptures are printed, together with indexes, and a treatise on sacred antiquities. The Hebrew text is said to be compiled from the Complutensian and Bomberg editions.

3. Biblia. 1. Hebraica. 2. Samaritana. 3. Chaldaica. 4. Græca. 5. Syriaca. 6. Latina. 7. Arabica. Lutetiæ Parisiorum, excudebat Antonius Vitré. 1645. 10 vols. large folio.

This edition, which is extremely magnificent, contains all that is inserted in the Complutensian and Antwerp Polyglotts, with the addition of a Syriac and Arabic version of the greatest part of the Old, and of the entire New Testament. The Samaritan Pentateuch, with a Samaritan version, was printed for the first time in this Polyglott, the expenses of which ruined the editor, M. Le Jay. His learned associates were Philippus Aquinas, Jacobus Morinus, Abraham Echellensis, Gabriel Sionita, &c. The Hebrew text is that of the Antwerp Polyglott. There are extant copies of Le Jay's edition of the Polyglott Bible under the following title, viz. *Biblia Alexandrina Heptaglotta auspiciis S. D. Alexandri VII. anno sessionis ejus xii. feliciter inchoati. Lutetiæ Parisiorum prostant apud Joannem Jansonium a Waesberge, Johannem Jacobum Chipper, Elisæum Weirstraet*, 1666.

4. Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, complectentia Textus Originales, Hebraicum cum Pentateucho Samaritano, Chaldaicum, Græcum, Versionumque antiquarum Samaritanæ, Græcæ LXXII Interpretum, Chaldaicæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, Æthiopicæ, Vulgatæ Latinæ, quicquid comparari poterat . . . . . Edidit Brianus Walton, S.T.D. Londini, imprimebat Thomas Roycroft, 1657. 6 vols. large folio.

Though less magnificent than the Paris Polyglott, this of Bishop Walton is, in all other respects, preferable, being more ample and more commodious. Nine languages are used in it, though no one book of the Bible is printed in so many. In the New Testament, the four Gospels are in *six* languages; the other books, only in *five*; those of Judith and the Maccabees, only in three. The Septuagint version is printed from the edition printed at Rome in 1587, which exhibits the text of the Vatican manuscript. The Latin is the Vulgate of Clement VIII. The Chaldee paraphrase is more complete than in any former publication. The London Polyglott also has an interlineary Latin version of the Hebrew text; and some parts of the Bible are printed in Æthiopic and Persian, none of which are found in any preceding Polyglott Bible.

The first volume, besides very learned and useful Prolegomena, contains the Pentateuch. Every sheet exhibits, at one view, 1st, The Hebrew Text, with Montanus's interlineary Latin version, very correctly printed; 2. The same verses in the vulgate Latin; 3. The Greek version of the Septuagint, according to the Vatican MS., with a literal Latin Translation by Flaminio Nobili, and the various readings of the Alexandrian MS. added at the bottom of the column; 4. The Syriac version, with a collateral Latin translation; 5. The Targum, or Chaldee Paraphrase, of Onkelos, with a Latin translation; 6. The Hebræo-Samaritan text, which is nearly the same with the unpointed Hebrew, only the character is different; and the Samaritan version, which differs vastly from the other as to the language, though the sense is pretty nearly the same; and therefore one Latin translation (with a few notes added at the bottom of the column) serves for both; 7. The Arabic version, with a collateral Latin translation, which in general agrees with the Septuagint. This first volume also contains, or should contain, a portrait of Bishop Walton, engraved by Lombart; and a frontispiece, together with three plates

relating to Solomon's temple, all engraved by Hollar. There are also two plates containing sections of Jerusalem, &c., and a chart of the Holy Land. These are inserted in Capellus's Treatise on the Temple. That part of the Prolegomena, in this volume, which was written by Bishop Walton, was elegantly printed at the Cambridge University Press, in 1828, with valuable notes by the Rev. Francis Wrangham, in two volumes octavo. It is a treasure of sacred criticism.

The SECOND volume comprises the historical books in the same languages as are above enumerated, with the exception of the Samaritan (which is confined to the Pentateuch) and of the Targum of Rabbi Joseph (surnamed the blind) on the Books of Chronicles, which was not discovered till after the Polyglott was in the press. It has since been published in a separate form, as is noticed in p. 720. No. 12.

The THIRD volume comprehends all the poetic and prophetic books from Job to Malachi, in the same languages as before, only that there is an Æthiopic version of the book of Psalms, which is so near akin to the Septuagint, that the same Latin translation serves for both, with a few exceptions, which are noted in the margin.

The FOURTH volume contains all the Apocryphal Books, in Greek, Latin, Syriac, and Arabic, with a two-fold Hebrew text of the book of Tobit; the first from Paul Fagius, the second from Sebastian Munster. After the Apocrypha there is a three-fold Targum of the Pentateuch: the first is in Chaldee, and is ascribed to Jonathan Ben Uzziel: the second is in Chaldee also; it takes in only select parts of the Law, and is commonly called the Jerusalem Targum: the third is in Persic, the work of one Jacob Tawus, or Toosee, and seems to be a pretty literal version of the Hebrew Text. Each of these has a collateral Latin translation. The two first, though they contain many fables, are useful, because they explain many words and customs, the meaning of which is to be found no where else; and the latter will be found useful to a student in the Persian language, though it contains many obsolete phrases, and the language is by no means in the pure Shirazian dialect.

The FIFTH volume includes all the books of the New Testament. The various languages are here exhibited at one view, as in the others. The Greek text stands at the head, with Montanus's interlineary Latin translation; the Syriac next; the Persic third; the Vulgate fourth; the Arabic fifth; and the Æthiopic sixth. Each of the Oriental versions has a collateral Latin translation. The Persic version only takes in the four Gospels; and for this, the Pars Altera, or Persian Dictionary, in Castell's Lexicon, is peculiarly calculated.

The SIXTH volume is composed of various readings and critical remarks on all the preceding versions, and concludes with an explanation of all the proper names, both Hebrew and Greek, in the Old and New Testaments. The characters used for the several oriental versions are clear and good; the Hebrew is rather the worst. The simple reading of a text in the several versions often throws more light on the meaning of the sacred writer than the best commentators which can be met with. This work sells at from twenty-five pounds to seventy guineas, according to the difference of condition. Many copies are ruled with red lines, which is a great help in reading, because it distinguishes the different texts better, and such copies ordinarily sell for three or four guineas more than the others. [It may be well to remark that of late years many copies of this Polyglott have sold for *much* less than the sums here mentioned.]

In executing this great and splendid work, Bishop Walton was assisted by Dr. Edmund Castell, Dr. Tho. Hyde, Dr. Pocock, Dr. Lightfoot, Mr. Alexander Huish, Mr. Samuel Clarke, the Remains of Louis de Dieu (then deceased), and other eminently learned men.[1] It was begun in October, 1653, and completed in 1657; the first volume was finished in September, 1654; the second in July, 1655; the third in July, 1656; and the fourth, fifth, and sixth, in 1657, three years before the Restoration. (The Parisian Polyglott was *seventeen* years in the press!)

This work was published by subscription, under the patronage of Oliver Cromwell, who permitted the paper to be imported duty free: but the Protector dying before it was finished, Bishop Walton cancelled two leaves of the preface, in which he had made honourable mention of his patron, and others were printed containing compliments to Charles II. and some pretty severe invectives against republicans. Hence has arisen the distinction of *republican* and *loyal* copies. The former are the most valued: there is a copy in the Library of the British Museum. Dr. A. Clarke and Mr. Butler have both pointed out (especially the former) the variations between these two editions. For a long time, it was disputed among bibliographers, whether any dedication was ever prefixed to the London Polyglott. There is, however, a dedication in one of the copies in the Royal Library at Paris, and another was discovered a few years since, which was reprinted in large folio to bind up with other copies of the Polyglott; it is also reprinted in the Classical Journal, vol. iv. pp. 355—361. [It was an *addition* at the restoration of King Charles II.] In the first volume of Pott's and Ruperti's Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum (pp. 100—137.) there is a collation of the Greek and other versions, as printed in the London Polyglott, with the Hebrew text of the Prophet Micah, accompanied with some

---

[1] Concerning these, as well as the literary history of the London Polyglott, the reader will find much and very interesting information in the Rev. H. J. TODD'S Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Right Rev. Brian Walton, D.D., Lord Bishop of Chester, editor of the London Polyglott Bible; with notices of his coadjutors in that illustrious work; of the cultivation of oriental learning, in this country, preceding and during their time; and of the authorised English version of the Bible, to a projected revision of which Dr. Walton and some of his assistants in the Polyglott were appointed. To which is added Dr. Walton's own vindication of the London Polyglott. London, 1821, in 2 vols. 8vo.

explanations by Professor Paulus.[1] To complete the London Polyglott, the following publications should be added, viz. —

1. *Paraphrasis Chaldaica in librum priorem et posteriorem Chronicorum. Auctore Rabbi Josepho, rectore Academiæ in Syria: cum versione Latina a Davide Wilkins.* Cantabrigiæ [Amstelædami], 1715, 4to.

2. Dr. Castell's *Lexicon Heptaglotton.*

The purchaser of the London Polyglott should also procure Dr. John Owen's *Considerations on the Polyglott,* 8vo., 1658; Bishop Walton's Reply, entitled, *The Considerator considered, &c.* 8vo. 1659; and (a work of a kind wholly different) Walton's *Introductio ad Lectionem Linguarum Orientalium. Hebraicæ, Chaldaicæ, Samaritanæ, Syriacæ, Arabicæ, Persicæ, Æthiopicæ, Armenicæ, Copticæ, &c.* 18mo. Londini, 1654.

Bishop Walton's Polyglott having long been scarce and dear, it has been the wish of biblical students, for many years, that it should be reprinted. In 1797, the Rev. Josiah Pratt issued from the press, *A Prospectus, with Specimens, of a new Polyglott Bible in Quarto, for the Use of English Students,* and in 1799, another *Prospectus, with Specimens, of an Octavo Polyglott Bible*; but, for want of encouragement, the design was not carried into execution. A similar fate attended *The Plan and Specimen of BIBLIA POLYGLOTTA BRITANNICA, or an enlarged and improved edition of the London Polyglott Bible, with Castell's Heptaglott Lexicon,* which were published and circulated by the Rev. Adam Clarke, LL.D., F.S.A., in 1810, in folio. The reader may see them reprinted in the Classical Journal (where, however, *no notice* is taken of the author of the plan), vol. iv. pp. 493—497. An Abstract of this plan is given in the Bibl. Sussex. vol. i. part ii. pp. 66—68.

5. Biblia Sacra Quadrilinguia Veteris Testamenti Hebraici, cum Versionibus e regione positis, utpote versione Græca LXX Interpretum ex codice manuscripto Alexandrino, a J. Ern. Grabio primum evulgata—Item versione Latina Sebast. Schmidii noviter revisa et textui Hebræo accuratius accommodata, et Germanica beati Lutheri, ex ultima beati viri revisione et editione 1544–45 expressa. Adjectis textui Hebræo Notis Masorethicis et Græcæ Versioni Lectionibus Codicis Vaticani; notis philologicis et exegeticis aliis, ut et summariis capitum ac locis parallelis locupletissimis ornata. Accurante M. Christ. Reineccio. Lipsiæ, 1750. 3 vols. folio.

The *comparative* cheapness of this neatly and accurately printed work rendered it, before the publication of Mr. Bagster's Polyglott, a valuable substitute for the preceding larger Polyglotts. Dr. A. Clarke, who states that he has read over the whole of the Hebrew and Chaldee text, with the exception of part of the Pentateuch, pronounces it to be one of the most correct extant.

6. Biblia Sacra Polyglotta, Textus Archetypos, Versionesque præcipuas, ab Ecclesiâ antiquitùs receptas complectentia. Accedunt Prolegomena in eorundem crisin literalem, auctore Samuel Lee, S.T.B. . . . . Linguæ Hebrææ apud Cantabrigienses Professore Regio. Londini, 1831. 4to. et folio.

The great rarity and consequent high price of former Polyglotts, which render them for the most part inaccessible to biblical students, induced the publisher, Mr. Bagster, to undertake these beautiful Polyglott editions of the Holy Scriptures. The *quarto edition* contains the original Hebrew Text of the Old Testament, the Samaritan Pentateuch, the Septuagint Greek version of the Old Testament, the Vulgate Latin, and the authorised English version of the entire Bible; the original Greek text of the New Testament; and the venerable Peshito or Old Syriac version of it. The *folio edition,* besides these languages, contains entire translations of the Bible, in the following modern languages, viz., the German, by Dr. Martin Luther; the Italian, by Giovanni Diodati; the French, by J. F. Ostervald; and the Spanish (from the Romish Latin Vulgate), by Padre Scio. These are so disposed as to exhibit eight languages at once, on opening the volume, the press-work of which is singularly beautiful. The pointed Hebrew text is printed from the celebrated edition of Vander Hooght, noticed in No. 8. p 673. *suprà.* The variations of the Samaritan Pentateuch are taken from Dr. Kennicott's edition of the Hebrew Bible, and are added by way of Appendix. The Septuagint is printed from Bos's edition of the Vatican text; and at the end of the Old Testament there are given the various readings of the Hebrew and Samaritan Pentateuchs, together with the masoretic notes termed Keri and Ketib, the various lections of the Alexandrian MS. as edited by Dr. Grabe, and the apocryphal chapters of the book of Esther. The Greek text is printed from Mill's edition of the Textus Receptus, with the whole of the important readings given by Griesbach in his edition of 1805 (No. 83. p. 694. *suprà*); the Peshito or Old Syriac version, from Widmanstadt's edition published at Vienna in 1555, collated with that executed in 1816 under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and edited by Professor Lee. The Apocalypse and such of the Epistles as are not extant in the Old Syriac Version, are given from the texts of De Dieu and Pococke. The text of the Latin Vulgate version is taken from the edition of

[1] For a more particular account of the London Polyglott, we refer the reader to Dr. Clarke's Bibliographical Dictionary, vol. i. pp. 248—270.; vol. ii. pp. 1—12.; Mr. Butler's Horæ Biblicæ, vol. i. pp. 138—149.; and Dr. Dibdin's Introduction to the Knowledge of the Editions of the Greek and Latin Classics, 3rd edit. vol. i. pp. 13—27., from which publications the above account is abridged.

Pope Clement VIII. The authorised English version is accompanied with the marginal renderings, and a new selection of well-chosen parallel texts. The other modern versions are professedly given from accurate editions. The PROLEGOMENA of the Rev. Dr. and Professor Lee presents a compendious epitome of the Literary History of the Text and Versions of the Old and New Testaments, which contains some new and important critical information. Copies of the several texts and versions of this polyglott edition are thrown off in detached small octavo volumes: and copies of the quarto Polyglott New Testament may also be procured, with a distinct title-page.[1]

7. The English Hexapla, exhibiting the six most important English Translations of the New Testament Scriptures: Wiclif, M.CCC.LXXX.; Tyndale, M.D.XXXIV.; Cranmer, M.D.XXXIX.; Genevan, M.D.LVII.; Anglo-Rhemish, M.D.LXXXII.; Authorized, M.DC.XI. The original Text after Scholz, with the various readings of the Textus Receptus, and the principal Constantinopolitan and Alexandrine Manuscripts, and a complete collation of Scholz's Text, with Griesbach's edition of M.DCCC.V. Preceded by an historical account of the English Translations. London, 1841. Second Edition, 1846. 4to.

This beautifully executed volume contains, 1. The Greek Text of the New Testament, printed in long lines on the upper part of the page in a bold type, after Scholz's edition, of which an account has been given in p. 700. No. 56. *suprà*. The several English versions above enumerated are given below the Greek in six columns, and in the order of their priority of date. Wiclif's translation is printed from a valuable manuscript, at that time in the possession of his late Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex, which is stated to be much more correct and complete than the printed editions of Messrs. Lewis and Baber. (It should be observed that this text was printed *before* the publication of the twofold early English version.) The notation of verses has been inserted in all the translations for the convenience of reference. An account of the different English translations is prefixed; which is followed by a tabular collation of the Greek text of Scholz, with that of Griesbach's manual edition of the Greek Testament, printed at Leipsic in 1805. There are copies on larger paper, which are magnificent library books.

8. Biblia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Polyglotta. The proper Lessons for Sundays, from the Scriptures of the Old Testament; together with the whole of the Book of Psalms, in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English. Edited by Frederick ILIFF, D.D. London, 1843. 4to.

This work is expressly designed for those to whom the rarity and necessarily high price of the larger polyglotts render them inaccessible. The First Lessons for the morning and evening of every Sunday in the year are clearly and beautifully printed in four columns; viz. 1. In Hebrew, from the standard text of Vander Hooght, published in 1705, the typographical errors of which have been carefully corrected; 2. In English, after Dr. Blayney's edition of the authorised version printed at Oxford in 1769; 3. In the Septuagint Greek version, according to the Vatican text as printed by Bos in 1709, the various readings of the Alexandrine text being printed from Breitinger's edition in 1730 between brackets; and 4. In Latin, according to the London reprint of the Paris Edition of the Vulgate, in 1662.

The Book of Psalms may be obtained with a separate title-page, as "The Hexaplar Psalter." In six columns it comprises, 1. The Hebrew Text, after Vander Hooght's edition; 2. The English Version of the Book of Common Prayer; 3. The Latin Vulgate Version; 4. The Latin Version of Jerome, which furnishes valuable assistance to the more critical understanding of the Psalms; 5. The English Bible Translation of the Psalms, the italics and punctuation of which have been regulated by the first edition of 1611; and 6. The Greek Septuagint Version, from

---

[1] The publisher of the Polyglott Bible above noticed, in 1819, issued from the press an *octoglott* edition of the Liturgy of the Anglican Church, in one quarto volume, which may justly be pronounced one of the finest specimens of typography that ever issued from the British press. The eight languages, printed in this edition, are the English, French, Italian, German, Spanish, Ancient Greek, Modern Greek, and Latin. The *English* text is given from a copy of the Oxford Edition of the Common Prayer Book. The *French* version is modern, and is well known to most readers of that language, having frequently been printed and received with general approbation. The Psalms are printed from the Basle Edition of Ostervald's Bible. The *Italian* is taken from the edition of A. Montucci and L. Valletti, published in 1796, but revised throughout, and its orthography corrected. The Psalms are copied from the Bible of Diodati. The *German* translation, by the Rev. Dr. Küper (Chaplain of the Royal German Chapel, St. James's), is entirely new, except the Psalms, which are taken from Luther's German Version of the Scriptures. The *Spanish*, by the Rev. Blanco White, is for the most part new. The Psalms are printed from Padre Scio's great Spanish Bible, published at Madrid in 1807, in sixteen volumes. The translation into the *Ancient Greek* language is that executed by Dr. Duport (A. D. 1665), who was Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Cambridge. The Psalms are from the Septuagint. The *Modern Greek* is an entirely new translation by M. A. Calbo, a learned native Greek, of the island of Zante. And the *Latin* version is nearly a reprint of the edition which was first printed by W. Bowyer, in 1720, with some alterations and additions by the present editor (John Carey, LL.D.), sometimes taken from the translation of Mr. Thomas Parsel, the fourth edition of which was published in 1727. The Psalms are from the Vulgate. This octoglott Prayer Book is also published in one volume small 8vo.

Bos's edition above mentioned. Dr. Iliff has performed the laborious duty of editor with great ability and accuracy. A few copies were handsomely printed on large paper.

9. Novi Testamenti Biblia Triglotta: sive Græci Textus Archetypi, Versionis Syriacæ, et Versionis Latinæ Vulgatæ Synopsis: cui accedunt Subsidia Critica varia. Evangelia. Londini, 1828. 4to.

Those who may not be able to procure any of the more costly polyglotts will find a cheap substitute for them, as far as the Gospels are concerned, in this handsomely printed volume. The Greek text is printed after the editions, with improved punctuation, of Knappe and Vater; this is accompanied by the Syriac Version, after the text of Professor Lee's accurate edition, printed in 1816; and at the foot of the page is the Latin Vulgate version, according to the Sixtine recension, printed from the Antwerp edition of 1603, which was superintended by John Moret. To the work is prefixed Prof. Vater's Index of Critical Subsidia; and in an Appendix there is given his selection of Various Readings, with the authorities by which they are supported.

[10. Polyglotten-Bibel zum praktischen Handgebrauch. Die heilige Schrift Alten und Neuen Testaments in übersichtlicher Nebeneinanderstellung des Urtextes, der Septuaginta, Vulgata und Luther-Uebersetzung, so wie der wichtigsten Varianten der vornehmsten deutchen Uebersetzungen, bearbeitet von R. Stier, Dr. Theol. in Wittenberg und K. G. W. Theile, Dr. in Ord. Prof. der Theol. in Leipsig. Bielefeld, 1846–55. 5 vols. 8vo.

In this convenient Polyglott the Old Testament is given in Hebrew with the LXX. version (from the Vatican Text, but with some various readings, principally from the Codex Alexandrinus), the Clementine Vulgate (with the variations of the Sixtine edition), and Luther's German Version; and at the foot of each page stand renderings from many other German translators. In the New Testament the Greek Textus Receptus (with certain various readings subjoined) stands between the Clementine Vulgate (beneath which are the readings of the Codex Amiatinus as given by Fleck) and Luther's German Version. The fourth column is occupied with copious variations of rendering taken from other German versions.

A Tetraglott New Testament, Greek, Latin, German, and English, having been edited by Tischendorf, the N. Test. vol. of this Polyglott was afterwards remodelled, by substituting the English version for the German variations, and these newly arranged pages stand opposite the Greek and Latin from the former stereotype plates. This was published in 1855 under the direction of Dr. Stier, the surviving editor, Dr. Theile's death having taken place, Oct. 8. 1854. The latter mentioned was the editor under whose superintendence were the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin portions of this work.

In using this re-arranged edition of the New Testament portion it ought to be known that the Latin and Greek columns were stereotyped ten years ago: this is not distinctly shown in the preface, and thus the critical details that are given might easily mislead; for instance, the readings of the Codex Amiatinus are taken from Fleck, though it has been known for some years that they are very imperfect and exceedingly inaccurate. Considered simply as a Tetraglott edition, irrespective of all critical pretension, this New Testament is a convenient and *very cheap* volume.]

Several other editions of the Bible are extant, in three languages, called *Triglotts*, as well as Polyglott editions of particular parts of the Scriptures. For an account of these, we are compelled to refer the reader to the Bibliotheca Sacra of Le Long and Masch, and the Bibliographical Dictionary of Dr. Clarke, already cited. A complete account of all these Polyglott editions is a desideratum in English literature.

SECT. VI.

ANCIENT VERSIONS OF THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS.

§ 1. Targums, or Chaldee Paraphrases of the Old Testament.

Almost all the Targums are contained in the large Rabbinical Bibles.

1. Targum, seu Paraphrasis Chaldaica Onkelosi in Pentateuchum Latine, ex versione Alfonsi de Zamora. Venetiis, 1747. 4to.

Also in the Complutensian, Antwerp, Paris, and London Polyglotts. This version of the Targum of Onkelos was likewise printed at Antwerp, 1616, and at Venice, 1609, in folio.

2. Thargum, hoc est, Paraphrasis Onkeli Chaldaica in Sacra Biblia; ex Chaldaico in Latinum fidelissime versa, additis in singula fere capita succinctis annotationibus, Authore Paulo Fagio. Pentateuchus, sive quinque libri Moysis. Tom. I. Argentorati, 1546. Folio.

One volume only of this work was published. Fagius's learned annotations are inserted in the Critici Sacri.

3. Targum PSEUDO-JONATHANIS in Pentateuchum, Latine, ex versione Antonii Cevalerii. Londini, 1657. Folio. (In Bp. Walton's Polyglott.)

4. TARGUM HIEROSOLYMITANUM in Pentateuchum, Latine, ex versione Antonii Cevalerii. Londini, 1657. Folio. (In Bp. Walton's Polyglott.)

Bishop Walton states that the Latin version of Chevalier is more faithful than that published by Francis Taylor, at London, in 1649, 4to.

5. Targum JONATHANIS in Josue, Judices, Libros Regum, Isaiæ, Hieremiæ, Ezechielis et XII Minorum Prophetarum, Latine, ex versione Alfonsi de Zamora, a Benedicto Aria Montano ad Hebraicam et Chaldaicam veritatem correctâ, folio. (In the Antwerp, Paris, and London Polyglotts.)

Various other editions of the Targum of Jonathan Ben Uzziel are noticed in Masch's and Boerner's edition of Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra, Part II. vol. iii. pp. 654—656.

6. Targum R. JOSEPHI Cœci et aliorum in Chetuvim, Latine, ex versione Alfonsi de Zamora, et recognitione Ariæ Montani. Folio.

7. Targum in Psalmos, Ecclesiasten, et Librum Esther, ex versione Ariæ Montani. Folio.

Both the preceding Targums are found in the Antwerp, Paris, and London Polyglotts; in the last, the translation has been further revised by Dr. Edmund Castell.

8. Liber Jobi, Chaldaice et Latine, cum notis. Opera et studio Johannis Terentii. Franeckeræ, 1663. 4to.

The Latin translation is that of Alfonso de Zamora, revised by Montanus, and further corrected by the editor. Masch pronounces this to be a rare and erudite publication.

9. Cantica Canticorum et Ecclesiastes Salomonis paraphrastico sermone conscripti, et ex Chaldæa lingua in Latinam versi per Erasmum Oswaldum Schreckenfuchsium. Basileæ, 1553. 8vo.

10. Chaldaica Paraphrasis Libelli Ruth, a mendis repurgata, et punctis juxta analogiam grammaticam notata, cum Latina Interpretatione et Annotationibus, per Joannem Mercerum. Parisiis, 1564. 4to.

11. Paraphrasis Chaldaica Librorum Chronicorum, Latine, curâ Matthiæ Friderici Beckii. Augustæ Vindelicorum, 1680–83–84. 2 vols. 4to.

This copy is by no means complete; the editor added considerable annotations.

12. Paraphrasis Chaldaica in Librum priorem et posteriorem Chronicorum. Auctore Rabbi JOSEPHO, Rectore Academiæ in Syria. Nunc demum a manuscripto Cantabrigiensi descripta, ac cum Versione Latinâ in lucem missa a Davide Wilkins. Cantabrigiæ [Amstelædami], 1715, 4to. Amstelædami, 1725, 4to.

The manuscript, from which this edition was printed, was written A. D. 1477. It was presented to the public Library of the University of Cambridge by the Duke of Buckingham, then Chancellor, from the sale of Erpenius's library. Samuel Clarke, an eminent oriental scholar, copied it for the press. Besides the Chaldee paraphrase on the books of Chronicles, it contained the books of Psalms, Proverbs, Job, Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah, with a targum or paraphrase on most of them. The book is elegantly printed, the Chaldee text with vowel points being on the right-hand page, and the Latin translation on the left: both are divided into verses. The copies, dated Amstelædami, 1725, are the same as those dated Cambridge, but with a new title-page. The work was printed at Amsterdam, and *Cambridge* seems to have been introduced into the title of those copies only which were intended for this country.

---

§ 2. *Ancient Greek Versions.*

[i.] THE SEPTUAGINT.[1]

The following table exhibits the four principal *Standard Text Editions* of the Septuagint Greek version, together with the principal editions which are founded upon them:—

1. COMPLUTENSIAN TEXT, 1514.

Antwerp Polyglott, Fol. Gr. Lat. &c. 1569–72.—*Commelini.* Fol. Gr. 1586, 1599, 1616.—*Wolderi.* Fol. Gr. 1596.—*Hutteri.* Fol. 1599. Gr. Lat. &c.—*Paris Polyglott*, Fol. Gr. Lat. &c. 1645.

---

[1] This notice of the *principal* editions of the Septuagint version is chiefly taken from Masch and Boerner's edition of Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra, part ii. vol. ii. pp. 263—323. Many other editions of this version, and of detached books of it, are there described, which we have not room to detail.

2. Aldine Text, 1518.

Cephalæi. Oct. Gr. 1526.—*Hervagii,* Fol. Gr. 1545.—*Brylingeri.* Oct. Gr. 1550.—*Wechelii Hæred.* Fol. Gr. 1597.

3. Roman or Vatican Text, 1587.

Waltoni Polyglotta. Fol. Gr. Lat. &c. 1657.—*Morini.* Fol. Gr. Lat. 1628.—*Daniel.* Qto. et Oct. Gr. 1653, 1665, 1683.—*Cluveri.* Oct. Gr. 1697.—*Bosii.* Gr. Qto. 1709.—*Millii,* Oct. Gr. 1725.—*Reineccii.* Oct. Gr. 1730, 1757.—*Kirchneri.* Oct. Gr. 1759.—*Holmesii.* Fol. Gr. 1798, &c. *The editions printed at Oxford,* Oct. Gr. 1805, 1817, &c.—Oct. Gr. *Valpii,* 1819.—Oct. Gr. *L. Van Ess,* 1824.—Oct. Gr. *Tischendorf,* 1850.—Oct. Gr. (*Bagster*), 1851.

4. The Alexandrine Text, 1707–9–19–20.

Breitingeri. Qto. Gr. 1730–33. *Reineccii Biblia Quadrilinguia.* Fol. Gr. Lat. &c. 1750. *Baberi.* Fol. 1816–27. Moscow, 4to. Athens, 8vo. 4 vols. 1843, *seq.*

Of the various editions of the Septuagint Greek version which have issued from the press, the following more particularly claim the notice of the biblical student. Most of them contain the New Testament, in addition to the Old; but as the principal editions of the former have already been described, no notice will be taken of them.

1. Biblia Græca; cum versione Latina ad verbum. In Bibliis Polyglottis Compluti editis, 1514, 1515, 1517.

The text of this edition was composed after several manuscripts which the editors neglected to describe; they have frequently been charged with having altered the Greek text, to make it harmonise with the Hebrew, or rather with the Vulgate version, and with having filled up the chasms in the Alexandrian or Septuagint version from other Greek interpreters.—For a further account of the Complutensian Polyglott, see p. 714. *suprà.*

2. Παντα τα κατ' εξοχην καλουμενα Βιβλια Θειας δηλαδη γραφης παλαιας τε και νεας. —Sacræ Scripturæ Veteris Novæque omnia. Venetiis, 1518. Small folio.

This edition appeared in 1518, two years after the death of Aldus Manutius; it was executed under the care of his father-in-law, Andreas Asulanus. The text was compiled from several MSS. Archbishop Usher is of opinion, that in many instances it follows the readings of Aquila's version, instead of those of the Septuagint. The Aldine text, however, is pronounced by Bishop Walton to be much purer than that in the Complutensian Polyglott, to which it is actually prior in point of time; for though the Polyglott bears date 1514—1517, it was not published until the year 1522. Father Simon and M. de Colomies concur in speaking very highly of the execution of the Aldine edition.

3. Της Θειας Γραφης παλαιας δηλαδη και νεας ἁπαντα. Divinæ Scripturæ Veteris Novæque omnia. Argentorati, apud Wolphium Cephalæum, 1526. 4 vols. 8vo.

This edition is of some rarity: the fourth volume contains the New Testament. It follows the text of Aldus, and it has been stated to be not only well and correctly printed, but also to possess the additional merit of judicious punctuation. The chapters are distinguished, but of course the text is not divided into verses; and a space is left at the beginning of each chapter for the insertion of the initial letter. The Apocryphal books, and a small collection of various readings, are added in this edition by the editor John Lonicerus, a disciple and follower of the illustrious reformer, Dr. Martin Luther. Copies of this edition are sometimes to be met with, having the date of 1529. They are, however, all of the same impression, the beginning of the preface being altered, the name of Lonicerus *omitted,* and that of *Jerome* substituted for Luther, with a new title-page. The New Testament forms the fourth volume of this edition; it has been noticed in p. 685. *suprà,* No. 3.

4. Της Θειας Γραφης παλαιας δηλαδη και νεας απαντα. Divinæ Scripturæ Veteris ac Novi Testamenti omnia, innumeris locis nunc demum, et optimorum librorum collatione et doctorum virorum operâ, multo quam unquam emendatiora, in lucem edita. Cum Cæs. Majest. gratia et privilegio ad quinquennium. Basileæ, per Joannem Hervagium, 1545. Folio.

In this rare and little known edition, the text of Lonicerus is chiefly followed; it is said to surpass in correctness both the Strasburg and Venetian editions, and also has some valuable various readings. The preface was written by Melancthon.

5. Biblia Græca, Græcè et Latinè. . . . . Basileæ, per Nicholaum Brylingerum. 1550. 5 vols. 8vo.

Each of the five volumes, of which this edition consists, has a distinct title-page, which is printed by Masch. The Greek and Latin are placed in opposite columns; the former from the Aldine text, the latter from the Vulgate, as printed in the Complutensian Polyglott. The type, though rather too small to be read with ease, is pronounced by Masch to be distinct and neat.

6. Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη, κατα τους Ἑβδομηκοντα· δι' ανθενπιας Ξυστου Β.' Ακρου Αρχιερεως εκδοθεισα.—Vetus Testamentum Græcum, juxta LXX Interpretes, studio Antonii Cardinalis CARAFÆ, ope virorum doctorum adjuti, cum prefatione et scholiis Petri Morini. Romæ ex Typographia Francisci Zannetti, 1586. Folio.

A beautiful edition, of great rarity and value. The copies of it are of two dates;—some with M.D.LXXXVI, as they originally appeared, and others with the date of M.D.LXXXVII, the figure I. having been subsequently added with a pen. The latter copies are most commonly met with, and hence this edition is usually dated 1587. They contain 783 pages of text, preceded by four leaves of preliminary matter, which are followed by another (subsequently added), intitled *Corrigenda in notationibus Psalterii*. This last-mentioned leaf is *not* found in the copies bearing the date of 1586, which also want the privilege of Pope Sixtus V. dated May 9th, 1587, at whose request and under whose auspices it was undertaken by Cardinal Antonio Carafa, aided by Antonio Agelli, Peter Morinus, Fulvio Ursino, Robert Bellarmin, Cardinal Sirlet, and others. The celebrated Codex Vaticanus 1209 was the basis of the Roman or Sixtine edition, as it is usually termed; but the editors did not exclusively adhere to that MS., having changed both the orthography and readings whenever these appeared to them to be faulty. Such is the opinion of Drs. Hody and Grabe, Eichhorn, Morus, and other eminent critics; though the late Dr. Holmes has contended that the text of the Roman edition was printed from one single MS., which was followed throughout without intentional departure. The first forty-six chapters of Genesis, together with some of the Psalms, and the book of Maccabees, being defective in the Vatican manuscript through extreme age, the editors are said to have supplied this deficiency by compiling those parts of the Septuagint from a manuscript out of Cardinal Bessarion's library, and from another which was brought to them from Calabria. So great was the agreement between the latter and the Codex Vaticanus, that they were supposed to have been transcribed either the one from the other, or both from the same copy. Various readings are given to each chapter. This edition contains the Greek text only. In 1588, Flaminio Nobili printed at Rome, in folio, *Vetus Testamentum secundum* LXX *Latine redditum*. This Latin version was professedly not composed by him, but compiled out of the fragments of the ancient Latin translations; but the fragments have been met with by no one else. It is a splendid volume, and of considerable rarity. The Roman edition was reprinted at Paris in 1628, in three folio volumes; the New Testament in Greek and Latin forms the third volume. This reprint is in great request, not only for the neatness and correctness of its execution, but also for the learned notes which accompany it. Some copies are occasionally met with, dated *Parisiis, Piget*, 1641, which might lead us to suppose that they were distinct editions. De Bure however says, that they are but one and the same edition, with a new title-page, probably printed by the bookseller who had purchased the unsold copies.

7. Της Θειας Γραφης, παλαιας δηλαδη και νεας, ἁπαντα. Divinæ Scripturæ, nempe Veteris ac Novi Testamenti, omnia .... Francofurti, apud Andreæ Wechelii Hæredes, 1597. Folio.

This edition is formed after that of Hervagius, the errors of the latter being previously corrected. It has a collection of various readings taken from the Complutensian, Antwerp, Strasburg, and Roman editions. Morinus charges the editor (who is supposed to have been Francis Junius or Frederic Sylburgius) with abandoning the Aldine text in four chapters of the book of Exodus, and in the twenty-fourth chapter of the book of Proverbs, and substituting the Complutensian text in its stead. It is very neatly printed on clear types, and is divided into verses.

8. Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη κατα τους Ἑβδομηκοντα. Vetus Testamentum Græcum, ex versione Septuaginta interpretum. Londini, excudebat Rogerus Daniel, 1653. 4to.

This edition is frequently mentioned in catalogues as being both in quarto and in octavo. Masch states that there is but one size, viz. in quarto, though the paper be different. It professes to follow the Sixtine edition: but this is not the fact; the editors having altered and interpolated the text in several places, in order to bring it nearer to the Hebrew text and the modern versions. The errors of this edition have been retained; 1. In that printed at Cambridge in 1658, 8vo., with a learned preface written by Bishop Pearson (whose initials are at the end): and 2. In the very neat Cambridge edition printed by Field in 1665, in three volumes 8vo. (including the Liturgy in Greek and the New Testament). Field's edition was counterfeited, page for page, by John Hayes, a printer at Cambridge, who executed an edition in 1684, to which he put Field's name, and the date of 1665. The fraud, however, may easily be detected, by comparing the two editions; the typography of the genuine one by Field being very superior to that of Hayes. The genuine Cambridge edition was reprinted at Amsterdam, in 1683, in 12mo. without the Greek Testament. The editing of it is commonly, but erroneously, ascribed to Leusden. The omission of Bishop Pearson's initials at the end of the preface has caused the latter to be attributed to Leusden. The book is very neatly, but very incorrectly, printed in two columns, divided into separate verses. The Apocryphal books, which are found in the Cambridge edition, are altogether omitted.

9. Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη, κατα τους Ἑβδομηκοντα. Vetus Testamentum Græcum, ex versione Septuaginta interpretum, cum libris Apocryphis, juxta exemplar Vaticanum Romæ editum, et Anglicanum Londini excusum. Lipsiæ, 1697. 8vo.

The editors of this impression were M. J. CLUVER and Tho. KLUMPF. Though inferior to the London and Amsterdam editions in beauty of execution, it is very far superior to them in point

of correctness. The prolegomena of John Frickius prefixed to it, contain a critical notice of preceding editions of the Septuagint Version, which is said to be very accurate.

10. Vetus Testamentum Græcum, ex versione LXX Interpretum, ex antiquissimo MS. Codice Alexandrino accuratè descriptum, et ope aliorum exemplarium ac priscorum scriptorum, præsertim vero Hexaplaris Editionis Origenianæ, emendatum atque suppletum, additis sæpe asteriscorum et obelorum signis, summâ curâ edidit Joannes Ernestus GRABE, S.T.P. Oxonii, 1707, 1709, 1719, 1720. 4 vols. folio, and 8 vols. 8vo.

This splendid edition exhibits the text of the celebrated Codex Alexandrinus, now deposited in the British Museum. Though Dr. Grabe prepared the whole for the press, yet he only lived to publish the Octateuch, forming the first volume of the folio edition, in 1707, and the fourth, containing the metrical books, in 1709. The second volume, comprising the historical books, was edited by Francis Lee, M.D., a very eminent Greek scholar, in 1719; and the third volume, including the prophetical books, by W. Wigan, S.T.D., in 1720. This edition gives a fair representation of the Alexandrian Manuscript where it was perfect; but where it was defective and incorrect, the passages supplied and the corrected readings are given, partly from the Codex Vaticanus, and partly from the Complutensian edition, in a smaller character than that employed in the text, the erroneous lections being printed in the margin. Grabe's death caused the sources of his emendations and supplements to be by no means clearly indicated. Many things may be gathered from the prolegomena to the different volumes, though the extreme prolixity and the want of critical apprehension shown, detract much from their value. Dr. Grabe designed to have added copious notes to this work, but was prevented by death from composing them. After the folio sheets were struck off, the pages were divided, and over-run into an octavo form, to prevent the book from being piratically printed in Germany.

11. Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη κατα τους Ἑβδομηκοντα. Vetus Testamentum ex Versione Septuaginta Interpretum secundum Exemplar Vaticanum Romæ editum, accuratissimè denuo recognitum; una cum scholiis ejusdem editionis, variis Manuscriptorum Codicum Veterumque Exemplarium Lectionibus, necnon fragmentis Versionum Aquilæ, Symmachi, et Theodotionis. Summâ curâ edidit Lambertus Bos. Franequeræ, 1709. 4to.

An elegant and accurate edition, which is deservedly esteemed. The preface of the editor, Professor Bos, contains a critical disquisition on the Septuagint Version and its utility in sacred criticism, together with an account of the preceding principal editions. Bos's text was reprinted at Amsterdam in 1725, in two 8vo. vols. under the editorial care of David Mill. It contains various readings from some MSS. at Leyden, which, however, are of no great critical value.

12. Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη κατα τους Ἑβδομηκοντα. Vetus Testamentum ex Versione Septuaginta Interpretum, olim ad fidem Codicis MS. Alexandrini summo studio et incredibili diligentia expressum, emendatum et suppletum a Joanne Ernesti Grabio, S.T.P. Nunc vero exemplaris Vaticani aliorumque MSS. Codd. Lectionibus Var. nec non criticis dissertationibus illustratum insigniterque locupletatum, summâ curâ edidit Joannes Jacobus BREITINGERUS. Tiguri Helvetiorum, 1730-1-2. 4 vols. 4to.

This edition is a correct reprint of Dr. Grabe's edition, to which are added, at the foot of the page, the various readings of the Roman or Vatican edition, and of three manuscripts belonging to the library of the Academy at Basle. The beauty of its typography and paper, and its critical value, concur to render this edition highly esteemed; it is consequently both scarce and dear. Michaelis pronounces it to be the best edition of the Septuagint ever printed, that is, up to his time.

13. Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη κατα τους Ἑβδομηκοντα. Vetus Testamentum Græcum ex Versione Septuaginta Interpretum, una cum Libris Apocryphis, secundum Exemplar Vaticanum Romæ editum et aliquoties recognitum, quod nunc denuo ad optimas quasque editiones recensuit, et potiores quasdam Codicis Alexandrini et aliorum lectiones variantes adjecit M. Christianus REINECCIUS. Lipsiæ, 1730, 8vo. 1757, 8vo. edit. secunda.

A neat and commodious edition, though the type is rather too small. The apocryphal books are at the end of the volume.

14. Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη. Vetus Testamentum ex Versione Septuaginta Interpretum, ad Exemplar Vaticanum Romæ editum ex optimis codicibus impressum. Accesserunt Libri Apocryphi. Halæ, sumptibus Orphanotrophei, 1759. 12mo.

An edition of more promise than execution. Masch denounces it as very incorrect, and says that, instead of being taken from the best codices (as the editor professes), or editions, it agrees with the London, Cambridge, and Leipsic editions.

[15. Exodi Particula atque Leviticus Græce. Edidit e cod. MS. Bibliothecæ Collegii Paullini Lipsiensis Joh. Frid. FISCHERUS. Lipsiæ, 1767. 8vo.

Numeri et Particula Deuteronomii Græce. . . . . Lipsiæ, 1768. 8vo.

These portions of the LXX. deserve special mention as being taken directly from a MS.]

16. Δανιηλ κατα τους Ἑβδομηκοντα εκ των Τετραπλων Ωριγενους. Daniel secundum Septuaginta ex Tetraplis Origenis nunc primum editus [a Simone de Magistris] e singulari Chisiano Codice annorum supra ɪɔccc. Romæ, 1772. Folio.

For a full account of this splendid work, see Bibl. Sussex. pp. 281—283., and Masch's Bibliotheca Sacra, part ii. vol. ii. pp. 320—322.

The text of this edition of the Book of Daniel was reprinted at Gottingen in 1773; and again at Utrecht in 1775, by C. Segaar; but the best edition is that with notes, of Dr. H. A. Hahn, Leipzig, in 1844, for which the MS. was again consulted. Most of these reprints are in octavo.

17. Vetus Testamentum Græcum, cum variis Lectionibus, edidit Robertus Holmes, D.D., Decanus Wintoniensis. Tom. I. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1798. Folio.

Vetus Testamentum Græcum, cum variis Lectionibus. Editionem a Roberto Holmes, S.T.P. inchoatam continuavit Jacobus Parsons, S.T.B. Tom. II.—V. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1818–27. Folio.

To the University of Oxford belongs the honour of giving to the public this valuable and splendid edition of the Septuagint Version. In the year 1788, the Rev. Dr. Holmes, Dean of Winchester, circulated proposals for collating all the MSS. of that version known to be extant. These being liberally supported by public and private patrons, Dr. H. published annual accounts of his collations, which amounted to sixteen in number, up to the time of his decease. In 1795 he published, in folio, two Latin epistles to the Bishop of Durham, containing specimens of his proposed work; and in 1798 appeared the first part of vol. i. containing the book of Genesis; part ii. comprising Exodus and Leviticus, was published in 1801; and the books of Numbers and Deuteronomy, which complete the first volume, in 1804. The date of 1798, therefore, in the title-page of the first volume, is not strictly correct. A general preface to this volume, in four chapters, discusses the history of the Κοινή, or common text of the Septuagint Version, and its various corrections; describes the MSS. consulted for this edition (eleven of which were written in uncial letters, and upwards of one hundred in small letters); and gives an account of the printed editions of the LXX, of the Fathers, and other Greek writers quoted in the various readings, and of the several ancient versions, viz. the Old Italic or Ante-Hieronymian Latin, the Memphitic, Thebaic, Syriac (made from the Greek text), Arabic, Sclavonic, Armenian, and the Georgian versions, whence various readings in the Pentateuch have been extracted. Each of the five books of Moses is furnished with a short preface and an appendix; and at the end of the volume are eleven pages of *addenda et emendanda*. Dr. Holmes also published the book of Daniel, in 1805, according to the text of Theodotion and the Septuagint, in the same manner as the Pentateuch, a few months before his death. The text is printed on a strong and beautiful type, after the Sixtine or Roman edition of 1587; and the deviations from it, which are observable in the Complutensian and Aldine editions, and in that of Dr. Grabe, are constantly noted. For this edition were collated three hundred and eleven manuscripts, the various lections of which are exhibited at the foot of the page. On Dr. Holmes's death, in 1805, after a considerable but unavoidable delay, the publication of this important work was resumed by the Rev. J. Parsons, A.M. (afterwards B.D.); under whose editorial care the second volume was completed in 1818. It comprises all the historical books from Joshua to the second book of Chronicles inclusively; the several fasciculi of which were published in the following order, viz. Joshua in 1810; Judges and Ruth in 1812; 1 Kings in 1813; and the five remaining books in the four succeeding years, the whole being printed off in the early part of 1818. The third and fourth volumes, containing the book of Job to the prophet Jeremiah inclusive, were published between the years 1819—1825; and the remaining (or fifth) volume, which contains the Apocryphal books, between the years 1825 and 1827. The plan laid down by Dr. Holmes was followed by his learned successor, whose continuation is executed in the same splendid and accurate manner as the Pentateuch. The reader will find a copious and very interesting critique on the *first* volume of this magnificent undertaking in the Eclectic Review, vol. ii. part i. pp. 85–90. 214–221. 267–274. 337–348.; and of the *second* volume in the Classical Journal, vol. ix. pp. 475–479. and vol. xix. 367–372.

There are many practical hindrances as to the advantageous use of this edition. The authorities are not clearly expressed, and even the Alexandrian MS. is commonly quoted only amongst the *printed editions*.

18. Psalterium Græcum è Codice MS. Alexandrino, qui Londini in Bibliotheca Musei Britannici asservatur, Typis ad Similitudinem ipsius Codicis Scripturæ fideliter descriptum, Curâ et Labore Henrici Herveii Baber, A.M. Musei Britannici Bibliothecarii. Londini, 1812. Folio

19. Vetus Testamentum Græcum è Codice MS. Alexandrino, qui Londini in Bibliotheca Musei Britannici asservatur, Typis ad Similitudinem ipsius Codicis Scripturæ fideliter descriptum, Curâ et Labore Henrici Herveii Baber, A.M. Londini, 1816–28. 4 vols. folio.

For an account of these two publications, see pages 879–80. Nos. 2. and 3. *suprà*, in the account of fac-simile editions of manuscripts of the New Testament and of the Septuagint Version.

20. Vetus Testamentum Græcum ex Versione LXX secundum Exemplar Vaticanum Romæ editum. Accedunt variæ Lectiones e Codice Alexandrino necnon Introductio J. B. Carpzovii. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1817. 6 vols. 8vo.

An accurate and beautifully printed edition: there are copies on large paper. The introduction is extracted from the second and third chapters of Carpzov's Critica Sacra, Part III.

21. Vetus Testamentum ex Versione Septuaginta Interpretum juxta Exemplar Vaticanum, ex Editione Holmesii et Lamberti Bos. Londini, in Ædibus Valpianis. 1819. 8vo.

This elegantly executed volume is very *correctly* printed, after the editions of Holmes and Bos, and (which cannot but recommend it to students in preference to the incorrect Cambridge and Amsterdam reprints of the Vatican text) its price is so reasonable as to place it within the reach of almost every one.

[22. Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη κατα τους Ἑβδομηκοντα. Id est Vetus Testamentum secundum Septuaginta seniorum interpretationem juxta exemplar Vaticanum; adjiciuntur editionis Grabianæ variæ lectiones. London (Bagsters). [No date.] Fcp. 8vo.

This Septuagint, which has been often reprinted from the stereotype plates, is also a *part* of the Polyglott Bible (No. 6. in section 5.). It is separately mentioned here as being by far the most portable form in which the Vatican text is obtainable: the various readings prefixed are those of the Alexandrian text as published by Grabe; that is, the readings of the Alexandrian MS. corrected in some places by that editor, together with the supplements which he introduced from other sources. See No. 10. above.]

23 Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη κατα τους Ἑβδομηκοντα. Vetus Testamentum ex Versione LXX Interpretum, juxta exemplar Vaticanum, ex editione Holmesii et Lamberti Bos. Glasguæ, 1822. 3 tomis 12mo. Editio nova, Glasguæ et Londini, 1831. 2 tomis 18mo.

These very neatly printed editions are also formed after those of Holmes and Bos: they were executed at the University press of Glasgow. To the edition of 1831 is prefixed the learned preface of Bp. Pearson, which is copied from the Cambridge edition of 1653.

24. Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη κατα τους Ἑβδομηκοντα: seu Vetus Testamentum Græce, juxta Septuaginta Interpretes ex auctoritate Sixti V. Editionis, juxta Exemplar Originale Vaticanum Romæ editum quoad textum accuratissimè et ad amussim recusum, curâ et studio Leandri Van Ess. Lipsiæ, 1824. 8vo.

This edition is stereotyped, and is very neatly executed. There are copies on thick paper, which are an ornament to any library.

25. Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη κατα τους Ἑβδομηκοντα. Vetus Testamentum Græcum juxta Septuaginta Interpretes, ex auctoritate Sixti Quinti Pontificis Maximi editum, juxta exemplar originale Vaticanum: nunc denuò recognitum, accuratissime expressum, ad normam Vulgatæ versiculis distinctum, cum Latina Translatione, Animadversionibus, et Complementis ex aliis manuscriptis, curâ et studio J. N. Jager. Parisiis, 1839. 2 tomis. Imperial 8vo.

A beautifully printed edition from the press of Messrs. Firmin Didot. The editor, the abbé Jager, has produced an edition of the Septuagint Version, arranged upon the following plan; viz. 1. The Greek text of the Sixtine Edition published at Rome in 1586, which professes to exhibit the text of the Vatican manuscript, is printed with scrupulous accuracy, typographical errors, of course, being corrected. To this text is added a literal Latin version:—2. The chasms in the Sixtine Edition are supplied at the foot of the pages where they occur, from the Alexandrian manuscript in the British Museum, which (M. Jager states) has been collated verbatim throughout for this purpose:—3. Both the Greek text and Latin version are divided into verses, according to the Latin Vulgate; but the inversions, which are of frequent occurrence in the Vatican manuscript, are noted by the letters of the alphabet. Such apocryphal books, as were rejected by the assembly of Romish divines convened at Trent in the sixteenth century, are printed at the end of the volume:—4. As the editor contemplated the publication of the Old Testament, according to the order in which it appears in the Latin Vulgate, he has supplied from the Hebrew text (after the manner adopted in Origen's Hexapla) all the passages which are wanting, and which the fathers and other ancient ecclesiastical writers attest to be wanting, in the common Septuagint Version. These supplementary passages (which are placed at the foot of the page, and divided into verses with a Latin translation,) are extracted from the Roman scholia, from the Complutensian and Aldine editions, from the fragments of the Greek versions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, and from numerous other published and unpublished manuscripts, which are preserved in the royal library at Paris: the value of such supplements would have depended on the *authorities* on which they are based; and thus it is a great defect for them not be specified throughout.

26. Jeremias Vates, è versione Judæorum Alexandrinorum ac reliquorum

Interpretum Græcorum emendatus, notisque criticis illustratus à G. L. Spohn. Lipsiæ, 1794–1823. 2 vols. 8vo.

A continuation of the first volume of these illustrations of Jeremiah is given in Pott's and Ruperti's Sylloge Commentationum Theologicarum. These are enlarged and completed in the second volume, which was published in 1823, after the author's death, by his son, F. A. W. Spohn.

[27. Ἡ ΠΑΛΑΙΑ ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΕΒΔΟΜΗΚΟΝΤΑ. *ἐκ τοῦ ἐν Μόσχᾳ, ἀδείᾳ τῆς ἱερᾶς διοικούσης Συνόδου πασῶν τῶν Ῥωσσιῶν, ἐκτυπωθέντος ἀρχαίου Ἀλεξανδρινοῦ Κώδηκος, μετατυπωθεῖσα,* ΕΥΔΟΚΙΑ ΜΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΝΕΡΓΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΣΥΝΟΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΑΔΟΣ, ΔΑΠΑΝΗ ΔΕ ΤΗΣ ΕΝ ΑΓΓΛΙΑ, ΕΤΑΙΡΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΙΑΔΟΣΙΝ ΤΗΣ ΧΡΙΣΤΙΑΝΙΚΗΣ ΠΑΙΔΕΙΑΣ, *ἵνα δωρεὰν τοῖς ἐκ ἱεροῦ Κλήρου διανέμηται.* Athens, 1843, 1846, 1849, 1850. 8vo. 4 vols.

The Greek title of this edition describes its history and object: it is well and clearly printed, and very convenient for reading. The fourth volume contains the apocryphal books, which the Committee of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge directed to be separated, and not, as in many editions of the LXX., intermixed with the canonical writings. The additions, however, to Esther and Daniel were not so separated, as the Greek ecclesiastics who took the charge of the printing of the edition did not understand that these portions were included in the regulations.

The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge have now in hand, under the superintendance of the Rev. Frederick Field (editor of Homilies of Chrysostom) an edition of the LXX., in which it is intended that all objections to this (on the ground of apocryphal additions, &c.) shall be fully obviated.]

[28. Vetus Testamentum Græce, juxta LXX Interpretes. Textum Vaticanum Romanum emendatius edidit, argumenta et locos Novi Testamenti Parallelos notavit, omnem lectionis varietatem codicum vetustissimorum Alexandrini, Ephræmi Syri, Friderico-Augustani subjunxit, commentationem isagogicam prætextuit Constantinus Tischendorf. Lipsiæ, 1850. 2 vols. 8vo.

This edition is sufficiently described in the title: its distinguishing feature is the collection of various readings from several of the most ancient MSS., subjoined at the foot of the page.

Another edition of Professor Tischendorf, with this critical appa ratus enlarged, has been announced.]

[29. *Ἡ Παλαια Διαθηκη κατα τους Ἑβδομηκοντα.* The Greek Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, according to the Vatican Edition; together with the real Septuagint Version of Daniel (including the Fourth Book of the Maccabees), and an Historical Introduction. London (Bagsters). [1851.]

This edition was prepared to meet the demand for that of Valpy (No. 21. above), which had passed into the hands of the publishers, for whom this was executed. Such additions were made (as specified in the title) as would add to the utility of the reprint.]

English Translations of the Septuagint Version.

1. The Old Covenant, commonly called the Old Testament, translated from the Septuagint. The New Covenant, commonly called the New Testament, translated from the Greek. By Charles Thomson, late Secretary to the Congress of the United States. Philadelphia, 1808. 4 vols. 8vo.

2. The Septuagint Version of the Old Testament according to the Vatican Text, translated into English: with the principal Various Readings of the Alexandrine Copy, and a Table of Comparative Chronology. By Sir Lancelot Charles Lee Brenton, Bart. London, 1844. 2 vols. 8vo.

A close and accurate translation. The table of comparative chronology is copied with due acknowledgment, from the Rev. T. H. Horne.

[ii.] Editions of Origen's Hexapla and Tetrapla.

1. Hexaplorum Origenis que supersunt. Ex Manuscriptis et ex Libris editis eruit et Notis illustravit D. Bernardus de Montfaucon. Accedunt Opuscula quædam Origenis anecdota, et ad calcem Lexicon Hebraicum ex veterum Interpretationibus concinnatum, itemque Lexicon Græcum, et alia. Parisiis, 1713. 2 tomis, folio.

The best edition, unhappily very rare, of the remains of Origen's Hexapla. The first volume contains a very valuable preliminary disquisition on the Hebrew text, and on the different

ancient Greek versions; together with a minute account of Origen's biblical labours, and some inedited fragments of Origen, &c. To these succeed the remains of the Hexapla, from Genesis to the Book of Psalms inclusive. The second volume comprises the rest of the Hexapla to the end of the twelve minor prophets, together with Greek and Hebrew Lexicons to the Hexapla.

2. Hexaplorum Origenis quæ supersunt. Edidit, notisque illustravit Ca. Frider. Bahrdt. Lipsiæ et Lubecæ, 1769–70. 2 vols. 8vo.

Professor Bahrdt undertook this edition for those who could not afford to purchase Montfaucon's magnificent edition. He has omitted, as unnecessary, the translation of the fragments, the explanation of particular words occurring in the notes, and some scholia. He has improved the arrangement of the materials collected by Montfaucon, and has added some further fragments of Origen's Hexapla, from a Leipsic manuscript. Bahrdt has also given many additional notes, which however are not distinguished from those of Montfaucon. The Hebrew words are given in Greek characters. This edition was severely criticised by Fischer, in his Prolusiones de Versionibus Græcis, p. 34. note.

The Fragments of the versions by Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus, collected by Morin and others, are printed in the editions of the Septuagint Version executed at Rome in 1587, at Frankfort in 1597, at London in 1653, at Leipsic in 1697, and at Franeker in 1709.

3. Animadversiones, quibus Fragmenta Versionum Græcarum V.T. a Bern. Montefalconio collecta, illustrantur, emendantur. Auctore Jo. Gottfr. Scharfenberg. Specimina duo. Lipsiæ, 1776–81. 8vo.

[iii.] ANOTHER GREEK VERSION.

1. Nova Versio Græca Pentateuchi, ex unico S. Marci Bibliothecæ Codice Veneto. Edidit atque recensuit Chr. Frid. Ammon. Erlangæ, 1790–91. 3 vols. 8vo.

2. Nova Versio Græca Proverbiorum, Ecclesiastis, Cantici Canticorum, Ruthi, Threnorum, Danielis, et selectorum Pentateuchi Locorum. Ex unico S. Marci Bibliothecæ Codice Veneto nunc primum eruta, et notulis illustrata a Joanne Baptiste Caspare D'Ansse de Villoison. Argentorati, 1784. 8vo.

---

§ 3. Ancient Oriental Versions.

[i. The Syriac Versions.]

The Peshito or Old Syriac Version.

1. Biblia Syriaca Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Parisiis, 1645, folio. (In Le Jay's Polyglott Bible.)

2. Biblia Sacra Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Londini, 1657, folio. (In Bp. Walton's Polyglott Bible.)

3. Pentateuchus Syriace. Ex Polyglottis Anglicanis svmma fide edidit Georgivs Gvillielmvs Kirsch. Hofæ et Lipsiæ, 1787. 4to.

In an appendix the editor has collected various readings of the Syriac Version from the commentaries (in the Syriac language) of Ephraem, with some additional observations of his own.

4. Vetus Testamentum Syriace, eos tantum Libros sistens, qui in Canone Hebraico habentur, ordine vero, quoad fieri potuit, apud Syros usitato dispositas. In usum Ecclesiæ Syrorum Malabarensium, jussu Societatis Biblicæ recognovit, ad fidem codicum Manuscriptorum emendavit, edidit Samuel Lee, A.M. Linguæ Arabicæ apud Cantabrigienses Professor. Londini, 1823. 4to.

This edition was printed under the patronage of the Church Missionary Society, and at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Three manuscripts have been collated for this edition, viz. 1. The valuable manuscript brought by the Rev. Dr. Buchanan from Travancore in the East Indies, collated by Professor Lee; 2. Another manuscript belonging to the Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke; and, 3. A manuscript of the Syriac Pentateuch found by Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Lee in the Library of New College, Oxford.

5. Novum Testamentum, Syriacè, cura Alberti Widmanstadii. (Viennæ Austriacæ, 1555.) 4to.

The first edition of the Syriac New Testament: it is very rare. Bishop Marsh states that it may be considered as a perfect pattern of the genuine Peshito. (Michaelis, vol. ii. part ii p. 537.) Dr. Masch has given a long account of it in his Bibliotheca Sacra, part ii. vol. i. pp 70—79. There are copies, dated Viennæ Austriacæ, 1562, 4to.: but they are the same edition with a new title-page.

6. Novum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Testamentum Syriacum, cum Versione Latina; curâ et studio Johannis Leusden et Caroli Schaaf. Ad omnes editiones diligenter recensitum, et variis lectionibus, magno labore collectis, adornatum. 1708. Secunda editio a mendis repurgata. Lugduni Batavorum, 1717, 4to.

The first edition appeared in 1708; but copies are most commonly to be met with, bearing the date of 1709. Michaelis pronounces this to be "the very best edition of the Syriac New Testament. The very excellect Lexicon, which is annexed to it, will ever retain its value; being, as far as regards the New Testament, extremely accurate and complete, and supplying in some measure the place of a concordance." (Introd. to New Test. vol. ii. part i. p. 17.)

[See above p. 261. with regard to this edition, and the fact that there is only *one* impression, whether it be dated 1708, 1709, or 1717. The statement on the reprinted title-page of 1717, "Secunda editio a mendis repurgata," is a false and utterly misleading statement. The undue praise lavished by Michaelis has given this edition a name which is ill supported by the internal contradiction and inconsistency of its mode of execution.]

7. Novum Testamentum Syriacè, denuo recognitum, atque ad fidem Codicum Manuscriptorum emendatum. Londini, 1816. 4to.

A beautiful edition, executed at the press of Mr. Richard Watts, for the use of the Syrian Christians in India, by whom it is stated to have been received with the utmost gratitude. This edition was superintended by the Rev. Samuel Lee, A. M. [afterwards D. D.] late Professor of Hebrew in the University of Cambridge. The expense of the edition was defrayed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. There is an interesting communication by Prof. Lee concerning this edition, in Dr. Wait's Translation of Hug's Introduction to the New Test. vol. i. pp. 368—370. *notes.*

[See above, p. 262. for some account of the relation of Lee's edition to that which had been commenced by Dr. Buchanan. In the sheets of Dr. Buchanan's edition (which seems never to have been *published*) a Latin version is subjoined to each page. Dr. Lee's edition of the Syriac New Test. was reprinted in smaller type to accompany his edition of the Old Test. *suprà*, No. 4.]

The preceding are the principal editions of the Old Syriac Version. For a more copious account of them, and of various other editions, see Bp. Marsh's Translation of Michaelis's Introduction to the New Testament, vol. ii. part. i. pp. 4–18, and part ii. pp. 536–546.; also Masch's Bibliotheca Sacra, part ii. vol. i. pp. 71–102.

[8. The Syriac New Testament. Edited by William Greenfield. London, 1828. Fcp. 8vo. (also in 4to. and folio, as part of Bagster's Polyglott.)

This excellent edition is described above, p. 263.]

Supplements to the Syriac Text.

1. Textus Sacrorum Evangeliorum Versionis Simplicis Syriacæ, juxta Editionem Schaafianam, collatus cum duobus ejusdem vetustis Codd. MSS. in Bibliotheca Bodleiana repositis; nec non cum Cod. MS. Commentarii Gregorii Bar-Hebræi ibidem adservato, a Ricardo Jones. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1805. 4to.

This publication is a valuable supplement to any Syriac edition; it has two fac-similes of the Syriac MSS. collated by the editor.

2. Michaelis (Joannis Davidis) Curæ in Versionem Syriacam Actuum Apostolicorum; cum Consectariis Criticis de Indole, Cognationibus, et usu Versionis Syriacæ Novi Fœderis. Gottingæ, 1755. 4to.

The Curetonian Syriac Version.

Quatuor Evangeliorum Syriacè, recensionis antiquissimæ, atque in occidente adhuc ignotæ quod superest: e codice vetustissimo Nitriensi eruit atque vulgavit Guilielmus Cureton. Londini, impensis suis. 4to.

This version and the MS. in which it is contained, and the parts of the Gospels that are there extant, are described above, p. 267. It is to be hoped that Mr. Cureton will soon have completed his translation and critical notes, so that the publication may no longer be delayed. The Syriac text is printed in a noble Estrangelo character.]

The Philoxenian Syriac Version.

1. Sacrorum Evangeliorum Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana, ex Codd. MSS. Ridleianis in Bibliotheca Collegii Novi Oxon. repositis; nunc primum edita, cum

Interpretatione Latinâ et Annotationibus Josephi White. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1778. 2 tomis, 4to.

2. Actuum Apostolorum, et Epistolarum tam Catholicarum quam Paulinarum, Versio Syriaca Philoxeniana . . . . . cum Interpretatione Latinâ et Annotationibus Josephi White. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1799. 1803. 2 tomis, 4to.

[3. Das Heilige Evangelium des Johannes Syrisch in Harkleusischer Uebersetzung nebst Kritischen Aumerkungen von G. H. Bernstein. Leipzig, 1853. 8vo.]

[To complete the Syriac editions, as containing much information relative to MSS. and readings, the following work deserves special mention: *Novi Testamenti Versiones Syriacæ simplex, Philoxeniana et Hierosolymitana. Denuo examinatæ et ad fidem codicum manu scriptorum bibliothecarum Vaticanæ, Angelicæ, Assemanianæ, Mediceæ, Regiæ aliarumque, novis observationibus atque tabulis æri incisis illustratæ*, à J. G. Chr. Adler. Hafniæ, 1789. 4to.]

Portions added to the Peshito.

[1. Apocalypsis Sancti Johannis ex Manuscripto exemplari è Bibliothecâ Clariss. Viri Josephi Scaliger deprompto, Edita charactere Syro et Ebræo, cum Versione Latinâ et Notis, Operâ et Studio Ludovici de Dieu. Lugduni Batavorum, 1627. 4to.

2. Epistolæ Quatuor, Petri secunda, Johannis secunda et tertia, et Judæ, fratris Jacobi una, ex celeberrimæ Bibliothecæ Bodleianæ Oxoniensis MS. exemplari nunc primum depromptæ, et charactere Hebræo, Versione Latinâ, notisque quibusdam insignitæ, Operâ et Studio Edvvardi Pococke, Angli-Oxoniensis. Lugduni Batavorum, 1630. 4to.

The text of these editions is described above, pp. 280. and 278. These portions were added to *complete* the Peshito New Test. in Le Jay's and Walton's Polyglotts, and in subsequent editions: the reader must bear in mind that they form *no part* really of that version.]

The Syriac Hexaplar Version.

1. Specimen ineditæ et Hexaplaris Bibliorum Versionis, Syro-Estranghelæ, cum simplici atque utriusque fontibus, Græco et Hebræo, collatæ cum duplici Latinâ versione et notis. Edidit, ac diatribam de rarissimo codice Ambrosiano, unde illud haustum est, præmisit Johannes Bern. de Rossi. Parmæ, 1778. 8vo.

This specimen consists of the first psalm printed in six columns. The first contains the Greek text of the Septuagint; the second, the Syro-Estrangelo text; the third, the Latin text translated from the Septuagint; the fourth, the Hebrew text; the fifth, the *Peshito* or Old Syriac text above noticed; and the sixth, the Latin text translated from this latter version.

2. Libri IV. Regum Syro-Heptaplaris Specimen e Manuscripto Parisiensi Syriace edidit, textum Versionis Alexandrinæ Hexaplarem restituit, notisque illustravit Joannes Godofredus Hasse. Jenæ, 1782. 8vo.

3. Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris Ambrosiano-Mediolanensis editus, et Latine versus, a Matthæo Norberg. Londini Gothorum, 1787. 4to.

This work contains the prophecies of Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

4. Daniel secundum editionem LXX Interpretum, ex Tetraplis desumptum. Ex codice Syro-Estranghelo Bibliothecæ Ambrosianæ Syriace edidit, Latine vertit, præfatione notisque illustravit, Carolus Bugatus. Mediolani, 1788. 4to.

5. Curæ Hexaplares in Jobum, e Codice Syriaco-Hexaplari Ambrosio-Mediolanensi. Scripsit Henricus Middeldorpf. Vratislaviæ, 1817. 4to.

6. Psalmi, secundum editionem LXX Interpretum, quos ex codice Syro-Estranghelo Bibliothecæ Ambrosianæ Syriacè imprimendos curavit, Latine vertit, notisque criticis illustravit, Carolus Bugatus. Mediolani, 1820. 4to.

7. Codex Syriaco-Hexaplaris Liber Quartus Regum, è codice Parisiensi: Isaias, duodecim Prophetæ Minores, Proverbia, Jobus, Canticum Canticorum, Threni, Ecclesiastes, e Codice Mediolanensi. Edidit et commentariis illustravit Henricus Middeldorpf. Berolini, 1835. 2 tomis. 4to.

The first part or volume of this most valuable work contains the Syriac text; the second, the critical commentary of the learned editor. For a critical account of Dr. Middeldorpf's work, see the Journal des Savans, Juillet 1837, pp. 422–427.

[Masius's edition of Joshua contains readings from a Syro-Hexaplar MS. now lost: — very much of this version might be restored by the aid of the Nitrian MSS. in the British Museum.]

[ii.] The Arabic Version.

1. Biblia Arabica Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Parisiis, 1645. folio. (In Le Jay's Polyglott Bible.)

2. Biblia Arabica Veteris et Novi Testamenti. Londini, 1657. folio. (In Bp. Walton's Polyglott Bible.)

3. Biblia Sacra Arabica, Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide jussu edita in usum Ecclesiarum Orientalium: additis è Regione Bibliis Latinis Vulgatis. Romæ, 1672. 3 tomis, folio.

This edition was published under the inspection of Sergius Risius, the Romish Bishop of Damascus. It is in Arabic and Latin. "But it is of no use, either to a critic or an expositor of the New Testament, being altered from the Latin Version." (Michaelis, vol. ii. part i. p. 93.)

4. The Holy Bible, containing the Old and New Testaments in the Arabic Language. Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1811. 4to.

Twelve copies of this beautifully executed edition were printed in large folio for presents: one of these is deposited in the British Museum.

5. Novum D. N. Jesu Christi Testamentum, Arabice, ex Bibliotheca Leidensi; edente Thoma Erpenio. In Typographia Erpeniana Linguarum Orientalium. [Lugduni Batavorum] Anno 1616. 4to.

Erpenius published this edition of the Arabic New Testament, from a manuscript said to be written A. D. 1342, in the monastery of St. John, in the desert of Thebaïs: he has copied his manuscript with singular accuracy, even where there appeared to be grammatical errors. Michaelis says that this is the most elegant, faithful, and genuine edition of the Arabic version, but it is unfortunately very difficult to be procured.

6. Novum Testamentum Arabicum. Londini, 1727. 4to.

This edition, which consisted of ten thousand copies, was printed at the expense of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, for the use of the Christians in Asia. Its basis is the text of the Paris and London Polyglotts: but the editor, Solomon Negri, has altered it in those passages which vary from the reading of our present Greek text. It is therefore of no use either in the criticism or interpretation of the New Testament.

7. Quatuor Evangelia, Arabice, Romæ, e Typographia Medicea. Romæ, 1591. Folio.

"This edition was printed at Rome in 1590 and 1591 in the Medicean printing-house: 1590 stands on the title-page, 1591 in the subscription: to some of the copies is annexed a Latin translation." (Michaelis.) This version is described above, pp. 324, 325. The Roman edition of the Four Gospels was reprinted, with some corrections, in the Paris Polyglott, and again, with very numerous corrections, from manuscripts by Bishop Walton, in the London Polyglott.

For more particular accounts of the preceding, and of other editions of the Arabic Versions of the Old and New Testament, or of detached portions thereof, the reader is referred to Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 110–139.; Michaelis's Introduction, vol. ii. part i. pp. 84–94.; Schnurrer's Bibliotheca Arabica, pp. 389–397.; and Hug's Introduction, vol. i. §§ 106—112.

8. Commentatio Critica, exhibens e Bibliotheca Oxoniensi Bodleiana Specimina Versionum Pentateuchi septem Arabicarum, nondum editarum, cum Observationibus. Scripsit Henricus Eberhardus Gottlob Paulus. Jenæ, 1789. 8vo.

[iii.] The Persic Version.

1. Pentateuchi Versio Persica, interprete Jacobo filio Joseph Tavos, seu Tawsensi, Judæo. Constantinopoli, 1546. Folio.

This extremely rare edition, which is printed with Hebrew types, and accompanied with the Hebrew text, is reprinted in the fourth volume of the London Polyglott, with Persian characters, and a Latin translation.

2. Quatuor Evangeliorum Domini nostri Jesu Christi Versio Persica Syriacam et Arabicam suavissime reddens: ad verba et mentem Græci Textûs fideliter et venuste concinnata . . . . Per Abrahamum Whelocum. Londini, 1657. Folio.

3. Evangelia Quatuor Persicè, interprete Symone F. Joseph Taurinensi, juxta codicem Pocockianum, cum Versione Latina Samuelis Clerici. Londini, 1657 Folio. (In the fifth volume of Bp. Walton's Polyglott Bible.)

[iv.] The Ægyptian Versions.

Memphitic, or Dialect of Lower Egypt.

1. Quinque Libri Moysis Prophetæ in Lingua Ægyptiaca. Ex MSS. Vaticano, Parisiensi, et Bodleiano descripsit, ac Latine vertit David Wilkins. Londini, 1731. 4to.

2. Psalterium Coptico-Arabicum. Romæ, 1744. 4to.

3. Psalterium Alexandrinum Coptico-Arabicum. Romæ, 1749. 4to.

Both these editions of the Coptic Psalter were printed at the expense of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide at Rome, for the benefit of the Coptic Christians in Egypt. The Arabic version is placed by the side of the Coptic text.

4. Psalterium Coptice, ad codicum fidem recensuit; Lectionis varietatem et Psalmos Apocryphos Sahidicâ Dialecto conscriptos, ac primum à G. C. Woidio editos, adjecit J. L. Ideler. Berolini, 1837. 8vo.

5. Psalterium in dialectum Copticæ Linguæ Memphiticum translatum, ad fidem trium codicum MSS. Regiæ Bibliothecæ Berolinensis, inter se et cum Tukii et Ideleri libris, necnon cum Græcis Alexandrini codicis ac Vaticani Hebraicisque Psalmis, comparatorum. Edidit, notisque criticis et grammaticis instruxit, M. G. Schwartze. Lipsiæ, 1844. 4to.

6. Duodecim Prophetarum Libros, in Lingua Ægyptiaca, vulgo Coptica seu Memphitica, ex Manuscripto Parisiensi descriptos et cum Manuscripto Johannis Lee, J. C. D. collatos, Latine edidit Henricus Tattam, A.M. Oxonii, 1836. 8vo.

7. Novum Testamentum Ægyptiacum, vulgo Copticum, ex MSS. Bodleianis descripsit, cum Vaticanis et Parisiensibus contulit, et in Latinum Sermonem convertit David Wilkins. Oxonii, 1716. 4to.

[This was the first edition of the Memphitic New Testament: the editor was criticised with severity by his contemporaries, and also by the more recent labourer in the same field, Schwartze. This edition of Wilkins seems never to have had more than a very limited circulation: the impression is stated to have been a very small one, and twelve years ago by far the larger number of the copies were remaining in sheets at Oxford in the warehouse belonging to the University press.]

A fragment of the Lamentations of Jeremiah (ch. IV. 22. and ch. V.) and some fragments of the prophet's epistle to the Jewish captives at Babylon, forming the sixth chapter of the apocryphal book of Baruch, are printed in Coptic, with a literal Latin version, by M. Quatremère, in his Recherches sur la Langue et Littérature de l'Egypte, pp. 228. 246. (Paris, 1804,), who has illustrated them with numerous learned notes.

[8. The Gospels in Memphitic and Arabic. Published for the British and Foreign Bible Society. 1829. 4to.

The Memphitic text of this edition seems to be taken from that of Wilkins; the Arabic which accompanies the Memphitic was intended for the benefit of the native Egyptian Christians (Copts), to whom the Coptic in either of its dialects—Memphitic or Thebaic—is wholly a dead language. This edition is very neatly printed.]

[9. Novum Testamentum Coptice. Edidit Dr. M. G. Schwartze. Lipsiæ, 1846–7, 4to.; also with the title

Quatuor Evangelia in Dialecto Linguæ Copticæ Memphiticâ perscriptâ ad Codd. MS. Copticorum in Regia Bibliotheca Berolinensi adservatorum, nec non libri a Wilkinsio emissi fidem. Edidit, emendavit, adnotationibus criticis et grammaticis, variantibus lectionibus expositis atque textu Coptico cum Græco comparato instruxit M. G. Schwartze.

In 1838 Dr. Schwartze had published "*Testamentum Novum Coptico-Memphiticum ex MSS. Regiæ Bibliothecæ Berolinensis,*" *emendatum à* M. G. Schwartze, 4to. This was succeeded by the above edition of the Gospels, which was not continued owing to the death of the editor. The plan of this edition is described above, pp. 290–2.]

[10. Acta Apostolorum Coptice. Edidit Paulus Boetticher. Halæ, 1852. 8vo.

This volume was *printed* at Vienna. Though intended as a kind of continuation of Schwartze's uncompleted edition, the plan is wholly different, and it is of no use to any except to skilful Egyptian scholars. See above, pp. 292, 293.

Boetticher has since similarly published the Epistles.]

[11. The New Testament in Memphitic and Arabic. London, 1847–52. 2 vols. folio.

This edition was prepared under the direction of the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge. The Memphitic text was revised (by MS. authorities it appears) by the Rev. R. T

LIEDER of Cairo. The Memphitic text is large and magnificent; the Arabic, which is only the subordinate accompaniment, is in a small column at the left hand of the page.

1847 is the date on the title-page of the first volume, but 1848 was the period of actual publication.]

Thebaic, or Dialect of Upper Egypt.

12. Appendix ad Editionem Novi Testamenti Græci e Codice Alexandrino descripti a G. C. Woide. . . . . Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1799, folio.

This work contains the completest collection of fragments of the Thebaic Version. See an account of it in No. 1.* page 679. *suprà.*

[13. Ægyptiorum Codicum reliquiæ, Venetiis in Bibliothecâ Nanianæ asservatæ edidit MINGARELLI. Bononiæ, 1785, &c. fol. See as to the portions thus edited the former part of this vol. p. 295.]

14. Friderici MÜNTERI Commentatio de Indole Versionis Novi Testamenti Sahidicæ. Accedunt Fragmenta Epistolarum Paulli ad Timotheum, ex Membranis Sahidicis Musei Borgiani, Velitris. Hafniæ, 1789. 4to.

15. Fragmentum Evangelii S. Joannis Græco-Coptico-Thebaicum, ex Museo Borgiano, Latine versum et Notis illustratum ab Augustino Antonio GEORGIO. Romæ, 1789. 4to.

There is an interesting account of this publication in the Analytical Review, vol. xvi. pp. 418—421.

[16. Catalogus Codicum Copticorum manu scriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris adservantur: auctore G. ZOEGA, Dano. Romæ, 1810. Fol.

In pp. 207—220. of this work are contained Thebaic fragments of the Old Testament, and one of the Ephesians, and two of the Apocalypse.]

Bashmuric, or Dialect of Bashmur, a Province of the Delta.

17. Fragmenta Basmurico-Coptica Veteris et Novi Testamenti, quæ in Museo Borgiano Velitris asservantur, cum reliquis Versionibus Ægyptiis contulit, Latine vertit, nec non criticis et philologicis adnotationibus illustravit, W. F. ENGELBRETH. Hafniæ, 1811. 4to.

This publication contains fragments of the first and fifth chapters of the Prophecies of Isaiah, of the fourth chapter of St. John's Gospel, of St. Paul's first Epistle to the Corinthians, the Epistles to the Ephesians and to Philemon, the first Epistle to the Thessalonians, and of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the Bashmuric, Thebaic, and Memphitic Dialects, with a literal Latin version. The corresponding Greek text is placed at the foot of the page. Notes are subjoined, pointing out the various readings, with critical remarks.

[Nos. 14. and 15. above contain some Bashmuric fragments. See above, pp. 298, 299., as to the true *name*, &c. of this version.]

[v.] ÆTHIOPIC VERSION.

No entire Æthiopic Bible has been printed. Masch (Bibl. Sacr. part ii. vol. i. pp. 145—155.) has given an account of the various portions of the Old and New Testament which have appeared. Of these the following are most worthy of notice: —

1. Psalmi et Canticorum Æthiopice. Studio Johannis POTKEN. Romæ, 1513. 4to.

The first portion of the Æthiopic Scriptures ever printed. It is very rare; it was reprinted at Cologne in 1518, in folio, in a Polyglott Psalter.

2. Psalterium Æthiopice. Londini, 1657. Folio.

In the third volume of Bp. Walton's Polyglott Bible: the text is taken from Potken's edition, with various readings, and notes by Dr. Edmund Castell.

3. Testamentum Novum; cum Epistola Pauli ad Hebræos . . . . Quæ omnia Fr. Petrus Æthiops, auxilio piorum, sedente Paulo III. Pont. Max. et Claudio illius regni imperatore, imprimi curavit anno salutis 1548. [Romæ] 4to.

This edition, which is of extreme rarity, is divided into two volumes and four separate parts, viz. 1. The Gospels, the translation of which is much superior to that of the Epistles, where the translator appears to have been unequal to the task. (The Epistle to the Hebrews is placed after the Gospels, because it was the only one of St. Paul's Epistles which they had received when they put to press the Gospels, Apocalypse, the Catholic Epistles, and the Acts);—2. The Acts of the Apostles;—3. The fourteen Epistles of St. Paul;—4. The seven Catholic Epistles;

—The Apocalypse is added as an Appendix. The MS. of the Acts being very imperfect, its chasms were stated to be supplied from the Vulgate. The Roman edition was reprinted in the London Polyglott; and a Latin translation of the Æthiopic version was published by Professor Bode at Brunswick, in 1752—1755, in 2 vols. 4to. (Michaelis, vol. ii. pp. 95—98. 610—614. Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 152, 153.)

4. Evangelia Sancta Æthiopica. Ad Codicum Manuscriptorum fidem edidit Thomas Pell Platt, A.M. Londini, 1826. 4to.

[5. Novum Testamentum Domini nostri et servatoris Jesu Christi Æthiopice. Ad Codicum Manuscriptorum fidem edidit Thomas Pell Platt, A.M. Londini, 1830. 4to.

The Gospels mentioned No. 4. form a part of this edition. As to its plan, &c., see above, pp. 316—320.]

[vi.] The Armenian Version.

Biblia, Armenice. Venetiis, 1805. 4to.

The first edition of the Armenian *Bible* was printed at Amsterdam in 1666, 4to., and was not very cordially received by the Armenian Christians, in consequence of its editor Uscan, of Erivan, having altered it conformably to the Romish Vulgate Latin version. The second edition, which was printed at Constantinople in 1705, also in 4to., is much more valuable; it was collated for Dr. Holmes's edition of the Septuagint. Separate editions of the Armenian New Testament were printed at Amsterdam in 1668 and 1698, and another at Venice in 1789, which was superintended by Dr. Zohrab, a learned Armenian divine, who had collated a few manuscripts for it, and who accompanied it with some short notes. In this impression, which was reprinted verbatim in 1816, the editor marked 1 John v. 7. with an asterisk.

In 1805, the same learned editor published at Venice, at the expense of the college of the monks of St. Lazarus, his critical edition of the entire Armenian Bible, for which he made use of sixty-nine manuscripts, viz. eight of the entire Bible, fifteen of the Psalms, thirty-two of the Gospels, and fourteen of the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles. He took for the basis of this edition, that manuscript of the whole Bible, which appeared to be the most ancient and accurate: such errors as were discovered he corrected by means of other copies; and in the margin he inserted the various readings, together with the number of manuscripts by which they were supported, and a few critical explanations when necessary. In this edition, Dr. Zohrab has expunged 1 John v. 7., it being unsupported by any of the manuscripts which he had collated. (Masch, part ii. vol. i. pp. 173—180. Cellérier, Introduction au Nouv. Test. pp. 185, 186.) In 1823, Dr. Z. published a neat edition of the New Testament in *ancient* and *modern* Armenian, in one volume 8vo. The modern version is said to be very exact and literal. [See as to the text of Zohrab's edition above, pp. 311, 312.]

§ 4. Ancient Western Versions.

[i.] The Latin Versions.

Ante-Hieronymian Versions, or those made before the time of Jerome.

1. Vetvs Testamentvm secvndvm LXX Latine redditvm, et ex avtoritate Sixti V. Pont. Max. editvm. Additvs est Index Dictionvm et Loquutionum Hebraicarum, Græcarum, Latinarum, quarum observatio visa est non inutilis futura. Romæ, in Ædibvs Popvli Romani, 1588. Folio.

This edition was designed as a companion to the celebrated edition of the Septuagint printed at Rome in 1586, and described in p. 722. No. 6. The editor, Flaminio Nobili, with the assistance of Antonio Agelli, collected with infinite labour all the fragments of the Anti-Hieronymian versions, which he found cited in the works of the ancient Latin Fathers: the deficient passages he translated de novo into Latin; a circumstance which so much diminishes the value of his work that it can never be used with any confidence. (Masch, part ii. vol. iii. pp. 6, 7.) This volume is extremely rare: a copy of it is in the Library of the British Museum.

2. Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinæ Versiones Antiquæ, seu Vetus Italica, et ceteræ quæcunque in Codicibus MSS. et Antiquorum Libris reperiri potuerunt: quæ cum Vulgata Latina et cum Textu Græco comparantur. Accedunt Præfationes, Observationes, ac Notæ, Indexque novus ad Vulgatam è regione editam, idemque locupletissimus. Operâ et studio D. Petri Sabatier. Remis, 1743—49. 3 tomis, folio.

The first two volumes contain the Old Testament, and the apocryphal books. The Vulgate accompanies the older version. There are three versions of the Psalms, viz. the Old Latin version, that of Jerome from the Hebrew, and that of the modern Vulgate (or the Gallican Psalter). The New Testament forms the third volume. The MSS. consulted by Sabatier having chasms, the Latin Vulgate in such parts stands alone. He has sometimes added in the notes quotations from the Latin Fathers. For a full description of this magnificent work, see Masch, part ii. vol. iii. pp. 9, 10. [The Gospels in this edition are taken from the Codex Colbertinus. See p. 237. above.]

3. Evangeliarium Quadruplex Latinæ Versionis Antiquæ, seu Veteris Italicæ, editum ex Codicibus Manuscriptis, aureis, argenteis, purpureis, aliisque plusquam millenariæ antiquitatis: à Josepho Blanchino. Romæ, 1749. 2 tomis, folio.

A splendid edition of the four Gospels, taken from manuscripts of the old Latin version, viz. the Codices Vercellensis, Veronensis, Corbeiensis, Brixianus, with variations from some others. The Codex Forojuliensis of Jerome's version and some fragments are subjoined.

For bibliographical details of this edition, as well as of other portions of the Ante-Hieronymian versions, the reader is referred to Masch, part ii. vol. iii. pp. 16—19. [See also above, p. 237. *seq.*]

4. Codex Quatuor Evangeliorum Latinus Rehdigerianus, Matthæus et Marcus, cum Textu Græco et Editione Vulgata collatus à Joh. Ephr. Scheibel. Vratislaviæ, 1763. 4to.

The manuscript, the text of which is here collated, is preserved in the library belonging to the church of St. Elizabeth at Breslau.

[This work of Scheibel being far from accurate, David Schulz made this MS. the subject of a dissertation: "Natalititia serenissimi ac potentissimi regis Friderici Guilelmi III. regis ac domini fortissimi sapientissimi justissimi clementissimi bello ac pace optimi maximi liberatæ instauratæque patriæ auspicatissima die III. Augusti hor. XI. Oratione solemni et præmiis civibus in certamine litterario victoribus distribuendis et in proximum annum proponendis rite celebranda academiæ Viadrinæ Vratislaviensis nomine indicit D. Davides Schulz, Ord. Theol. Protest. H. A. Decan. *Disputatur de codice IV. Evangeliorum Bibliothecæ Rhedigerianæ in quo Vetus Latina Versio continetur.* Vratislaviæ, 1814. 4to.

David Schulz did a farther service to the text of this MS. by introducing its readings into the revised edition of Griesbach's New Testament, vol. i., which he published in 1827. See No. 34. above, p. 694.]

5. Fragmenta Versionis Antiquæ Latinæ Ante-Hieronymianæ Prophetarum Jeremiæ, Ezechielis, Danielis, et Hoseæ, e Codice Rescripto Bibliothecæ Wirceburgensis. Edidit Dr. Fridericus Münter. Hafniæ, 1819. 4to. (Also in the Miscellanea Hafniensia Theologici et Philologici Argumenti, tom. ii. fascic. i. pp. 81—148. 1821. 8vo.)

The Codex Rescriptus, from which these fragments of an Ante-Hieronymian version have been transcribed, was discovered by Dr. Feder, in the library of the University of Wurtzburg; who copied nearly all that is legible, comprising portions of the prophecies of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Daniel, and Hosea. Dr. Feder having allowed Dr. Frederick Münter, Bishop of Seeland, to make use of his labours, that learned prelate has here printed the fragments in question. They differ materially from the fragments occurring in Sabatier's splendid publication above noticed. Bp. Münter refers the date of the original writing to the sixth or seventh century.

6. Evangelium secundum Matthæum Versionis Ante-Hieronymianæ, ex perantiquo Codice Vaticano. [In the third volume of Cardinal Angelo Mai's "Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio."] Romæ, 1828. 4to.

Sabatier had given a copious collation of the various readings of the Ante-Hieronymian Latin version in his "Bibliorum Sacrorum Latinæ Versiones Antiquæ" (No. 2. p. 66.) from the Codex Claromontanus. That manuscript was subsequently purchased at a high price by Pope Pius VI., who deposited it in the Vatican Library: it contains the four Gospels, of which that of St. Matthew alone is Ante-Hieronymian, and this Cardinal Mai has published. It wants chap. i. 1. to iii. 15., and from xiv. 33. to xviii. 12.

[7. Evangelium Palatinum ineditum sive reliquiæ textus Evangeliorum Latini ante Hieronymum versi, ex Codice Palatino purpureo quarti vel quinti P. Chr. sæculi, nunc primum eruit atque edidit Constantinus Tischendorf. Lipsiæ, 1847. 4to.

See as to this MS. above, p. 237.]

The Version of Jerome.

1. S. Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri Divina Bibliotheca hactenus inedita; complectens Translationes Latinas Veteris et Novi Testamenti, tum ex Hebræis tum Græcis fontibus derivatas, innumera quoque scholia marginalia antiquissimi Hebræi cujusdam scriptoris anonymi, Hebræas voces pressius exprimentis. ..... Studio et Labore Monachorum ordinis S. Benedicti e congregatione S. Mauri. Parisiis, 1693. folio. (The first volume of the Benedictine edition of Jerome's works.)

For an account of Jerome's biblical labours, see above, Chap. XXIII. p. 243. *seq.* This edition is printed from six manuscripts. Editions of other portions of Jerome's translations are described by Masch, part ii. vol. iii. pp. 21—23.

[2. Hieronymi Opera, cura VALLARSI, vols. ix. and x. Verona, 1734. Folio.]

3. Fragmentum Pragense Evangelii Marci vulgo autographi. Edidit, Lectionesque variantes critice recensvit Iosephus DOBROWSKY. Pragæ, 1778. 4to.

The Codex Forojuliensis, edited by Blanchini in the Evangeliarium Quadruplex, is the other portion of *this* Codex.

See a notice of this pretended Latin autograph of St. Mark's Gospel, p. 255. and p. 438. note 2.

[4. Novum Testamentum Græce et Latine. Carolus LACHMANNUS recensuit. Lipsiæ, 1842–50. 8vo. 2 vols.]

See No. 59. p. 701. *suprà*. The *Latin Text* subjoined to the Greek exhibits the version of Jerome principally on the authority of the Codex Fuldensis.]

5. Novum Testamentum Vulgatæ Editionis, juxta Textum Clementis VIII. Romanum, ex Typogr. Apost. Vatic. a. 1592, accurate expressum cum variantibus in margine lectionibus antiquissimi et præstantissimi Codicis olim Monasterii Montis Amiatæ in Etruria, nunc Bibliothecæ Florentinæ Laurentianæ Mediceæ, sæc. VI. P. Chr. Præmissa est commentatio de Codice Amiatino et Versione Latina Vulgata: edente Ferdinando Florente FLECK, Theol. Doctore et Professore Lips. Lipsiæ, 1840. 12mo.

The Codex Amiatinus, which is now one of the principal ornaments of the Lorenzo-Medicean Library at Florence, is a beautiful manuscript on vellum, of the largest size, executed in the sixth century. It contains (what is rarely to be met with) a perfect copy of the whole of the Old and New Testament, according to the version of Jerome. In his Introductory Disquisition, Dr. Fleck has given the literary history and a critical description of this manuscript, together with the testimonies of various eminent scholars to its value. Dr. F. was assisted in making his collation by the Rev. S. F. Jarvis, D.D. (now of Middletown, Connecticut), to whom he has acknowledged his obligations. This edition of the Latin Vulgate New Testament is not accurately printed, and the collation is very defective; but this edition of Fleck directed attention to this important MS. and its text.

[6. Novum Testamentum Latine, Interprete Hieronymo. Ex celeberrimo Codice Amiatino ..... nunc primum edidit Constantinus TISCHENDORF. Lipsiæ, 1850. 4to.

See above, pp. 253, 254., respecting this MS., and the labours of Tischendorf and Tregelles in connection with its text, and the correction of certain passages in this edition.]

The Latin Vulgate Version.

The printed editions of the Latin Vulgate are so very numerous, that a few of the most important, or most accessible, can only be here noticed. A particular description of all the editions is given by Masch, part ii. vol. iii. pp. 58—372.; and of the principal editions, by Brunet, Manuel du Libraire, tom. i. art. Biblia. *Two hundred and seventeen* Latin Bibles, principally of the Vulgate Version (many of which are of extreme rarity), are described in the Bibl. Sussex. vol. i. part ii. pp. 288—510.

1. Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis, tribus tomis distincta. Romæ, ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, folio.

After the preceding title, we read the following, on an engraved title-page:—

"Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis ad Concilii Tridentini præscriptum emendata et a Sixto V. P. M. recognita et approbata. Romæ, ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana, M.D.XC."

Notwithstanding the great pains bestowed upon this edition, which by a bull was authoritatively declared to be the standard of all future impressions, its extreme incorrectness excited general discontent. At first, it was attempted to remedy the evil by printing the requisite corrections on small slips of paper, which were to be pasted over the incorrect passages: but Gregory XIV., who succeeded Sixtus V. in the pontificate, found it more convenient to suppress the remaining copies of this edition, which has therefore become of extreme rarity. (Renouard, Annales de l'Imprimerie des Aldes, tom. ii. pp. 164—166.)

2. Biblia Sacræ Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti V. Pontificis Max. jussu recognita et edita. Romæ, ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana. 1592. Folio.

This edition was printed under the auspices of Clement VIII., the successor of Gregory XIV., whose constitution declares it to be the only authentic edition: it is the basis of all subsequent editions, printed for the members of the Romish Church. Dr. Whittaker, the learned antagonist of Cardinal Bellarmine, convicted the Latin Vulgate of being wilfully *corrupted* in nearly forty instances. (Controversia I. de Scripturis. Quæstio II. Operum, tom. i. pp. 289—299.

Genevæ, 1610, folio.) For an account of the fatal *variances* between these two revisions, see above, pp. 250. and 257. A third edition was printed in 1593, in 4to. They are both very rare. Copies of them, as well as of the Sixtine edition, are in the British Museum.

3. Bibliorum Sacrorum Vulgatæ Versionis Editio. Jussu Christianissimi Regis ad Institutionem Serenissimi Delphini. Parisiis, excudebat Fr. Amb. Didot, 1785. 2 tomis, 4to.

A chef-d'œuvre of typography: only two hundred and fifty copies were printed with the words "ad Institutionem Serenissimi Delphini" in the title-page. These bear a higher price than the other quarto copies, which were dedicated to the clergy of France. Peignot states, that *two* copies of this edition were printed on vellum. There are copies of the same edition in eight volumes 8vo., with a dedication to the Gallican clergy, by the printer, F. A. Didot.

4. Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis Sixti Quinti Pont. Max. jussu recognita atque edita Romæ ex Typographia Apostolica Vaticana MDXCIII. Editio nova, auctoritate summi pontificis Leonis XII. excusa. Francofurti a. M. [ad Mœnum] 1826. Royal 8vo.

A beautiful and correct edition, which contains all the prefatory and other preliminary matter of the Roman edition; and, besides the ordinary divisions of chapters and verses, it also has the old subdivisions of A. B. C., &c., introduced by Cardinal Hugo, of which an account is given p. 34.

5. Biblia Sacra Vulgatæ Editionis, Sixti V. Pont. Max. jussu recognita, et Clementis VIII. auctoritate edita. Paris, 1828. 8vo.

A neat edition, from the press of F. Didot.

*** The Latin Vulgate is found in all the Polyglott editions of the Bible; and various other editions may be met with, the price of which varies from twelve shillings to three or four guineas and upwards, according to their rarity and condition.

[ii.] Gothic Version.

1. Quatuor D. N. Jesu Christi Evangeliorum Versiones perantiquæ duæ, Gothica scil. et Anglo-Saxonica: quarum illam ex celeberrimo Codice Argenteo nunc primùm depromsit Franciscus Junius, F.F. Hanc autem ex codicibus MSS. collatis emendatiùs recudi curavit Thomas Mareschallus, Anglus: cujus etiam observationes in utrumque versionem subnectuntur. Dordrechti, 1665. 4to.

There are copies of this work, &c., with the date, Amsterdam, 1684, in the title; but these are the same edition, with a new title-page.

2. D. N. Jesu Christi SS. Evangelia, ab Ulphila Gothorum in Mœsia episcopo circa annum à nato Christo CCCLX, ex Græco Gothicè translata: nunc cum parallelis versionibus, Sveo-Gothicâ, Norvænâ seu Islandicâ, et Vulgatâ Latinâ edita [à Georgio Stiernhielm. Accedit] Glossarium Ulphilæ Gothicum, linguis affinibus per F. Junium, nunc etiam Sveo-Gothicâ auctum et illustratum per Georgium Stiernhielm. Stockholmiæ, 1671–70. 4to.

3. Sacrorum Evangeliorum Versio Gothica ex Codice Argenteo emendata atque suppleta, cum Interpretatione Latina et Annotationibus Erici Benzelii non ita pridem Archiepiscopi Upsaliensis. Edidit, Observationes suas adjecit, et Grammaticam Gothicam præmisit Edwardus Lye. Oxonii, e Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1750. 4to.

The best edition which had then appeared of the Gothic version of the four Gospels: it was prepared for the press by the learned Eric Benzel, archbishop of Upsal (who made a new copy from the original manuscript); and was published after his decease by Mr. Lye, at Oxford, in 1760, in small folio. It is executed in Gothic letters; the errors of the preceding editions are corrected; and many of the various lections, with which the Gothic version furnishes the Greek Testament, are remarked in the notes.

4. Ulphilæ Versio Gothica nonnullorum Capitum Epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos, e Cod. Biblioth. Guelpherbytanæ, cum Commentariis Francisci Antonii Knittel. [1762.] 4to.

The fragment of the Gothic version, printed in this publication, has been reprinted, in the following article, and also in the Appendix to the second volume of Mr. Lye's Saxon and Gothic Latin Dictionary.

5. Fragmenta Versionis Ulphilanæ, continentia Particulas aliquot Epistolæ Pauli ad Romanos, ex Codice Rescripto Bibliothecæ Guelpherbytanæ eruta, et a

Francisco Antonio Knittel edita, cum aliquot annotationibus typis reddita a Johanne Ihre. Acceduut duæ Dissertationes ad Philologiam Mœso-Gothicam spectantes. Upsaliæ, 1763. 4to.

6. Johannis ab Ihre Scripta Versionem Ulphilanam et Linguam Mœso-Gothicam illustrantia, ab ipso doctissimo auctore emendata, novisque accessionibus aucta, jam vero ob præstantiam ac raritatem collecta, et unà cum aliis scriptis similis argumenti edita, ab Antonio Friderico Busching. Berolini, 1773. 4to.

This volume, which is not of very frequent occurrence, contains Ihre's learned Disquisition, intitled Ulphilas Illustratus; various fragments of Ulphilas's version; five dissertations illustrative of them; a specimen of a Glossarium Ulphilanum, with prefaces prefixed to it. In an Appendix, the editor has subjoined dissertations on Ulphilas, by Heupelius (with remarks on Heupelius by Oelrichs), Esberg, and Sœdermann; specimens of critical observations on the old Gothic translation of the Gospels, by John Gordon, a learned Scottish advocate; and a dissertation by Wachter, on the language of the Codex Argenteus.

7. Ulfilas Gothische Bibel-übersetzung, die alteste Germanische Urkunde, nach Ihren's Text: mit einer grammatisch-wörtlichen Lateinischen Uebersetzung, und einem Glossar, ausgearbeitet von Friedrich Karl Fulda; das Glossar umgearbeitet von W. F. H. Reinwald; und den Text nach Ihren's genauer abschrift der silbernen Handschrift in Upsal, sorgfältig berichtigt, samt einer historisch-kritischen Einleitung, versehen and herausgegeben von Johann Christian Zahn. Weissenfels, 1805. 4to.

A learned preface by J. C. Zahn, in German, contains a history of the Gothic version, and of the various preceding editions of its fragments. To this succeed the fragments themselves, in the Roman character. The text of them is given from a very beautiful and exact copy, which the celebrated scholar Ihre had procured to be made under his own inspection, and with the design of printing it. The editor has placed Ihre's Latin translation by the side of the text: and has also added an interlineary Latin version, critical notes placed at the foot of each page, and an historical introduction. These are followed by a Grammar of the Gothic language by F. K. Fulda, and by a Gothic Glossary compiled by W. F. H. Reinwald. "The text is carefully given; the grammatical and critical remarks, added in the margin below, are short, directly applied to the point, and well conceived; and the whole of the rich apparatus of the book is valuable."—(Hug's Introd. to the New Test. by Dr. Wait, vol. i. pp. 487, 488.) A copy of this curious and valuable work is in the library of the British Museum.

8. The Gothic Gospel of St. Matthew, from the Codex Argenteus of the fourth Century; with the corresponding English or Saxon, from the Durham Book of the eighth Century, in Roman Characters; a literal English Lesson of each; and Notes, Illustrations, and Etymological Disquisitions on Organic Principles. By Samuel Henshall, M.A. London, 1807. 8vo.

[A very eccentric and discursive publication.]

9. Ulphilæ Partium Ineditarum, in Ambrosianis Palimpsestis ab Angelo Maio repertarum, Specimen, conjunctis curis ejusdem Maii et Caroli Octavii Castillionæi editum. Mediolani, 1819. 4to.

This work is illustrated by two plates; the first containing fac-similes of the Codices Rescripti, discovered in the Ambrosian Library (of which some account has already been given), and the other containing a fac-simile specimen of a Greek mathematical treatise, in which the names of Archimedes and Apollonius are mentioned, and which Cardinal Mai discovered under some Lombard Latin writing of great antiquity.

10. Ulphilæ Gothica Versio Epistolæ Divi Pauli ad Corinthios secundæ, quam ex Ambrosianâ Bibliothecâ Palimpsestis depromptam, cum Interpretatione, Adnotationibus, Glossario, edidit Carolus Octavius Castillionæus. Mediolani, 1829. 4to.

[11. Gothicæ Versionis Epistolarum Divi Pauli ad Romanos, ad Corinthios primæ, ad Ephesios, quæ supersunt, ex Ambrosianæ Bibliothecæ Palimpsestis deprompta. . . . Edidit Carolus Octavius Castillionæus. Mediolani, 1834. 4to.]

12. Gothicæ Versionis Epistolarum Divi Pauli ad Galatas, ad Philippenses, ad Colossenses, ad Thessalonicenses primæ, quæ supersunt, ex Ambrosianæ Bibliothecæ Palimpsestis deprompta, cum adnotationibus, edidit Carolus Octavius Castillionæus. Mediolani, 1835. 4to.

[13. Gothicæ Versionis Epistolarum Divi Pauli ad Thessalonicenses secundæ, ad Timotheum, ad Titum, ad Philemon, quæ supersunt. . . . Edidit Carolus Octavius Castillionæus. Mediolani, 1839. 4to.

These publications comprise the whole of the portions discovered by Mai.]

14. Evangelii secundum Matthæum Versio Francica sæculi IX. necnon Gothica

sæc. IV. quoad superest. Edidit J. Andræas Schmeller. Stuttgart und Tübingen, 1827. 8vo.

This work was published by Professor Schmeller, to illustrate his lectures on the German Language and Literature, delivered in the University of Munich. It contains the Gospel of St. Matthew in the Frankish dialect, from a MS. of Tatian's Harmony, of the ninth century, preserved in the Library of St. Gall, in Switzerland. The fragments of the Gothic Version are given according to the Codex Argenteus, and the remains of the Gothic Version, discovered by Mai and Count Castiglioni. A comparison of these two versions will show, that the Frankish and Gothic languages are only dialects of the same ancient language, which in the lapse of ages have gradually diverged from each other.

15. Auslegung des Evangelii Johannis in Gothische Sprache, aus Römischen und Mayländischen Handschriften: nebst Lateinischen Uebersetzung, belegenden Anmerkungen, geschlichtiger Untersuchung, Gothisch-Lateinischen Woerterbuche und Schriftproben ..... Herausgegeben von H. F. Massmann. Munich, 1834. 4to.

This publication comprises, 1. Portions of the Gospel of St. John in the Gothic language and characters, after the manuscripts preserved at Rome and at Milan; 2. The Gothic version, with a Latin translation of it, both in Roman type, and with various readings at the foot of the page; 3. An account of the Manuscripts used for this work; 4. An Inquiry concerning the author of the Gothic Version; 5. An Account of the Introduction of Christianity among the Goths; 6. A Glossary; and, 7. An Appendix of barbarous words (chiefly of Greek and Latin origin), and a List of proper names of persons and places.

16. Ulfilas. Veteris et Novi Testamenti Versionis Gothicæ Fragmenta quæ supersunt, ad fidem Codd. castigata, Latinitate donata, adnotatione criticâ instructa, cum Glossario et Grammaticâ Linguæ Gothicæ, conjunctis curis ediderunt H. C. de Gabelenz et Dr. J. Loebe. Altenburgi et Lipsiæ, 1836—43. 4to. 2 vols.

In this edition are comprised all the fragments of the Gothic version of the Bible which are known to be extant. They are accurately printed from the best MSS. and critical editions, the various readings of which are exhibited in the notes. The fragments are preceded by learned prolegomena, discussing the history and critical value of the Gothic Version, and the various MSS. of it which are preserved in different libraries. Vol. I. contains the fragments of the Gothic Version of the Old Testament, as well as the greater portion of the New. Vol. II. Part I. contains a complete Gothic Glossary. Part II. contains a Grammar of the Gothic language. The title-page of Vol. I. has been reprinted, Lipsiæ, 1843.

[17. Codex Argenteus sive sacrorum Evangeliorum Versionis Gothicæ Fragmenta, quæ iterum recognita adnotationibusque instructa per lineas singulas ad fidem codicis, additis fragmentis Evangelicis Codicum Ambrosianorum, et tabula lapide expressa, edidit Andreas Uppström. Upsaliæ, 1854. 4to.

See above, p. 308.]

[18. Ulfilas. Die Heiligen Schriften alten und neuen Bundes in gothischer Sprache. Mit gegenüberstehender griechischer und lateinischer Version, Anmerkungen, Sprachlehre und geschichtlicher Einleitung, von H. F. Massmann. Stuttgart, 1855. 8vo.

This edition is described above, p. 308. *Note* 3.

The editions of Gaugengigl and of the Abbé Migne need only be mentioned here as being *wholesale appropriations* of the labours of Gabelentz and Loebe, but disfigured with grievous misprints, &c.]

[iii.] The Slavonic Version.

Wiwlia, sinetz Knigi, wetchago i nowago sawieta pojasiku slowensku.—The Bible, that is to say, the Books of the Old and New Testament in the Sclavonic language. Ostrog, 1581. folio.

This is the editio princeps of the *entire* Slavonic Bible: an interesting account of various previous editions of detached portions of the Old and New Testament, as well as of the pains bestowed in order to render this impression correct, will be found in Dr. Henderson's Biblical Researches, pp. 78—82. Clement (Biblioth. Curieuse, tom. iii. pp. 441—444.) has given a minute description of it; to which Dr. Dibdin acknowledges himself indebted for part of his account of Earl Spencer's copy, (Bibliotheca Spenceriana, vol. i. pp. 90—93.) But Dr. Henderson, from his residence in Russia, and his critical acquaintance with the Slavonic language, has been enabled to add much important information (which does not admit of abridgment) relative to this and to subsequent editions of the Slavonic version, which was utterly unknown to those bibliographers.—See his Biblical Researches, pp. 83—86. 92—103.

[iv.] The Anglo-Saxon Versions.

1. Heptateuchus, Liber Job, et Evangelium Nicodemi, Anglo-Saxonice. Historiæ Judith Fragmentum, Dano-Saxonice. Edidit nunc primum ex MSS. Codicibus Edwardus Thwaites. Oxoniæ, 1699. 8vo.

The Anglo-Saxon version of the Heptateuch, that is, of the five books of Moses and the books of Joshua and Judges, was made towards the close of the tenth century by Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury; and was published by Mr. Thwaites from an unique manuscript preserved in the Bodleian Library. The book of Job, also translated by Ælfric, was printed from a transcript of a MS. in the Cottonian Library (now in the British Museum); and the apocryphal Gospel of Nicodemus, from Junius's copy of the original manuscript in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The Danish-Saxon version of the book of Judith (a fragment of which is given in the publication now under notice) was made during the time when England groaned under the yoke of the Danish kings. A few notes on Ælfric's preface, and some various readings collected from an Anglo-Saxon fragment of the book of Exodus, and the pseudo-gospel of Nicodemus, close this curious and rare volume.

2. Psalterium Davidis Latino-Saxonicum Vetus, a Johanne Spelmanno, D. Henrici fil. editum e vetustissimo exemplari MS. in Bibliotheca ipsius Henrici, et cum tribus aliis non multo minùs vetustis collatum. Londini, 1640. 4to.

3. Libri Psalmorum Versio antiqua Latina cum Paraphrasi Anglo-Saxonicâ, partim solutâ oratione, partim metricâ, composita, nunc primum e Cod. MS. Bibl. Regiæ Parisiensis desumpta. Edidit Benjamin Thorpe. Oxonii, e Typographeo Academico, 1835. 8vo.

The Anglo-Saxon version (or rather paraphrase) of the Psalms, which Mr. Thorpe has edited, it is probable, is the same which was executed by Adhelm or Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborn in the early part of the eighth century. The manuscript from which Mr. Thorpe has printed the Anglo-Saxon and Latin Psalter, he is of opinion is not older than the eleventh century, in which it was probably written. It comprises, first, the old Latin version of the Psalms, the chasms in which he has supplied; and he has also corrected obviously literal errors occurring in the Anglo-Saxon version, which is partly in prose and partly in verse. The explanations frequently interposed by the Anglo-Saxon translator, are carefully printed between brackets. The manuscript from which this edition of the Book of Psalms is printed, formerly belonged to the Duc de Berri, the brother of Charles V. King of France, whose MSS. form the most valuable portion of the royal library at Paris. Mr. Thorpe's volume is beautifully printed, and is further illustrated with a fac-simile specimen of the manuscript.

4. Cædmonis Monachi Paraphrasis Poetica Genesios ac præcipuarum sacræ paginæ Historiarum, abhinc annos M.LXX. Anglo-Saxonicè conscripta, et nunc primum edita a Francisco Junio F. F. Amstelodami, 1655. 4to.

5. Cædmon's Metrical Paraphrase of Parts of the Holy Scriptures, in Anglo-Saxon; with an English Translation, Notes, and a Verbal Index. By Benjamin Thorpe, F.S.A. London, 1832. 8vo.

Cædmon was a monk in the Abbey of Streoneshalh, in the ancient kingdom of Northumbria, in the seventh century. From a manuscript written in the tenth century, which Archbishop Usher presented to Francis Junius (or De Jongh), the latter published his edition in 1655. The text of Mr. Thorpe's edition is founded upon a careful collation of that of Junius with the MS. in the Bodleian Library, to which it was bequeathed by Junius, with other manuscripts. Although Mr. Thorpe's edition is freed from the inaccuracies in which the first edition abounds, yet (he states) the text of the manuscript itself is in numerous instances so corrupt, as to admit only of conjectural interpretation. Some few passages, however, have baffled all his efforts. In every case where he has altered the text, the reading of the original manuscript is given in the notes. He has further added, as a supplement, the song of Azariah, copied from an ancient Saxon manuscript in the cathedral library at Exeter. A copious Index concludes this beautifully printed volume.

5*. Cædmon's Schöpfung und Abfall der bösen Engel aus dem Angelsächsischen übersetzt, nebst Anmerkungen, von J. P. E. Grevebus. Programme zum Osterexamen des Gymnasium. Oldenburg, 1852. 8vo.

The Anglo-Saxon and German are exhibited on opposite pages.

6. The Gospels of the fower Euangelistes translated in the olde Saxons tyme out of Latin into the vulgare toung of the Saxons, newly collected out of auncient Monumentes of the sayd Saxons, and now published for testimonie of the same. London, printed by John Daye. 1571. 4to.

* The Anglo-Saxon text is divided into chapters, and is accompanied by the English version then in use, in a parallel column, divided into chapters and verses, "which," it is stated in a prefatory note, "was observed for the better understanding of the reader." The editor of this now rare volume was Abp. Matthew Parker; it has a preface, written by the celebrated martyrologist, John Foxe, by whom it is dedicated to Queen Elizabeth. This edition was carefully collated with four manuscripts, by Francis Junius, junr., whose copy was published

by Dr. Thomas Marshall, in parallel columns with the Gothic noticed in p. 736. No. 1. Mr. Thorpe, the learned editor of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels (see the next article), in characterising Archbishop Parker's and Dr. Marshall's editions, says that the Archbishop's edition may be regarded as a faithful impression of a late manuscript, apparently No. 441. in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, showing the tongue in its decline, and when rapidly verging towards the state of barbarism, about the beginning of the twelfth century. Marshall's edition exhibits an earlier, though not a purer text; which the singularly unfortunate idea of its editor, of supplying the omissions of the Anglo-Saxon version sometimes (and not always grammatically) by his own words, and at others from the old Northumbrian Glosses, has moreover greatly contributed to vitiate."[1]

7. Ða Helgan Godspel on Englisc.—The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Holy Gospels, edited from the original Manuscripts, by Benjamin THORPE, F.S.A. London, 1842. 8vo.

In consequence of the great rarity of Archbishop Parker's and Dr. Marshall's editions of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, Mr. Thorpe was induced to undertake the present edition. The basis of the text is a manuscript in the Public Library of the University of Cambridge, collated with another in the library of Corpus Christi (or Bennet) College in the same university. In doubtful cases, the manuscript, No. 441., in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the Codex Cottonianus, Otho. C. I., in the Library of the British Museum, have been consulted. Mr. Thorpe's edition is printed with equal beauty and accuracy.

7*. Tha Halgan Godspel on Englisc. — The Anglo-Saxon version of the Holy Gospels, edited by Benjamin THORPE, F.S.A., from the original Manuscripts. Reprinted by Louis F. KLIPSTEIN, M.A. . . . New York, 1846. 12mo.

This Transatlantic reprint of the preceding is described as neat and accurate.

SECT. VII.

APOCRYPHAL BOOKS AND WRITINGS.

§ 1.

APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

THE Apocryphal Books, attached to the Old Testament, are to be found in the various Polyglott editions of the Bible, and also in most of the larger editions of the Septuagint Version. Dr. Masch (Bibl. Sacr. part i. pp. 427—436.) has described the various editions of the Apocryphal Books, as well collectively, as of particular Books. The following are the principal and more easily procurable editions, including some which have appeared subsequently to the date of his publication: —

1. Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi omnes, Græce, ad Exemplar Vaticanum emendatissime expressi. [Curâ Ludolphi LEUSDENII] Francofurti ad Mœnum, 1694. 8vo.

2. Libri Apocryphi, Græce. Introductionem præmisit Georgius Johannes HENKIUS. Halæ, 1711. 8vo.

The Introduction was subsequently printed in a separate form, in 4to.

3. Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi. Textum Græcum recognovit, et variarum Lectionum Delectum adjecit, Joannes Christianus Gulielmus AUGUSTI. Lipsiæ, 1804. 8vo.

4. Libri Veteris Testamenti Apocryphi, Græce. Accurate recognitos brevique diversarum lectionum delectu instructos edidit Henricus Eduardus APEL. Lipsiæ, 1837. 8vo.

5. The Books of the Apocrypha, with Critical and Historical Observations prefixed to each Book: also, two Introductory Discourses; the first explaining the Distinctions between Canonical and Apocryphal Writings, estimating the Value of the latter, and ascertaining the time when they were introduced as Ecclesiastical Books into the Service of the Church; the second illustrating the intimate connection between the Old and New Testament in religious and moral views, in matters of faith and practice, in style, composition, and allusion; with a Sketch of the History of the Jews from the cessation of Prophecy in Malachi, to the final

[1] Thorpe's Preface to his edition of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels, p. v.

dissolution of their State under the Emperor Vespasian, A.D. 70. By Charles Wilson, D.D. Edinburgh, 1801. 8vo.

6. The Five Books of Maccabees in English. With Notes and Illustrations. By Henry Cotton, D.C.L. Oxford, 1832. 8vo.

Of the Apocryphal books which bear the name of the Maccabees, some account is given in the Introduction to the Old Testament. Dr. Cotton has collected them together in this beautifully printed volume, and has, for the *first time*, given an English translation of what are called the fourth and fifth books; and he has successfully adapted the style and language of his version to those of the preceding books, as closely as was consistent with a careful adherence to the original. The whole is illustrated with very numerous notes, a valuable critical Introduction, Genealogical Tables of the Families of the Maccabees and of Herod, together with a Chronological Table, and a copious Index. This work is a necessary supplement to every edition of our authorised English Version of the Bible.

7. Sapientia Jesu filii Sirachi, Græce. Textum ad fidem Codd. et Versionum emendavit et illustravit Joh. Guil. Linde. Gedani, 1795. 8vo.

8. Liber Jesu Siracidæ, Græce: ad fidem Codicum et Versionum emendatus, et perpetua adnotatione illustratus, a Car. Gottl. Bretschneider. Ratisbon, 1806. 8vo.

"This work is, without contradiction, the best that has appeared on the Book of Ecclesiasticus; and the Commentary is an excellent critique." (Classical Journal, vol. v. p. 4.) It "deserves to be introduced into the library of every theological scholar. The Greek text has, undoubtedly, been very much corrupted. . . . . Dr. Bretschneider has spared no labour in his valuable collection of readings from the Vatican and Alexandrian MSS., from that manuscript on which the text of the Complutensian Polyglott was founded, and from various other sources. Much interesting matter will be found in his elaborate Prolegomena, and in the five dissertations at the close of the volume. His perpetual annotations on the text afford evidence of great critical ability and theological information, but perhaps exhibit a little of that tedious prolixity which is not uncommon in the German school." (Christian Remembrancer, vol. ix. p. 268.)

9. Liber Ecclesiasticus. The Book of the Church; or, Ecclesiasticus: translated from the Latin Vulgate. By Luke Howard. London, 1827. Royal 8vo.

Mr. Howard also translated some of the other books of the Apocrypha from the Latin Vulgate; the text of which he considered to be purer than the Greek, from which the common version was made.

10*a*. The Book of Jasher. With Testimonies and Notes explanatory of the Text.

To which is prefixed various Readings.

Translated into English from the Hebrew, by Alcuin, of Britain, who went a Pilgrimage into the Holy Land.

This Book is twice mentioned in Holy Scripture, viz. in Josh. x. 13., and in 2 Sam. i. 18.; in both which Places it is appealed to as a Work of Credit and Reputation, and as such was at that Time had in great Esteem.

Printed in the Year MDCCLI. 4to.

10*b*. The Book of Jasher. With Testimonies and Notes, *Critical and Historical*, explanatory of the Text.

To which is prefixed Various Readings, *and a Preliminary Dissertation, proving the Authenticity of the Work.*

Translated into English from the Hebrew, by *Flaccus Albinus* Alcuinus of Britain, *Abbot of Canterbury*. Who went a Pilgrimage into the Holy Land, *and Persia, where he discovered this volume, in the City of Gazna.*

"*Is not this written in the Book of Jasher?*" Joshua x. 13.

"*Behold it is written in the Book of Jasher?*" 2 Sam. i. 18.

Bristol: Printed for the Editor[1], by Philip Rose, 20. Broadmead. MDCCCXXIX. 4to.

Of the literary forgery contained in the volume or rather pamphlet printed in the year 1751 (9*a*), the following account is given by Mr. Rowe-Mores, a diligent typographer and antiquary of the eighteenth century, in his "Dissertation upon English Typographical Founders and Foundries," published in 1778 (page 65.). In the year 1751, Mr. Ilive published "a pretended "translation of the Book of Jasher, said to have been made by one Alcuin of Britain. The

[1] In a prospectus for a second edition of this reprint, which was circulated in London in 1833, the editor announced himself as "the Reverend C. R. Bond, formerly of Em. Col. Cantab."

" account given of the translation is full of glaring absurdities: but of the publication this we " can say, from the information of the Only-One who is capable of informing us, because the " business was a secret between the two: Mr. Ilive in the night-time had constantly an Hebrew " Bible before him (*sed qu. de hoc*), and cases in his closet. He produced the copy for Jasher, " and it was composed in private, and the forms worked off in the night-time in a private " press-room by these two, after the men of the Printing House had left their work."

Jacob Ilive, the person here mentioned, was a type-founder and printer, who carried on business in London between the years 1730 and 1763, in which last year he died. " Being not " perfectly sound in his mind, he produced some strange works. In 1733, he published an " Oration, intended to prove the plurality of worlds, and asserting that this earth is hell, that " the souls of men are apostate angels, and that the fire to punish those confined to this world " at the day of judgment will be immaterial..... In this strange performance the author " unveils his deistical principles, and takes no small liberty with the sacred Scriptures, and " especially with the character of Moses. Emboldened by this first adventure, he determined " to become the public teacher of infidelity. For this purpose he hired the use of Carpenters' " Hall, where for some time he delivered his orations, which consisted chiefly of scraps from " Tindal and other similar writers." (Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, vol. xix. p. 228.)

In November 1751 he published " The Book of Jasher," of which the following account was given in the Monthly Review for December in the same year (vol. v. p. 250.)—" The pub- " lisher, in order to give a sanction to this pretended Book of Jasher, refers to the mention " made to such a book in Josh. x. 13., and 2 Sam. i. 18. In both which places, says he, it is " appealed to as a work of credit and reputation, and as such was at that time had in great " esteem. But the work now published does not in the least appear to be that book referred to " in the Scriptures; but a palpable piece of contrivance, intended to impose on the credulous " and the ignorant, to sap the credit of the books of Moses, and to blacken the character of " Moses himself. Hence it is no wonder that the editor or author has had the precaution to " conceal his name. He has trumped up an idle story of the means by which the MS. fell " into his hands, which he relates in a prefatory epistle to a nameless earl. He has also pre- " fixed a history of Alcuin's pilgrimage to the Holy Land, of the manner of his procuring a " sight of the Book of Jasher, and the means by which he obtained permission to translate it " into English. But the whole is so full of blunders, inconsistencies, and absurdities, that we " think it beneath any further notice."

With this quotation from the Monthly Review, in addition to the contemporary evidence above given, the author would have dismissed the pretended Book of Jasher, had it not come to his knowledge that very many individuals had been induced to purchase the reprint of this forgery, executed at Bristol in 1829[1] (9 *b*), of which an account is given in pages 170–173. *infrà*, under the idea of its being the genuine long lost Book of Jasher. In the hope of preventing future unwary purchasers from being similarly misled, he now subjoins a few specimens of the falsehoods, anachronisms, and contradictions of the Holy Scriptures, which characterise this nocturnal production of the non-sane infidel author, Jacob Ilive.

1. The assertion, in the title-page, that Alcuin of Britain " went a pilgrimage into the Holy ' Land and Persia, where he discovered this volume in the city of Gazna," is *contrary to historical fact.* Alcuin neither visited the Holy Land nor travelled into Persia: to which we may add, that there is a geographical falsehood in stating Gazna to be in Persia: there is a city of that name in *Caubul.* Alcuin was born in Yorkshire, about the middle of the eighth century, and was educated at York, where probably he embraced the monastic profession. It is not known what preferments he held before he left England; though some accounts state that he was a deacon of the church at York, and others, that he was abbot of Canterbury. His earlier years were *wholly* spent in England; and having been sent on an embassy from *Offa*, king of Mercia, to the emperor Charlemagne (who formed so high an opinion of his acquirements and character as to become his pupil), he was induced, by the emperor's intreaties, to settle in France. In that country, accordingly, with the exception of one short visit to England, he spent the remainder (*the chief part*) of his life, having rendered essential services to the cause of religion and learning, and there he died, A. D. 804, in the abbey of St. Martin, at Tours, *without ever quitting Europe.* (Cave, Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria, pp. 420, 421. Coloniæ, 1720. Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary; article Alcuin.)
2. All the genuine writings of Alcuin are printed in Latin, as well as some doubtful and spurious pieces which have been ascribed to him.[2] If he had composed any treatise in any other language, it would doubtless have been written in the then vernacular language of England, that is, the Anglo-Saxon; fragments of which language have come down to our time in some portions of the Anglo-Saxon version of the Scriptures, executed in the eighth century: Whereas *the* WHOLE *of this pretended Book of Jasher is in* MODERN ENGLISH, and

---

[1] In the prospectus for a second edition of the reprint above alluded to, it is stated that " the " first edition has been honoured with the autographs of NEARLY ONE THOUSAND of the most " literary characters as subscribers: among whom are *many* PRELATES *and other* DIGNITARIES, " *as well as most of the public Establishments of the country.*"

[2] The best and most complete collection of Alcuin's works was published at Ratisbon, in 1777, in two large volumes, folio; it was edited by Frobenius (or Froben), abbot of Saint Emmeran, near that city, who has carefully distinguished the doubtful and spurious pieces from Alcuin's genuine writings, all of which are in Latin. It is, perhaps, scarcely necessary to state, that there is not a single word or allusion to the Book of Jasher as being translated by him.

not a few passages of it are verbatim the same as our present authorised English version of the Bible, which was first published in 1611, *only eight hundred and seven years after Alcuin's death*; and what is not copied from our English Bible, is a lame and studied imitation of its style and diction, both to conceal the fraud and to deceive readers.

3. In "the translator's preface" (p. iv.) Alcuin is made to say,—"I took unto me two companions, who learned with me, in the University of Oxford, all those languages which the people of the East speak." But the University of Oxford, according to the earliest date which has been stated by its historians, was not founded by King Alfred before the year 886; that is to say, only *eighty-two years* AFTER *Alcuin's decease!*

4. "The Words of Alcuin, which are read before the book of Jasher," are further convicted of falsehood by the anachronisms which they contain.

[i.] In p. v. mention is made of "*the paper on which it is wrote*" only three hundred years before the art of making cotton-paper was introduced into Europe (the use of which did not become general until the thirteenth century), and considerably more than three hundred years before paper, made from linen rags, was in use.

[ii.] In p. vi. he mentions *stationers* upwards of four centuries before bookselling was known. Stationers were not heard of, in Europe, before the middle of the thirteenth century. (Ducange, Glossarium, voce *Stationarii*, vol. vi. col. 716.) And the Company of Stationers, who were the first booksellers in London, was not incorporated until May, 1557, in the third and fourth year of the reign of Philip and Mary; that is, *only seven hundred and fifty-three years* AFTER *Alcuin's death!*

5. The book itself is replete with falsehoods, and with contradictions of the Pentateuch and the Book of Joshua. The restricted limits necessarily allotted to this article will only allow the specification of a few examples.

The books of MOSES and of JOSHUA	are contradicted by	JASHER.
GEN. xxii. 2. 11—18. And He [God] said, Take now thy son, thine only *son* Isaac, whom thou lovest, and get thee into the land of Moriah; and offer him there for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains which I will tell thee of....And the angel of the LORD called unto him [Abraham] out of heaven.... And he said, Lay not thine hand upon the lad, neither do thou any thing unto him.... And Abraham lifted up his eyes, and looked, and, behold, behind *him* a ram caught in a thicket by his horns: and Abraham went and took the ram, and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the stead of his son.		CHAP. iii. 19—21. And when Isaac was twenty and five years old, Abraham heard a voice saying, Take thy son, and slay him, and offer him up a burnt-offering in the land wherein he was born. And Sarah spake unto Abraham, and said, The holy voice hath not so spoken: for remember thou the words of that voice which said unto thee, I will make of thee a great nation. And Abraham repented him of the evil he purposed to do unto his son: his only son Isaac.
EXOD. ii. 1—5. relates the birth and exposure of Moses in an ark of bulrushes on the bank of the river Nile, and the discovery of him by Pharaoh's daughter:—		
5—8. And when she [Pharaoh's daughter] saw the ark among the flags, she sent her maid to fetch it. And when she had opened *it*, she saw the child: and, behold, the babe wept. And she had compassion on him, and said, This is *one* of the Hebrews' children. Then said his sister to Pharaoh's daughter, Shall I go and call to thee a nurse of the Hebrew women, that she may nurse the child for thee? And Pharaoh's daughter said unto her, Go. And the maid went and called the child's mother. And Pharaoh's daughter said, Take this child away, and nurse it for me, and I will give *thee* thy wages. And the woman took the child, and nursed it.		v. 9—12. And Jochebed, the mother of Moses, with Miriam his sister, came unto Pharaoh's daughter: and Jochebed said, Behold here the son of thy hand maid! And Pharaoh's daughter said, What wist ye? And they said, Thy father hath commanded that this infant be slain: yea, and that all the Hebrew males as soon as they are born be slain also. And Pharaoh's daughter said, Give unto me the child. And they did so. And she said, This shall be my son.
EXOD. i. 22. And Pharaoh charged all his people, saying, Every son that is born ye shall cast into the river.		iii. 13. And it came to pass, that the wrath of Pharaoh was turned away from slaying the males of the Hebrews.
Concerning the particular subjects of Moses's education the book of Exodus is silent.		iii. 14. And the child Moses grew and increased in stature: and was learned in all the magic of the Egyptians.
NUMB. xxxii. 11, 12. Surely none of the men that came up out of Egypt, from twenty years old and upwards, shall see the land which I swear unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, because they have not wholly followed me; save Caleb the son of Jephunneh, the Kenezite, and Joshua the son of Nun.		XXXV. 3, 4. It is affirmed that, after the death of Moses, Joshua, and Caleb, the people were without a leader, and that Phinehas and the elders of Israel "named Jasher the son of Caleb, by Azuba, seeing he is an upright man. And moreover this we know, that he hath seen all the wonders wrought in Egypt, in the wilderness: even all the mighty works that have been done."

Josh. ii. relates the mission of the two men whom Joshua sent to explore the land of Canaan, and who "went and came into an *harlot's* house, named Rahab, and lodged there;" together with their covenant with her, who was a Canaanitess.

Josh. iii. 14—16. It came to pass....As they that bare the ark were come unto Jordan, and the feet of the priests that bare the ark were dipped in the brim of the water, (for Jordan overfloweth all his banks all the time of harvest,) that the waters which came down from above, stood, *and* rose up upon an heap, very far from the city Adam, that is besides Zaretan; and those that came down towards the sea of the plain, *even* the salt sea, failed, *and* were cut off; and the people passed over right against Jericho.

Josh. vi. 17. 20, 21. 24, 25. And the city shall be accursed, *even* it, and all that *are* therein, to the LORD. . . . The people went up into the city, every man straight before him, and they took the city. And they utterly destroyed all that *was* in the city, both man and woman, young and old, and ox, and sheep, and ass, with the edge of the sword, ... And they burnt the city with fire, and all that was therein. . . . And Joshua saved Rahab he harlot alive, and her father's household, and all that she had.

Josh. vii. relates the circumstances of Achan's secreting a Babylonish garment, two hundred shekels of silver, and a wedge of gold of fifty shekels' weight, contrary to the divine command; for which crime he and all he had were destroyed in the valley of Achor.

xxvii. 8. Rahab is styled "one of the *princesses* of Jericho;" and in v. 8. she is represented as saying, "I also am the *daughter of an Israelite by a woman* of Midian."

xxviii. 10. And the wood whereon the children of Israel passed over Jordan stayed upon the face of the waters six days and six nights.

xxviii. 15, 16. 18. Then Rahab sent unto Joshua, saying, Let me intreat with thee for my nation that they may live. And Joshua answered and said, As many as save themselves by flight may live: but whosoever shall be found in Jericho shall surely die the death ....And the people of Jericho fled from the city every one to the mountains.

xxviii. 20—25. Achan is represented as charging Joshua with having "taken from the congregation all the gold, all the silver, and all the brass; even all the spoil of the city of Jericho, and given it to the tribe of Levi." For which crime he ALONE was stoned.

Ilive's forgery was published in 1751 for *two shillings and sixpence*. For the publication (9 *b.*) printed at Bristol in 1829 the modest charge of ten shillings was originally made, which was subsequently increased to ONE POUND sterling. Of this publication the author is now to give some account.

Though published *apparently* for the first time in 1829, there is every reason for concluding that this is an unacknowledged reprint of Ilive's forgery, with some unimportant variations (which will be pointed out in the course of the present article), and for the following reasons:—

1. The TITLE PAGE, with the exception of the few sentences printed in italics in page 167., is the same as in Ilive's forgery. The two titles are there printed in columns, in order that the reader may the more readily compare them: he will observe that the editor of the Bristol publication in 1829 expressly says that the pseudo-book of Jasher is "Translated into ENGLISH from the Hebrew." In his proposals for a new edition already alluded to, this is altered into—"Translated into ANGLO-SAXON from the Hebrew!" Query, by whom was this pretended Anglo-Saxon version translated into modern English?
2. The "ADVERTISEMENT," if not colourably altered, is evidently taken from Ilive's preliminary letter to a nameless earl; as will be evident to any one who compares the following extracts.

9 *a.* The BOOK OF JASHER, 1751.

"To the Right Honourable the Earl "of * * * * * *

"My Lord, *The following translation of the "Book of Jasher fell into my hands thirty years "ago"* [that is, in 1721] "by mere accident. "I was *travelling in the North of England*, to "see the country." Ilive then proceeds to give a false account of his purchasing the manuscript at an auction of "the goods and "books of an old gentleman lately deceased, "who was upwards of one hundred years of "age."

"Among the papers" (Ilive continues), "my Lord, I found the *following translation "of the Book of Jasher, which I last summer "communicated to your Lordship on a rumour*

9 *b.* THE BOOK OF JASHER. 1829.

The following translation of "The Book of "Jasher" was discovered by a gentleman in a Journey through the North of England in 1721.

"It lay by him for several years, until, "in 1750, there was *a rumour of a new*

"*translation of the Bible.* I own that till "then *it lay by me* quite unregarded. *Your* "*Lordship upon perusal was pleased to ap-* "*prove of it, and to advise its publication as* "A WORK OF GREAT SINCERITY, PLAINNESS, "AND TRUTH. Your *Lordship's* remark I must "not omit, 'That it was your *opinion* 'the "'*Book of Jasher ought to have been printed* "'IN THE BIBLE BEFORE THAT OF JOSHUA.'"

"BY A WRITING ON THE OUTSIDE OF THE "MANUSCRIPT IT SHOULD SEEM THAT THIS "TRANSLATION WAS LAID BEFORE OUR FIRST "REFORMERS, BECAUSE IT SAYS: 'I HAVE "'READ THE BOOK OF JASHER TWICE OVER, "'AND I MUCH APPROVE OF IT, AS A PIECE OF "'GREAT ANTIQUITY AND CURIOSITY, BUT I "'CANNOT ASSERT THAT IT SHOULD BE MADE "'A PART OF THE CANON OF SCRIPTURE.

"'Signed 'WICKLIFFE.'

"I am your Lordship's most humble and "obedient Servant, the Editor."

"*translation of the Bible, when he laid it be-* "*fore a noble Earl. On perusal he highly* "*approved of it,* AS A WORK OF GREAT SIN- "CERITY, PLAINNESS, AND TRUTH. *His Lord-* "*ship's opinion was that it should have been* "*placed* IN THE BIBLE BEFORE *the Book* OF "JOSHUA."

He further adds:—

"BY A WRITING ON THE OUTSIDE OF THE "MANUSCRIPT, IT SHOULD SEEM, THAT THIS "TRANSLATION WAS LAID BEFORE OUR FIRST "REFORMERS, BECAUSE IT SAYS: 'I HAVE "'READ THE BOOK OF JASHER TWICE OVER; "'AND I MUCH APPROVE OF IT, AS A PIECE "'OF GREAT ANTIQUITY AND CURIOSITY, BUT "'I CANNOT ASSERT, THAT IT SHOULD BE "'MADE A PART OF THE CANON OF SCRIP- "'TURE.

"'Signed 'WICKLIFFE.'"

The editor of 1829 proceeds to state, that "Since 1751" [the reader will bear in mind that this is the identical date of Ilive's forgery] "the manuscript[1] has been preserved with great "care by a gentleman, who lived to a very advanced age, and died some time since. On the "event of his death, a friend to whom he had presented it gave it to the present editor, who, "conceiving that so valuable a piece of antiquity should not be lost to men of literature and "biblical students, has committed it to the press, not doubting but that the attention of the "learned will be attracted to so singular a volume." The editor of 1829 further adds, that "he cannot assert any thing from his own knowledge beyond Alcuin's account; but *that* "carries with it such an air of probability and truth, that he does not doubt its authenticity." —"Nothing" (he affirms in his "Preliminary Dissertation on the Antiquity and Authenticity "of the Book of Jasher") "can be produced to invalidate this authentic statement, and con- "sequently it merits our credence." (p. v.) Again, "As a book of record, it appears to have "truth without mixture of error for its peculiar object and design." (p. vi.) And in the con- cluding paragraph of his "*Testimonies and notes concerning the Book of Jasher*" (p. 9. col. 2.) he expresses himself in the following terms:—"Thus, then, it appears, that as far as such a "work can be authenticated, this possesses every proof of being a transcript of the original "manuscript; and consequently, that it is worthy to be preserved as a collateral evidence of "the facts detailed more fully in the writings of Moses, the Book of Joshua, and the Book "of Judges." A reference to the *positive* historical evidence of Mr. Rowe-Mores above given, and also to the *internal* evidence furnished by the anachronisms, falsehoods, and contradictions in Ilive's forgery (see pp. 162—164.), *all which are to be found verbatim, literatim, et punctuatim, in the edition of* 1829; must convince the reader that this publication is neither "authentic," nor does it "merit" any "credence" whatever; and that, with the exception of such passages as are copied from our authorised translation of the Bible, it is a worthless tissue of "error" and falsehood, without the slightest "mixture" of "truth." In the Dublin Christian Examiner, or Church of Ireland Magazine, for June, 1831 (vol. xi. pp. 426—429.), there is an able exposure of this edition of 1829, containing five or six instances of falsehoods and contradictions, different from those above given in pp. 169, 170., to which we refer the reader who may be desirous of further evidence, and also to the British Critic for January, 1834, pp. 127—153.

"Some account of this volume" (says the editor of 1829) "may be found in Alcuin's works, "published in one volume fol. in the year 1600, in Paris." Now, what is the fact? The FIRST edition of Alcuin's collected works was published at Paris, by André Duchesne (Andreas Quercetanus) only *seventeen years* AFTER *the date assigned by the Bristol Editor*, viz. in 1617, in three parts, forming one volume folio; and in this collection of Alcuin's works NO BOOK OF JASHER IS TO BE FOUND. As Duchesne's editio princeps is not of very common occur- rence, the reader who may be desirous of seeing a list of the pieces actually written by Alcuin, is referred to Dupin's Bibliothèque des Auteurs Ecclésiastiques, tom. vi. pp. 120—123. 4to. 1692, and to Dr. Cave's Historia Literaria, pp. 420, 421.; each of whom has given a catalogue of Alcuin's works from Duchesne's edition, and they are both totally silent concerning the pretended Book of Jasher.

3. Although the concluding paragraph of the "Translator's Preface" in the edition of 1751 is omitted in the reprint of 1829, the editor of the latter must have been acquainted with it, as the subjoined verbal coincidences are too minute and specific to be merely accidental.

---

[1] In the prospectus of 1833 above referred to, for "manuscript" the word "copy" is substi- tuted,—a general term, which is equally applicable to printed matter as to manuscript. The Editor of the Bristol reprint never exhibited his pretended manuscript to the critical examina- tion of the learned.

9 *a.* ILIVE'S BOOK OF JASHER, 1751. (p. vi.)

"Some years after my arrival I related "this adventure to several, and showed them "the work, who advised me not to suffer a "copy of it to fall into the hands of the "stationers (1), lest I should incur the dis- "pleasure of the purple. Being now GROWN "OLD and infirm, I have LEFT IT among "OTHER papers TO A CLERGYMAN IN YORK- "SHIRE."

9 *b.* BOOK OF JASHER. 1829. (p. v.)

"It appears he" [Jasher] "never made it "public, beyond the circle of his friends, "and when GROWN OLD he LEFT IT, with his "OTHER manuscripts, TO a friend, a PRIEST IN "YORKSHIRE."

4. The "Various Readings," which follow "the words of Alcuin," are *verbatim* the same in both publications, except that, in the Bristol edition of 1829, "desart"—the supposed various reading in chap. xii. 18.—is printed desert

5. The pseudo-book of Jasher itself is next in order; and it COINCIDES with Ilive's fabrication, printed in 1751, with most marvellous exactness, both as to certain GRAMMATICAL BLUNDERS, and also as to the MATTER which the two publications severally contain.

[i.] GRAMMATICAL BLUNDERS.

In the title-pages of both publications we have, "*To which* IS *prefixed Various Readings*" for *are* prefixed. Compare page 741. *suprà*.

In Jasher, chap. vii. 7. we read, "*Thus hath said our fathers*," for *have said*; xiv. 11. "*Thou judgeth the people*," for *thou judgest*; xxvii. 15. "*Whom thou knoweth not*," for *knowest not*; and in the margin, "*Whom thou doth not worship*," for *dost not*; and in xxxvi. 11. "*Thou hath spoken*," for *Thou hast spoken*.

[ii.] WITH REGARD TO THE CONTENTS.

The Book of Jasher, in Ilive's forgery of 1751, fills exactly *sixty* pages; in the Bristol edition of 1829 it makes *sixty*-TWO *pages and a* HALF, the excess being caused by the addition between brackets of seventeen verses from Gen. xxii. 3—20. in ch. iii., and of twenty-eight verses in ch. xi. from Exod. xiv 23—31. and xv. 1—19., of our authorised version. Except as occasionally affected by these additions, the *same quantity of matter* is comprised in *each column*, the *summaries of chapters*, and the *head lines* or summaries at the top of each page, the pretended *chronology*, *marginal readings*, and *punctuation*, are all PRECISELY THE SAME, the spelling only of a very few words being modernised, as ether for æther, encrease and encreased for increase and increased; and in the "Testimonies and Notes," Phinehas for Phineas.

The following are the only additional material variations between the two publications which, after a careful collation, the author has been able to detect.

9 *a.* ILIVE'S BOOK OF JASHER, 1751.	9 *b.* BOOK OF JASHER, 1829.
Ch. i. 17. Cain *conceived and bare* Enoch	Ch. i. 17. Cain *begat* Enoch.
20. Seth *conceived and bare* Enos	20 Seth *begat* Enos.
ii. 1. Lamech..... *conceived and bare* Noah	ii. 1. Lamech *begat* Noah.
v. 9. ye	v. 9. you.
xxiii. 8. doeth .	xxiii. 8. doest.
13. nor	13. or.
xxxv. 28. Debor*a*	xxxv. 18. Debor*ah*.
xxxvi. 11. thou command*eth*	xxxvi. 11. thou command*est*.

The variations in the edition of 1829 are such as might be made by any careful compositor, and cannot (we conceive) in any degree affect the identity of the two publications.

6. The "Testimonies and Notes" appended to both publications are for the most part the *same*, and profess to bear the names of Hur, Phinehas, Othniel, Jazer, Jezer, Zadock, and Tobias. On the miraculous passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea, the editor of the Bristol impression of the Book of Jasher has inserted a note, chiefly taken from Dr. Hale's Analysis of Chronology, vindicating that miracle against the sceptical objections of Michaelis. The notes on ch. i. of Ilive's edition in 1751 are omitted; as also are the two concluding notes on ch. xviii. and the whole of those on ch. xix. and following to the end: in which "chapters," says the editor of 1829, "nothing occurs but what fully accords with the statements of "Moses." (Testimonies, p. 9.) If, however, the reader will turn back to pp. 169, 170., he will find *only* FIVE *passages which* DO *directly* CONTRADICT "*the statements of Moses*," besides four more which equally contradict the book of Joshua.

The result, then, of the preceding examination is, that the pretended Book of Jasher is a gross and shameless LITERARY FORGERY, which has no claim whatever to "credence," and which is utterly destitute of authenticity. Bartolocci, in his *Bibliotheca Rabbinica* (vol. iii. p. 868.), mentions a treatise on the Jewish Laws, composed by Rabbi Tham, and called *Sepher Jasher* or the Book of Jasher, which was printed at Cracow, in 1617.

There is also extant a rabbinical-Hebrew Book of Jasher, printed at Venice in 1625, which pretends to be an explanation of the histories comprised in the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua. Bartolocci says that it contains some curious but many fabulous statements; and particularly, that this book was discovered at the time of the destruction of the temple at Jerusalem in a

---

1 On the anachronism in this word, see the remark 4. [ii.] in page 743. *suprà*.

certain place, in which an old man was shut up, in whose possession a great number of Hebrew books were found, and among them the book of Jasher; which was first carried into Spain, and preserved at Seville, whence finally it was taken to Naples, where it was first published. (Bibliotheca Rabbinica, vol. iii. p. 935.) A translation of this pretended book of Jasher was published by Mr. M. M. Noah, a Jew resident at New York, intitled,

9* ספר הישר or the Book of Jasher; referred to in Joshua and Second Samuel. Faithfully translated from the original Hebrew into English. New York, 1840. 8vo.

Proposals for an English translation of the Rabbinical-Hebrew book of Jasher were issued many years since (but without success) by Mr. Samuel, a Jew, resident at Liverpool; and as the Jewish-American editor and publisher mentions in his preface (p. iii.), that he had succeeded in obtaining the work "after several years' negotiation with the owner and translator of the work in England," this translation is most probably the production of Mr. Samuel. It is but justice to add that the accuracy and fidelity of this version were attested by the learned professors of Hebrew at New York, the Rev. Dr. Turner of the Theological Seminary of the Protestant Episcopal Church; Mr. Bush, of the New York City University; and Mr. Nordheimer (a Jew) of the University of the City of New York.[1]

11. Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti, collectus, castigatus, Testimoniisque, Censuris, et Animadversionibus, illustratus. Accedit Josephi veteris Christiani scriptoris Hypomnesticon: cum versione ac notis Johannis Alberti Fabricii. Hamburgi et Lipsiæ, 1713—23. 2 vols. in 3 tomis 8vo. Editio secunda, Hamburgi, 1741. 2 tomis 8vo.

Besides the books commonly termed apocryphal, which have been deservedly rejected from the canon of Scripture, there are numerous spurious productions extant, the earliest of which (the pretended Book of Enoch) could not have been written till shortly before the commencement of the Christian æra; but by far the greatest part of them were forged between the second and fourth centuries. The industrious bibliographer, John Albert Fabricius, collected fragments and notices of all (or nearly all) these productions, which he has discussed in the two hundred and forty chapters, of which his *Codex Pseudepigraphus Veteris Testamenti* consists. The bare enumeration of these forgeries would extend this article to an undue length: but there are three apocryphal productions, bearing the names of Enoch, Isaiah, and Ezra, which have been rescued from utter oblivion by the Rev. Dr. Laurence (subsequently Archbishop of Cashel), and which are of sufficient importance to claim a distinct notice.

12. The Book of Enoch the Prophet: an Apocryphal Production supposed to have been lost for ages; but discovered at the close of the last century in Abyssinia, now first translated from an Æthiopic MS. in the Bodleian Library. By Richard Laurence, LL.D., Archbishop of Cashel. Oxford, 1821. Second edition, corrected and enlarged, 1833. Third edition, 1838. 8vo.

The apocryphal Book of Enoch, in the last and preceding century, proved a prolific subject for critical speculation and theological discussion. The circumstance of its having been quoted by an inspired writer of the New Testament[2], augmented the despair of recovering a supposed treasure which had been long lost. It was known until the eighth century of the Christian æra, after which it seems to have sunk into complete oblivion. A considerable fragment of it, however, was discovered by Julius Cæsar Scaliger, in the Chronographia of Georgius Syncellus; a work which had not then been printed. He extracted the whole of this fragment, which he published in his notes to the Chronicle of Eusebius.[3] Still, however, as it did not contain the passage quoted by St Jude, doubts were entertained, whether the apostle really referred to the same production as was cited by Syncellus, or derived his information respecting the prophecy of Enoch from some other source. Since the discovery of Scaliger much has been written, but very little if any additional information has been obtained on this subject. The fullest account of the opinions entertained by the Fathers, and the quotations which they made from this celebrated apocryphal production, *before* it was lost, as well as what has *since* been conjectured respecting it by modern critics, are to be found in the Codex Pseudepigraphus of Fabricius[4] above mentioned, who has also printed at length the Greek fragment of it preserved by Syncellus. But though the Greek copy of this book (itself perhaps nothing more than a mere translation from some Hebrew or Chaldee original) seems to have been irretrievably lost; yet an idea prevailed, so early as the commencement of the seventeenth century, that an Æthiopic version of it still existed in Abyssinia. Finally, researches were made for it by the distinguished Æthiopic scholar Ludolph; and every idea that the book was extant in an Æthiopic version was altogether abandoned from that time until towards the close of the last century, when our enterprising countryman, Mr. Bruce, not only proved its existence, but brought with him from

---

[1] The strange use which has been made of late of the name of *Jasher* as the title of a book is well known. The publication itself requires no *special* notice here. In character it ranks below most apocryphal books and similar forgeries.]

[2] Jude, ver. 14, 15.

[3] Pp. 404, 405. edit. Amst. 1658.

[4] Vol. i. pp. 160—224. In pp. 222, 3., Fabricius mentions twenty different authors who have more or less alluded to this book.

Abyssinia *three* manuscript copies of it, one of which he presented to the Royal Library at Paris, another to the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and the third he reserved for himself.[1] From the Bodleian MS. Archbp. Laurence made his translation, to which he prefixed an elaborate preliminary dissertation on the history, &c. of this apocryphal production, to which we are principally indebted for the present outline of its history and contents. The subject of the apocryphal Book of Enoch is, a series of visions respecting the fallen angels, their posterity, the giants which occasioned the deluge, the mysteries of heaven, the place of the final judgment of men and angels, and various parts of the universe seen by Enoch. The language is the purest Æthiopic, and its style is evidently copied after that of the book of Daniel. In an appendix, Dr. Laurence has printed a Latin version of many chapters executed by the learned Baron Sylvestre de Sacy from the Paris manuscript.

Although neither the Jewish nor the Christian church ever admitted the Book of Enoch into the canon, it was regarded by a learned but, in some respects, fanciful writer, of the second century, Tertullian[2], both as an inspired composition, and also as the genuine production of him whose name it bears; but his opinion is contradicted by the uniform judgment of the Jewish and of the Christian church (the Abyssinian church alone excepted), among whose canonical books it was never enumerated. Dr. Laurence has proved, by internal evidence, that the production in question was the composition of some unknown Jew, under the borrowed name of Enoch; that it must have originally been extant in Hebrew, though such original is now lost; and he has further argued that it was written before the rise of Christianity, by a Jew, who did not reside in Palestine, and most probably in the earlier part of Herod's reign, about thirty years before the birth of Christ. But the learned prelate's arguments have been controverted at great length in a critique in the Christian Observer (vol. xxix. pp. 417—426.; 496—503.), the author of which has endeavoured to show, from internal evidence, that this apocryphal book was not and could not have been written earlier than the middle of the second century of the Christian Æra. The additions in the second impression consist, 1. of Greek Extracts (accompanied with a Latin Version) from the Book of Enoch given by Syncellus in his Chronographia, and 2. of a synopsis of the contents of the work. A German translation of the Prophecy of Enoch was published at Jena by Dr. A. G. Hoffmann, 1833-38, in 2 vols. 8vo. In the course of his work, the translator expresses his obligations to the previous labours of Archbishop Laurence.

13. Enoch Restitutus; or, an Attempt to separate from the Books of Enoch the Book quoted by St. Jude. By the Hon. and Rev. E. Murray. Dublin and London, 1836. 8vo.

The object of this work is to prove, first, "that there is internal evidence of a more ancient book in combination with the apocryphal Books of Enoch. The more ancient book, the late Mr. Murray thinks, was written in Hebrew, as he endeavours to show: and he afterwards collects the internal evidence to the point of the existence of an ancient book. Of the books which are combined with it, Mr. Murray agrees with Archbishop Laurence in attributing one (that which contains the Jewish History) to an early period of the reign of Herod: and he thinks that which relates to astronomy probably to be the more ancient. The varieties of style in various parts of the whole composition betray different tongues; and the obscurity of some of the fables in the historical one show that it cannot be earlier than the date assigned. In that which he conceives to be the ancient book, there is no trace of rabbinical interpretation, such as might be expected, at all events, after the second century; the coincidence of its pages with those of Scripture is remarkably characterised by a want of previous knowledge of those passages which have similar meaning. The whole work displays much learning, research, and diligent inquiry." (British Magazine, July, 1836, p. 57.)

14. Ascensio Isaiæ Vatis, Opusculum Pseudepigraphum, multis abhinc seculis, ut videtur, deperditum, nunc autem apud Æthiopas compertum, et cum versione Latina Anglicanaque publici juris factum, à Ricardo Laurence, LL.D., Hebraicæ Linguæ Professore Regio. Oxonii et Londini, 1819, 8vo.

This volume contains a pretended history of the prophet Isaiah's ascension through the firmament and six heavens into the seventh; together with some pseudo-prophecies, and a relation of the prophet's martyrdom. With a view to ascertain the date of this composition, as no satisfactory external evidence is furnished by the early writers who have incidentally mentioned it, Dr. Laurence has instituted a minute investigation of the internal testimony, furnished by the production itself. The result of this examination, which is conducted with singular acuteness and felicity, is that the ascension of Isaiah must have been composed towards the close of the year 68 or in the beginning of the year 69. From the circumstance of an anonymous author having used in the Æthiopic the unusual Greek word αστωμα for the roof of a house, while in the Hebrew and in all the versions the word signifies a net, (that is, a lattice placed in the flat roof to light the apartment beneath, see 2 Kings i. 2.)—the learned editor concludes that this production must have been written in *Greek*. It appears, however, that this Greek word was in use in Egypt in the second century, whence in all probability it crept into the Æthiopic language about that period. A Jew writing in Greek would have used that word

[1] A short summary of the contents of the Apocryphal Book of Enoch is given in a note to vol. ii. pp. 424—426., of the octavo edition of Mr. Bruce's Travels, by the editor, Mr. Murray.

[2] Tertulliani Opera, pp. 95. 150, 151. The passages are given at length by Dr. Laurence. Prel. Diss. pp. xv.—xvii.

which his own Scriptures and the Septuagint had previously adopted in 2 Kings i. 2. A translator would have used the first term that suggested itself. From the prevalence of the oriental orthography of particular words, as well as from the Hebrew Scriptures being quoted instead of the Greek version, in a passage where they differ, it seems more probable that the *Ascensio Isaiæ* was originally written in Hebrew, the native tongue of the writer. (See Antijacobin Review for July 1819, vol. lvi. pp. 430, 431.)

15. Primi Ezræ Libri, qui apud Vulgatam appellatur quartus, Versio Æthiopica, nunc primum in medio prolata, et Latine Angliceque reddita a Ricardo LAURENCE, LL.D. &c. &c. Oxoniæ, 1820. 8vo.

The first book of Ezra or Esdras, as it is termed in the Æthiopic Version, forms the second book of Esdras in the Apocrypha usually annexed to the larger editions of the English Bible. Archbishop Laurence has the honour of being the first editor of the Æthiopic Version. The Latin Version, which accompanies it, is partly original, and in part taken from the Latin Vulgate, where this could be employed. To the Æthiopic Version are subjoined a collation of it with the Latin Vulgate, and a new English translation. The volume terminates with an elaborate critical disquisition on the author of this book, the time when he probably lived, the character and value of the Æthiopic, Arabic, and Latin versions, and the use to be made of the book in a theological point of view.

16. An Inquiry into the Truth and Use of the Book of Enoch, as to its Prophecies, Visions, and Accounts of Fallen Angels. By John OVERTON. London, 1822. 8vo.

17. Prophetæ Veteres Pseudëpigraphi partim ex Abyssinico vel Hebraico Sermonibus Latine versi. Edente A. F. GFROERER. Stuttgardiæ, 1840. 8vo.

This publication contains the Book of Enoch, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the third and fourth Books of Ezra, which are re-printed from the two last described publications of Dr. Laurence; also Gilbert Gaulmyn's Latin translation of a rabbinical Life and Death of Moses, the pretended predictions of the Welsh prophet Merlin, with his life by Geoffrey of Monmouth, a prophecy of the monk Hermann in 1306, and the prophecy respecting the popes of Rome, which bears the name of Malachy, archbishop of Armagh.

---

§ 2.

APOCRYPHAL BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

1. CODEX Apocryphus Novi Testamenti, collectus, castigatus, testimoniisque, censuris, et animadversionibus illustratus, à Johanne Alberto FABRICIO. Partes I. et II. Hamburgi, 1703, 2 vols. 8vo.; 1719, 2 vols. 8vo. Pars III. Hamburgi, 1743. 8vo.

A curious collection of apocryphal pieces, which is not very often to be met with complete. Mr. Jones made great use of it, and, in fact, translated the greater part of it in the following work.

1*. A New and Full Method of settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament. By the Rev. Jeremiah JONES. Oxford, 1798. 3 vols. 8vo.

The first edition of this elaborate work appeared in 1726, two years after the death of its learned author (a dissenting minister), who died at the early age of 31. He had previously published "A Vindication of the former part of St. Matthew's Gospel, from Mr. Whiston's Charge of Dislocations;" in which he successfully proved that our present Greek copies of that Gospel are in the same order in which they were originally written by the evangelist. "In drawing up these works he took care to consult and examine the originals, instead of satisfying himself with the quotations of other learned men. They remain as monuments of his learning, ingenuity, and indefatigable industry, and would have done credit to the assiduity and ability of a literary man of sixty. They were become very scarce, and bore a high price, when, with the liberality and zeal which reflects honour on them, the conductors of the Clarendon Press republished them at Oxford. Mr. Jones, observes Dr. Maltby, has brought together, with uncommon diligence, the external evidence for the authenticity and genuineness of the canonical books; and he has, with equal ability and fairness, stated his reasons for deciding against the authority of the apocryphal." (Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, vol. xix. p. 95.)

2. Auctarium Codicis Apocryphi N. T. Fabriciani, continens plura inedita, alia ad fidem cod. MSS. emendatius expressa. Congessit, disposuit, edidit, Andreas BIRCH. Fasciculus primus. Havniæ, 1804. 8vo.

3. Acta S. Thomæ Apostoli. Ex. Cod. Paris. primum edidit, et adnotationibus illustravit Johannes Carolus THILO. Lipsiæ, 1823. 8vo.

4. Acta Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Græcè ex Codd. Parisiensibus, et Latinè ex Codd. Guelpherbytanis. Nunc primùm edita, et annotationibus illustrata, à Joanne Carolo THILO. Particulæ I. II. Halæ Saxonum, 1838. 8vo.

5. Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti e libris editis et manuscriptis, maxime Gallicanis, Germanicis, et Italicis, collectus, recensitus, notisque et prolegomenis illustratus, operâ et studio Joannis Caroli THILO. Tomus I. Lipsiæ, 1832. 8vo.

This work, if finished, would have a very complete collection of the Apocryphal Books of the New Testament. The very copious prolegomena, which are prefixed to the first volume, treat on the collections, editions, and versions of the Apocryphal Gospels. These are succeeded by the History of Joseph the Carpenter, in Arabic and Latin; the Gospel of the Saviour's Infancy, also in Arabic and Latin; the Protevangelion of James, and the Gospel of Thomas the Israelite, in Greek and Latin; the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary, and the History of the Nativity of Mary and of the Saviour, in Latin; the Gospel of Marcion, collected by Dr. Augustus Hahn, from ancient documents, in Greek; the Gospel of Nicodemus, in Greek and Latin; a narrative of the apprehension and death of Pilate, in Greek; a collation of the manuscript of the mutilated and altered Gospel of John (which is preserved in the archives of the Templars of St. John of Jerusalem at Paris), with Griesbach's text. So numerous are the alterations, &c. in this Gospel, that Dr. Thilo considers it altogether as an apocryphal writing, and has therefore given it a place in his collection of the Apocryphal Books of the New Testament. The volume closes with an Apocryphal Book of the Apostle John, in Latin, which abounds with Gnostic notions; various readings and notes are placed, throughout, at the foot of each page: and, besides the general prolegomena, there is much curious prefatory matter relative to several of the pieces here printed. Dr. Thilo has discharged his arduous duties as editor, with equal industry and ability.

6. The Apocryphal New Testament: being all the Gospels, Epistles, and other pieces now extant, attributed in the first four centuries to Jesus Christ, his Apostles, and their Companions, and not included in the New Testament by its Compilers. Translated and collected into one volume, with Prefaces and Tables, and various Notes and References. [By William HONE.] London, 1820. Second Edition, 1821. 8vo.

This publication was in such a form as to be likely to deceive the unwary. The apocryphal Gospels were borrowed from the translations of the Rev. Jeremiah Jones (see above, No. 1*), and the writings of the Apostolic Fathers were taken from the version of Abp. Wake.

The whole was divided into chapters and verses, and was printed as if it were intended to pass as Holy Scripture.

7. Fragment des Révélations Apocryphes de S. Barthélemy, et de l'Histoire des Communautés Religieuses fondées par S. Pakhome, traduit sur les textes Coptes-Thebains inédits conservés à la Bibliothèque du Roi. Par Edouard DULAURIER. Paris, 1835. 8vo.

[8. Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha, ex triginta antiquis codicibus Græcis vel nunc primum eruit vel secundum atque emendatius edidit Constantinus TISCHENDORF. Lipsiæ, 1851. 8vo.]

[9. Evangelia Apocrypha, adhibitis plurimis codicibus Græcis et Latinis maximam partem nunc primum consultis atque ineditorum copia insignibus. Edidit Constantinus TISCHENDORF.

This and the preceding volume contain many of the Apocryphal writings in a more correct form, and also some previously existing only in manuscript. Prof. Tischendorf has announced his intention of also publishing the Apocryphal *Apocalypses*.]

[10. Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti. The Uncanonical Gospels and other writings referring to the first ages of Christianity; in the original Languages; collected together from the editions of Fabricius, Thilo, and others. By the Rev. Dr. GILES. London, 1852. One large volume in two parts, 8vo.

This collection was published to remedy the evil arising from the high price and incompleteness of previous editions of separate portions of the apocryphal writings; and also "to enable the student to have in his own library all that has yet been gathered of these ancient records" ..... "with no pretensions to originality of matter, but only of completeness in its contents." (Pref. p. xii.) Thirty-eight apocryphal Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and other tracts, are here reprinted; of which very brief notices are given in the notes.]

ADDITIONS.

In the three years and a half which have elapsed since the issue of this volume, various facts have come to light bearing in an important manner on the Textual Criticism of the New Testament; and as the proprietors were about to issue a new impression, it seemed well to give, besides the *Addenda and Corrigenda* which formed part of the work in 1856, a brief indication of some of the more special points which are worthy of the attention of the Biblical student. And this judgment on my part appeared to meet the minds both of the Rev. T. H. Horne and of the proprietors.

Some of the added information is as yet only *partial;* but even this ought to be given to the student, especially when relating to anything so valuable, as the St. Petersburg MS., found by Prof. Tischendorf at Mount Sinai, appears undoubtedly to be. Indeed, the successful results of Tischendorf's researches lay all who value Biblical studies under very deep obligations to him. It is greatly to be desired that he may learn that those whose opinions do not precisely accord with his, or those who mention anything which they themselves have actually done, do not intend, by statements which they make on such subjects, to detract in one whit from his actual services. The victories of the Duke of Wellington in the Peninsula, were not the less real from the fact of Lord Lynedoch having gained the battle of Barossa, and Lord Hill that of Almaraz. And this principle will apply to other subjects also.

In making such additions as those which I now publish, it is not intended to indicate that they might not have been greatly increased as to other parts of the volume. Whatever care may be taken in trying to make a work of this kind complete up to a certain time, it will be *soon* found (even if it is not so at once), that there are deficiencies, and that the range of known facts has altered and is perhaps extended. In seeking by *additions,* in part, to supply such deficiencies, it is needful to attend to what is *most essential,* and not to do what might be at all equivalent to *re-writing* a volume; — a process

which involves quite as much the *exclusion* of portions *once* important, as the introduction of what is new.

It has been my endeavour to speak *fairly* of all whom I have had to mention, whether I accord with their sentiments or not: this is at all times a duty; but it should be especially *felt* to be such, when the subject under discussion is the books of Holy Scripture which are able to make wise unto salvation, through faith which is in Christ Jesus.

S. P. TREGELLES.

Plymouth, May 18th, 1860.

	Page
Tischendorf's Greek Testament	753
Tregelles's Greek Testament	754
Dean Alford's Greek Testament	754
Mr. Scrivener's Collations of MSS.	756
Codex Sinaiticus Tischendorfii	758
B. Codex Vaticanus	760
T. Codex Borgianus	763
R. Codex Nitriensis	764
Small Nitrian Fragments	766
D. (Epp.) Codex Claromontanus	766
Ξ. Codex Zacynthius	767
F Codex Augiensis	770
Γ and Λ of the Gospels	770
Θ Fragmentum Tischendorfianum	770
B of the Apocalypse	771
Codex Leicestrensis	771
38 of the Apocalypse	771
Codex Tischendorfii Actorum	771
Codex Ottobonianus	772
The Curetonian Syriac Version	772
Gothic Version	773

Tischendorf's Greek Testaments (p. 139.).

Tischendorf's new and larger Greek Testament (which he calls *editio septima*) did not *begin* to be issued until too late to be mentioned except in the Bibliographical List (p. 708. No. 77.). Its issue in parts commenced about the close of 1855, and it was completed in 1859. In this, for the first time, has Tischendorf endeavoured to collect and arrange the whole mass of his collated authorities, MSS., versions, Fathers, instead of acting as before on the principle of *selection*. The places in which such authorities are only partially cited are commonly, it seems, where the MS. in question is one which has been published by some other editor; and this is peculiarly the case with Δ which was edited in 1836 by Rettig.[1] Also readings in various MSS. are passed by in silence when their testimony would be expected.[2] It is not apparent if there be any principle of *selection* in the readings not inserted; though indeed it is only those who have made the attempt, who are conscious how difficult it is to avoid omissions when authorities are intended to be cited in full.

As to Tischendorf's *text* in this edition, it differs considerably in character from that which he published in 1849; and those who value reliance on ancient authorities will not think that the change is for the better. "Many sound readings are expelled once more because there is some recondite reason why scribes may have preferred them to their rivals. An impression is, we believe, abroad that Tischendorf is now beginning to entertain some respect for the *textus receptus*. It is quite unfounded. Many of his present readings accidentally coincide with the 'received' readings, but that is all. It is not that he prefers the bulk of late evidence to the weight of early evidence, but that he makes the worst, or at least very bad, evidence, if supported by a canon of probability, outweigh the best evidence standing alone. He is in fact wandering further away from authority, and nearer to the most arbitrary dicta of German commentators." "Had Tischendorf condescended to own, as Griesbach and Lachmann had done, that certainty is not everywhere attainable, and placed not improbable readings in the margin, the amount of difference between his three critical editions would have been much diminished, and with it the grounds of cavil afforded to the enemies of criticism." Rev. F. J. A. Hort.[3]

Much may be learnt by the careful student from Tischendorf's Prolegomena. That he always treats other writers fairly, or shows sufficient candour or exactitude in estimating what they have done

[1] See, for instance, in one chapter, John xi. omissions or wrong citations of readings in Δ, in verses 11, 19, 31, 32 (*twice*), 33, 35, 39, 41, 47, 52, 54.

[2] Thus in the same chapter, John xi., there are omissions of readings or wrong citations, verse 2, of D., ib. G^2.; 8, D., G.; 10, X.; 15, G.; 16, EM.; 17, C^*; 18, Λ^*.; 19, K.; 23, D.; 24, L.; 27, D^*.; 28, L; 29, X. (*thrice*); 32, Λ.; 38, F.; 46, G.; 48, K.; 51, G.; 52, Λ.; 54, L.; 57, Λ.

[3] Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology, Cambridge, March 1858. The same writer reviewed Tischendorf's completed edition in the same Journal, for Feb. 1860.

or written, I shall hardly be expected to admit; but I wish to give to him the praise that is his due as a diligent and successful explorer in the domain of criticism, whose spoils have become part of the common possession of other students, just as discovery in any other department of human knowledge does not become a mere private possession. If Tischendorf's *critical* sagacity and exactitude are not as highly estimated as he would wish and perhaps expects, he must remember that his own changes of judgment are an obstacle to this; and if in his edition of 1841 he was even approximately correct in his principles *and in their application*, then he was not so in that of 1849; and if in that year he had at all succeeded in editing a well-formed text, then he has not done this in his recent publication. And yet in each case he seemed to ask for acquiescence in his views and in his conclusions.

Tregelles's Greek Testament (p. 142.).

To the description of the plan of my own edition, I may now add that the first portion of the work, containing the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, was issued in July 1857, to those of the subscribers, who wished it and who had made a private arrangement with me on the subject. The second part containing the remaining two gospels is mostly printed, and it will I trust be in the hands of subscribers in the early part of the autumn of this year (1860). I need not here speak of what the causes of delay and difficulty have been, or give the particulars of the reasons why there must now be an interval before St. John is completed. A certain amount of rest is sometimes needed to make sustained attention possible and to secure accuracy.

As the plan has been described above, it needs but little further remark here; except to state that in those parts in which more recent discovery of important documents enables *additions* to be made, it is my intention to make them; and when further information relative to important MSS. (such as the Codex Vaticanus) gives greater certainty as to their readings, such further sources of exact knowledge and their results are intended to be given; and that, too, in those places especially where the *text* as formed by me would require amendment.

Dean Alford's Greek Testament (pp. 142-4. 710-711.).

Besides reprints of different portions of this work, I have here to specify the appearance of the first half of the fourth volume (Hebrews to 2 Peter), and the fourth edition *considerably revised* (1859) of the first volume containing the Four Gospels. The statement of critical principles in the last specified volume appears to me to be very valuable and important; and the appreciation of former editors, such as Lachmann, to be far more just. The lessened influence of subjective feeling is very marked, and the straightforward candour with

which changes of sentiment are acknowledged is very satisfactory.[1] This is hardly the place for making very extended extracts from the Prolegomena to the last volume which Dean Alford has thus published; and it is the less needed from the probability that this edition of the Four Gospels will be in the hands of all Biblical students as one of the books which they will regard as indispensable. The brief account which I have now given may suffice to show in general how he has emerged from the influence of certain prejudices and subjective apprehensions of the force of evidence. He now says,

"Experience has brought about some change in my convictions with regard to the application of canons of subjective criticism to the consensus of ancient MSS. In proportion as I have been led severely to examine how far we can depend on such subjective considerations, I confess that the limits of their applicability have become narrowed. In very many cases they may be made to tell with equal force either way. One critic adopts a reading because it is in accord with the usage of the sacred writer; another holds it, for this very reason, to have been a subsequent conformation of the text. One believes a particle to have been inserted to give completeness; another to have been omitted as appearing superfluous." (Proleg. 87.) Dean Alford thus states some of his own present views, while discussing those of Mr. Scrivener, (whose volume is presently to be noticed); "I cannot consent to the course which he would prescribe for us,—that of seeking our readings from the later uncials supported, as they usually are, by the mass of cursive MSS. Nor can I conceive a time when examinations of texts, whose character is now latent, should lead scholars to such a procedure. For what right have we to set virtually aside these two wonderful facts;—First, *the agreement in the main of our oldest uncials at the distance of one or two centuries*,—of which, owing probably, to the results of persecution, we have no MS. remains,—*with the citations of the primitive fathers, and with the earliest versions?* I say, the agreement *in the main*, for Mr. Scrivener's instances of discrepancy are in vain used by him to produce an impression which we know would be contrary to the fact in the majority of instances. Secondly, *the very general concurrence of the character of text of our earliest MSS., versions, and fathers, with that text which the soundest critical principles lead us to adopt.* This surely invests the authority of those early witnesses with a claim upon us which can never be set aside." (Proleg. 91. 92.) Well does Dean Alford say that the principles and practice of those who rest on the numerically greater recent authorities, would require us to admit such facts that "we should be compelled to take as truth, the plaint of the old tragedian, ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγαί, and to accept for once the prodigy, that 'the *further from* the source, the clearer the stream.'"

[1] "The digest of various readings in this edition has been entirely re-written, and differs in some important points from that in the previous editions. This labour has been undertaken and carried through, under my own superintendence, by my secretary, the Rev. A. W. Grafton." (Proleg. 96.)

Mr. Scrivener's Collations of MSS (p. 145.).

To the collations of Mr. Scrivener contained in his former volume he has now made most important additions by those which he has carried on since, and has published together with the text of the Codex Augiensis.[1]

In his Introduction he discusses principles of textual criticism from much the same point of view as before, but with special reference to *comparative criticism;* I do not accept Mr. Scrivener as an accurate expositor of my views, and as having introduced the *term* "Comparative Criticism," I may reasonably ask that it may, if used at all, be employed according to my own definition. And though he informs me that he does not criticise my book *unread,* it is at least certain that in *writing* about it he has not remembered my statements. I have shown above (p. 148.), that I intend by "comparative criticism," not the single evidence of *one* MS., *one* version, or *one* Father, but such *united* testimonies as *prove* a reading to be ancient, and the use that may be made of this avowed fact in showing the character of any document of either of the other two classes.

In discussing passages to which "comparative criticism," had been previously applied, Mr. Scrivener rests much on the *single* testimony of the commonly printed Peshito (as to which I am *not* responsible for the terms which Mr. Scrivener seems to *suppose* for me, "spurious version," "wretched forgery," &c. p. xv.); while as to the antiquity and authority of this version itself, he takes points for granted that should surely have been proved, and he ignores what had been fully pointed out, that *if* this version in its present state be a work of the second century it is at least unique, and he seems to suppose that I had introduced a novel hypothesis even when only expressing my accordance with what Griesbach enunciated long ago. If Mr. Scrivener gives a conclusion "drawn *mutatis mutandis* in the words of Tregelles," let it be plainly understood what the said *mutanda* really are; thus, when I said, "Here, then, is a sample of the very many passages, in which by the testimony of *ancient versions* or *Fathers,* that such a reading was current in very early times, the fact is proved indubitably," I did not expect to see it made the basis of such a sentence as the following, and that too, when "comparative criticism" is the subject in hand,—"Here, then, is a sample of very many passages in which by the testimony of *the most ancient version* that such a reading was current in very early times, the fact is proved indubitably." *I* speak of *united* or at least *express* testimony;

[1] "An exact transcript of the Codex Augiensis, a Græco-Latin manuscript of St. Paul's epistles, deposited in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. To which is added a full collation of fifty manuscripts, containing various portions of the Greek New Testament, in the Libraries of Cambridge, Parham, Leicester, Oxford, Lambeth, the British Museum, &c., with a critical introduction by the Rev. Frederick Henry Scrivener, M.A., late scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, perpetual curate of Penwerris, Falmouth." Cambridge, 1859. The "*fifty* MSS." must not be understood as meaning so many *different* codices, but reckoning separately the Gospels, Acts and Cath. Epp., St. Paul's Epp., and the Revelations, as separate *portions;* thus the Codex Leicestrensis is alone *four* MSS. out of the fifty. The whole number in ordinary reckoning is *thirty-four.*

Mr. Scrivener, merely of that which is based on the present state of a version, on its assumed antiquity, and on such version *alone* in contradiction to the mass of other authorities which claim an equal age. But the needful points have not been proved, and thus nothing results from the comparison, but a sense of intense difficulty connected with the belief that the common Peshito as it *now* stands *can* belong to the second century, presenting as it does so singular a combination of readings of remote antiquity blended and interspersed with those much more recent.[1]

Mr. Scrivener throws very needless doubt on the readings of documents which he has not *himself* investigated: thus he speaks of "Codex B. and its scanty roll of allies, strengthened as they are by the Latin, *perhaps by other versions;*" what can this expression of doubt mean? Surely critics may know *something* of versions in languages with which they are not acquainted; I have great reliance on what can be learned from Schwartze as to the Egyptian versions, and the collation of the Armenian made for me by Dr. Rieu is I fully believe trustworthy. But there are places, such as the insertion or omission of *clauses* or *important words*, as to which I can be myself as certain in Memphitic, Thebaic, Armenian or Ethiopic, as I can in more familiar tongues, Greek, Latin, Syriac or Gothic. For all purposes of comparative criticism I am surely not limited by the extent of my own personal studies.

The principal portion of Mr. Scrivener's volume is occupied with the text of the Codex Augiensis. Then follows his collation of thirty-four MSS.; in both these parts of the work there is the same close and painstaking accuracy which were exhibited in his former volume. The notation of MSS. now found, is even more difficult to follow than was that of the volume of various readings to the Gospels. For not only are previously known MSS. newly designated, but the use of *different* references for the same MS. in various parts adds to the tax on the memory. And some of these MSS. are of the very kind which tell against Mr. Scrivener's theories; this makes his testimony to their readings all the more valuable. The minuteness of collation even extending to *very slight* orthographic variations is quite remarkable.

[1] "The text [of the Peshito] may have been altered and corrupted between the first or second and the fifth centuries. This is all that Dr. Tregelles has supposed, though Mr. Scrivener assails him with unseemly violence, as if he had represented the vulgar text as a 'wretched forgery.' Mr. Scrivener's rashness is no less remarkable in calling this a 'novel hypothesis,' when in fact it is at least as old as Griesbach. . . . There is neither evidence nor internal probability against the supposition that the old Syriac version was revised into its present form . . . in the fourth or even third century, to make it accord with Greek MSS. then current at Antioch, Edessa or Nisibis: and without some such supposition the Syriac text must remain an inexplicable phenomenon, unless we bring the Greek and Latin texts into conformity with it by contradicting the full and clear evidence which we do possess respecting them. All that we have now said might have been alleged before the Curetonian Syriac was discovered: the case is surely strengthened in a high degree by the appearance (in a MS. assigned to the fifth century) of a Syriac version of the Gospels, bearing clear marks of the highest antiquity in its manifest errors as well as in its choicest readings. The appropriation of the *name* 'Peshito' appears to us wholly unimportant, except for rhetorical purposes." Rev. F. J. A. Hort, in the Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology. Feb. 1860, pp. 378—9.

Had my object been to give a detailed account or even a list of the editions of the Greek New Testament, or of separate portions which have appeared in the last three years and a half, I should have here to describe the continued labours of Professor Ellicott on the Epistles of St. Paul, and also the Greek Testament of Dr. Wordsworth, of which three parts have appeared. I must now be content with *mentioning* these, and leaving without special notice others which have no *particular* bearing on the history of the text.[1]

Greek MSS. of the most ancient Class (p. 152.). Codex Sinaiticus Tischendorfii.

It seemed but little to be expected that a MS. should come to light of peculiar antiquity and value, so as to rank, as far as may be judged, *with* or almost with the most precious of known documents.

For this we are indebted to Professor Tischendorf, who obtained, in 1859, from the Convent of Mount Sinai, a MS. of the Greek New Testament, of very great antiquity, which has now passed, through purchase, into the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. It appears, undoubtedly, to belong to *the fourth century*, and thus its age is contemporaneous with the Vatican MS. itself.

This MS. appears formerly to have contained the Old Testament entire, as well as the New; and it was a portion of this same MS., including part of the Chronicles, and other historical books, and of Jeremiah (in all *forty-three* leaves), that Prof. Tischendorf obtained in 1844, and which he edited in a beautiful lithographed fac-simile in 1846. This fragment, designated *Codex Friderico-Augustanus*, is now in the Library of the University of Leipsic: every thing indicates that its age has not been over-estimated; and thus competent scholars were prepared to value highly the New Testament portion of the same MS. as soon as its discovery was announced.

Indeed, when the first tidings were received from Egypt that such a discovery had been made, it was believed that this New Testament *must* be a portion of the Codex Friderico-Augustanus: for both MSS. stood alone in several peculiar points: both were written in *four* columns on a page; and when Tischendorf stated that the portion which he had now obtained, comprising *all* the Greek New Testament *entire*, part of the Old, and the so-called Epistle of Barnabas, and part of the Shepherd of Hermas, comprehended in the whole 132,000 columnar lines, written on 346 leaves, it was evident at once, that in the number of lines in each page, &c., there was a perfect identity between what had been found in 1844 and what had just been obtained. This conclusion has since been confirmed by Tischendorf's own explicit testimony.

As this MS. is therefore, at least, one of the most important

[1] The following announcement, which has been advertised for some time, deserves insertion: "Preparing for publication *The New Testament in the Original Greek.* The text revised by B. F. Westcott, M.A. and F. J. A. Hort, M.A. Vicar of St. Ippolyts, Herts." Here we may fully expect to see combined, good scholarship, diligence in collecting evidence, and just and discriminating ability in using it and noting its form and bearing.

Biblical documents which the Providence of God has transmitted to us, its *publication* as speedily as possible becomes a matter of the highest concernment to all Biblical scholars: everything ought, therefore, to be done to promote and expedite so desirable a step. For this we shall no doubt be indebted to Prof. Tischendorf, who has already accomplished so much in this department.

But even before such publication can be carried out, the *collation* of the Text of the MS. is highly desirable, belonging as it does to the period anterior to the *systematic* revision and deterioration of the Greek Text, (in which antiquity the Vatican Codex alone can be compared with it); and it is therefore wished that an effort should be made at once *to collate the Text at St. Petersburg.*

In one respect this MS. *stands alone:* it is the only Greek document of the highest antiquity that contains the New Testament entire: its importance, therefore, in the Pastoral Epistles, the latter part of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Book of Revelation (portions in which the Codex Vaticanus is now defective), is peculiarly great; and thus full attention *ought* to be given to its testimony in any critical estimate of what were the actual words and sentences written by the inspired authors of the New Testament. And while the *publication* of the Text is of paramount importance, the *collation* of the readings *at once* would be of very great value, especially when it is remembered that in the last twenty years every accessible Greek MS. of any antiquity has been collated with greater care and accuracy than had ever been previously attempted.

It is probable that this MS. may be denoted by the letter ℵ: the only published statement respecting its text is that made by the discoverer, who says that it belongs to the same *class* as B: further particulars are looked for with some degree of impatience: there are some conclusions which the readings of this MS., whatever they may be, cannot overturn: others they may confirm, and some they may modify.[1]

[1] From time to time we hear rumours of the discovery of ancient MSS., and there is need to make pretty careful inquiry in order to ascertain the truth. Thus, a couple of years ago there was an announcement both in newspapers and also in literary journals of the discovery of a MS. of the *fourth* century at Athens; on inquiry, this proved to be merely a mistake for *fourteenth*, and even then there was no discovery at all.

The *latest* announcement apparently of a discovery of this kind is the following:—

"*Discovery of an ancient Biblical Manuscript at Mr. Mayer's Museum of National and Foreign Antiquities and Works of Art.*— In this museum are a great number of Egyptian, Coptic, and Greek manuscripts, written on papyrus, linen, leather, and stone, relating to various subjects, historical, religious, &c.; and Mr. Mayer has entrusted the unrolling of the papyri to the learned Dr. Simonides, so well known throughout Europe for his great proficiency in deciphering ancient writings; and he has already found parts of three leaves of a papyrus scroll containing the 19th chapter of the gospel according to St. Matthew, written in the Greek uncial character, the reading of which will cause a great sensation amongst Bibliopolists, as it sets at rest that long misunderstood part of the 24th verse relating to the passing of a camel through the eye of a needle, which arose from the wrong reading of the Greek text. The state of the manuscript has every appearance, from the form of letter, and other rules used as guides to paleographists, indicating it to belong to the first century after the death of Christ, and consequently older than any other Christian document known to exist.

"As Mr. Mayer is going at once to publish the important discovery in fac-simile of the original text, with an English translation, we hope soon to have an opportunity of recurring to this subject.

"The papyrus was brought from Thebes, in Egypt, by the Rev. Henry Stobart, along

B. Codex Vaticanus (pp. 158—166.).

The re-examination of passages in the Codex Vaticanus by the Abbate Rulotta, which was supposed to have been lost (p. 162.), is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, amongst Bentley's papers (B. 17. 20.). Tischendorf stated that he had seen it in that library, and it was found on examination to be amongst the letters of that critic; that addressed to him by the Baron de Stosch, who transmitted Rulotta's notes from Rome, is on the conclusion of the extracts. It was naturally supposed that this paper must have been *lost*, from the reference in "Bentley's Correspondence" at the place being made to the volume containing *Mico's collation*, and not to *Rulotta's recomparison*. The value of Rulotta's notes is considerable, for they afford means for checking collations which *may* have followed the readings of a later hand, and not what proceeded from the original writer.

The actual publication of Cardinal Mai's *edition* of the Codex Vaticanus,[1] has, in many respects, increased the knowledge which we have of its readings. Its value, however, is seriously impaired from the want of true editorial care. The whole of the contents of the MS., both in the LXX. version of the Old Testament, and in the original of the New, in five large 4to. volumes, appeared in the spring of 1858. The portions of text in which the Vatican MS. is now defective, were supplied from other sources; and so, too, were some of those places in which this Codex does not, in the parts extant, recognise sentences found in the common text. 1 John v. 7. thus is inserted; but (as in the other cases) marked as an addition: in this place, indeed, there is a special note, which Mai concludes

with many others, part of which he sold to the British Museum, some of which have since been published; but the lukewarmness displayed by the trustees of that great national institution, and the long delay of their decision in securing the remaining portion he had brought to England, induced Mr. Stobart to offer them to Mr. Mayer, who, seeing their value, at once purchased them to add to his already extensive library, and now Liverpool will have the pride and glory of possessing this invaluable Biblical document.

"During Easter week the rooms of the Museum were opened to the public free, when 2,250 persons availed themselves of the privilege of examining their contents, and appeared to be much interested in what they saw, and conducted themselves with great propriety and order."

This appeared in two different Liverpool papers of May 3, 1860. To some the name of "Simonides, so well known throughout Europe," will suggest a great deal; though to many it may only indicate some sort of indefinite or infallible authority that he may possess in palæographic researches. (The mention of "Bibliopolists" is amusing.)

By a private communication I am informed "that the fragments are at present in Dr. Simonides' hands," [how did they *first* get there?] that "the various reading mentioned is καμιλον as in the Dublin Codex Z" [which, however, *really* reads καμηλον, as I brought to light chemically]; "there are many other variations also from Stephen's Greek Text, as might be expected. But what will interest you more is that Mr. Mayer has reason to believe that other fragments of the Greek New Testament will be discovered. He has other papyrus rolls from the very same stock, which have not yet been examined." Certainly this *à priori* judgment respecting the contents of unexamined papyri is remarkable: it seems as if ancient MSS., whether of Uranius, Hermas, or the Greek New Testament, might be produced to order. What caused *Simonides* to have anything to do with *these* MSS? Are these some of those which *he* offered for sale at the British Museum?

[1] "Ἡ παλαια και ἡ καινη Διαθηκη. Vetus et Novum Testamentum ex antiquissimo Codice Vaticano. Edidit Angelus Maius, S. R. E. Card. Romæ MDCCCLVII. apud Josephum Spithöver." 5 vols. 4to. (vol. 5, the N. Test.).

thus: — "De Johannæi testimonii authentiâ non disputo, quia jamdiu sacri critici omnia pro hac veritate argumenta protulerunt. Ceteroquin discipuli testimonio non indigemus, qui magistri voce satis erudimur, *baptizate in nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti.*"

Before this edition itself appeared, a prospectus was issued in 1857, which is now prefixed to the preface[1] of the published work. "It assumes the form of a letter from *Carolus Vercellone, sodalis Barnabites,* dated *Romæ . . .* IV. *kal. Julias,* MDCCCLVII., and gives a detailed account of the method in which the 'edition' has been prepared. This, as Vercellone naïvely remarks, was 'strange and almost incredible,' and others will, probably, extend to the whole work the wonder which he reserves for the manner in which it was first undertaken. It appears that in the year 1828, . . . Angelo Mai, although 'involved in other countless cares and duties, resolved to print an edition of the Greek Bible according to the authority of the Vatican MS., to satisfy the wishes of the learned, and remove an occasion of cavils (*calumniarum*).' Whether he was justified in undertaking such a work, when he could only bestow upon it 'stolen hours,' those who have laboured upon Greek MSS. may decide. However this may be, the five volumes were printed in 1838. But after this was done, the editor became aware, it is said, that his edition was inaccurate (*non satis accurata*). Nor was this to be wondered at. He gave the printers nothing more than '*a fair copy of the Sixtine text;*' and then introduced *into the proof sheets the various readings of the MS.* The sheets were then returned to the printer, 'by whom the readings of the MS. added by a pen were placed in the text, or at least in the margin' (*a quo* sc. *librario, codicis lectiones ibidem calamo adscriptæ in textum aut saltem in marginales notas referebantur*). Hence arose a natural confusion between the printed and written texts, which rendered an entire revision of the work absolutely necessary. For this purpose 'an excellent reader' was engaged, who read aloud Mai's printed text, while the editor himself followed the MS. carefully, and noted down in his own copy the errors which he detected. It is obvious that such a revision might leave much still uncorrected, and Vercellone admits, that in spite of all the care which was used, slight errors still remain (*nonnihil adhuc limandum superesse*). At any rate, the result proved the necessity of the collation. No less than a *hundred* pages were cancelled; and afterwards when Vercellone undertook the publication, the corrections and 'select passages' were compared with the MS. by Prof. Spezi, though Vercellone is silent as to the result of his labours. . . .

"The edition remained in this state printed and partially corrected at the death of Cardinal Mai in 1854. Fresh delays were interposed; but at length in the May of [1857] Cardinal Altieri, one of Mai's executors, entrusted the task of publishing it to Vercellone, who has at least discharged his office with zeal and despatch. But it were to

[1] In the Preface as found amongst Card. Mai's papers, he says that while the Pope was at Gaeta, he gave permission to him to publish the work. "Pius IX. quem Deus sospitem diu servet, in ipso Caietæ secessu, consulto etiam Aloisio Lambruschino Cardinali tunc Bibliothecario, mihi annuebat, ut editionem, si vellem, in lucem protraherem. Hæc aio tanquam historica."

be wished that the undertaking had been worthy of its object and its author. As it is, unless the execution be far better than the plan, the work will add something to the critic's stores, but nothing to the reputation of those who have directed it. . . . The method in which the work was undertaken almost precluded the possibility of final accuracy. . . . To the last, according to some, Cardinal Mai was 'alarmed by the difficulty of the task' which he had undertaken, and shrank from writing the Prolegomena, in which he intended, amongst other things, to vindicate the plan which he had followed."[1]

The actual work on its publication was found to be just what Vercellone's anticipative statement had indicated. In every part, almost, want of any real editorial care was manifest. At the end of the New Testament was subjoined a list of places in which Birch's collation was said to be incorrect; but this list is itself by no means accurate either in what it states, or in what it does not indicate. The editor informs us, that Cardinal Mai was so little satisfied with the work that he projected a more correct and less magnificent edition of the New Testament, the appearance of which he promises[2], or at least gives reason to expect (tom. v. 499.).

But though the edition of Mai was by no means what it ought to have been, there is no ground for supposing that the text was ever *purposely* altered without intimation being given; although from the peculiar mode adopted in the preparation, readings of the common text stand as if they were so found in the Vatican MS. itself. It is a *contribution*, and nothing more, to our acquaintance with the Vatican readings. By means of the published collations — that made for Bentley, and that of Birch — and the unpublished collation of Bartolocci, and the notes of Rulotta, we are able to check the work of Mai; and this, too, enables us frequently to form a judgment between the collators where they differ from one another. Even if we had not the opportunity of comparing the marginal notes in this edition which relate to the corrections by various hands with those of Rulotta, we might feel pretty confident that the person employed by Mai had *repeatedly* taken the older writing for the more recent, and vice versâ; and that the older readings much oftener remain unnoticed. For in the Book of Acts, where an older and a later notation of sections is found, the *later* alone is given, while the earlier is only referred to in the Preface, as having been accidentally omitted.

The second *Roman* edition[3] of the Vatican text of the New Testa-

[1] The Rev. Brooke Foss Westcott, in the Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology, No. xi. Cambridge, 1858.

[2] There was a reprint published in London of the New Testament of Card. Mai's edition; this would have had much value, if the comparison had been given of the previous collations of the Vatican MS.; but those by whom it was planned did not think fit to delay their reprint or to be at the trouble of adding what would have been useful. As it is, this reprint has no recommendation except in its lower price, and in that and in every other respect, it may be considered to be superseded by the second Roman edition of 1859. It is not for the furtherance of Biblical studies when hurried reprints are issued just to meet the market, when the smallest delay and hardly any expense, would ensure to an edition a permanent value.

[3] "Ἡ καινη Διαθηκη. Novum Testamentum ex Vetustissimo codice Vaticano secundis curis editum Studio Angeli Maii, S. R. E. Card. Romæ, anno MDCCCLIX. apud Josephum Spithöver."

ment appeared in an 8vo. volume in 1859. This too was edited by Vercellone, who, however, seems to intimate that it was completed at press before Mai's death.[1] It is then at least strange that the many corrections furnished by this second edition did not appear in the table of errata to the fifth volume of the former.

In comparing this edition, and that which preceded it, with Bentley, Birch, Bartolocci and Rulotta, it is abundantly evident how much more accurate is this than the former, and how much more carefully the readings of the earlier and the later hands are distinguished. At times, indeed, by oversight apparently, corrections and notes previously given are here omitted, but such cases are rare, and this edition, though not immaculate, is far freer from misprints. For convenience of reference to the MS. itself, the pagination of the archetype is given throughout in the margin. Such omissions as the older notation in the Acts of the Apostles are here supplied. And in the preface it is distinctly promised that every facility would be given to the undertaking of a fac-simile edition of the MS. itself; an object *still* most desirable, and in no degree rendered needless by the appearance of the two printed editions professedly following its text. In the second edition words and sentences not in the Vatican MS. have been supplied between obelisks, an arrangement which has evidently in some places led to confusion.[2]

In Cardinal Mai's larger edition is given a fac-simile of a whole page of the Old Testament and of one column of the New; the former of these exhibits the accents, &c., as added by a later hand, which are not inserted in the other; but in each of them the letters appear to be drawn with too coarse a stroke.

T. Codex Borgianus (p. 180.).

The Borgian fragments at Rome, besides the leaves edited by Giorgi which contain part of St. John, comprise also a portion of

[1] De nova paranda editione cogitare cœpit, sed morte præoccupatus nonnisi Novum Testamentum secundis curis recognitum typis impressum reliquit." (Præf. p. iii.) Perhaps however, Vercellone only means that the printing had been *begun* prior to Mai's death: in fact, the first four sheets of the book are printed *in whole sheets*, while the rest of the book is printed *in half sheets*, one of which is folded inside the other; this *may* point out where there was a break in the printing.

[2] There has recently appeared, "Ἡ καινὴ Διαθήκη. The Greek Testament, from Cardinal Mai's edition of the Vatican Bible, with notes chiefly philological and exegetical; a harmony of the Gospels, chronological table, &c., by Robert Ornsby, M.A., Professor of Greek and Latin Literature in the Catholic University of Ireland, and formerly Fellow of Trinity College Oxford," Dublin, 1860. This edition is preceded by a "Letter of Approbation" from Dr. Cullen, R. C. Archbp. of Dublin: it is based on the *first* of Card. Mai's editions, and its object is said to be to furnish "an edition of the Greek Testament with notes, such as can safely be placed in the hands of Catholic youth." The notes, which in general are but few and short, are often, as may be expected, devoted to the enforcement of the Tridentine dogmas; *e.g.* on Acts xiii. 2. "λειτουργούντων, *ministrantibus* Vulg., implies the divine service, of which the principal part consists in the oblation of the unbloody sacrifice of the new law." The additions made by Mai to the Vatican text are found in this edition, and also not a few passages are given in the inner margin, as they are read in some other Greek copies in accordance with the Vulgate. The editor has much more to say on 1 John v. 7. than Cardinal Mai had; after stating the difficulties of the case, and the paucity of authorities, he enunciates the conclusion that, "such difficulties . . . must always to us be sufficiently disposed of by the authority of the Council of Trent."

St. Luke's gospel, xxii. 20.—xxiii. 20. This fact is mentioned by Zoega in his "Catalogus Codicum Copticorum manuscriptorum qui in Museo Borgiano Velitris asservantur" (Romæ MDCCCX.), p. 184. On drawing the attention of Dean Alford to the existence of this portion of the MS. he saw that it was of importance to procure its readings, and he thus states the result: "My brother, Bradley H. Alford, B.A., scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, happening to be at Rome was fortunate to obtain permission to collate this ancient fragment, and has sent me the collation from which the readings are now first published." (Gr. Test. vol. i. ed. 4. Proleg. 108.) We thus know that T does *not* contain Luke xxii. 42, 43, either in Greek or in Thebaic.

The part of this MS. that was published by Giorgi had also been collated by Birch, who gives the result of his examination in his Variæ Lectiones; they differ occasionally; and it seems not unlikely that Giorgi may have made slight oversights in his transcript.

The fragments published by Woide may be regarded as parts of this *same* MS., and not merely as belonging to a similar document. For through oversight, it was omitted to be stated that Woide's Fragments do contain part of St. John (viii. 33—42.), and this follows on from the last leaf of the Borgian fragments; the concluding *Greek* text of which is answered by the *Thebaic* page of Woide. I had noted this in my copies of the respective books many years ago, though it slipped my memory when I wrote the above description. Professor Tischendorf has very properly pointed out my oversight.

R. Codex Nitriensis (pp. 183, 4.).

Professor Tischendorf's edition of the text of this MS. appeared in the beginning of 1857. He says of his work on it, "Investigandi labor haud exiguus erat, præsertim quum cœlum multo sæpius nubilum esset quam serenum; . . . nihilominus contigit ut exceptis paucis unius paginæ versibus, tantum non omnia legerem, nec nisi raro de vera codicis lectione aliqua dubitatio remaneret" (Proleg. xv.). It was in March, 1855, that Professor Tischendorf was engaged in reading and copying this manuscript, and as his whole stay in England was very limited, he seems to have been unable to give to this palimpsest as much *time* as was absolutely needful in order to obtain its readings with certainty; indeed it seems very doubtful if it *could* be read in London in all its parts, except in the *very clearest* light. In giving, therefore, a specification of certain places in which Prof. Tischendorf has edited the text without precise accuracy, it is not intended to detract from his labours, but simply to give the result of an examination made again, and that too in a better light. Luke i. 77. *αμαρτιων ημων* (not *αυτων*). v. 36. *καινω* | . . . *ιζεται· και* (and not *και* | . . . *ν. σχιζει· και*). viii. 5. *επι* (not *παρα*) before *την οδον*, 29 *φυλαττομενος* (and not *-σσ-*). x. 7. *εστιν is* found in the MS. after *αυτου* (written thus *εcTῑ*). xi. 12. thus in the MS. *δωσει αυτω· η* | *ει ωον αιτησει* | *thus* without even one letter absolutely illegible. 15. *ειπαν* (not *ειπον*); *o* is seen through the vellum from the other side under the *a*. 17. *επι οικον* (not *επ' οικ.*). xii. 48. *απ'* (not *παρ'*)

before *αυἱου*. 49. *επι** before *ἡν γην*. xv. 14. *ισχυρος***. xviii. 7. *μακροθυμῶ* (*i.e.* *-μων*) apparently. 10. *ὁ εἱς*. xix. 4. *προδραμων* (not *προσδρ.*). 48. *ηυρισκον*. xx. 42. *thus*, and *thus* divided *χν̄ υἱον δᾶδ ει | ναι · αυἱος γαρ |* (not *και αυἱος*). These points relate to readings which would be cited from the MS. There are a good many particulars in which the orthography and contractions might be corrected; also several places in which the defects of the MS. (at the beginnings or ends of lines for instance) might be more exactly given, or in which the notation of sections in the margin might be filled up. In several places the printed edition does not agree with the MS. as to the distribution of lines, and that too in passages of no *special* obscurity to the eye, so that in such places it seems as though there must have been some confusion in *printing* from Prof. Tischendorf's transcript. It is only those who have begun to have some experience in the execution of what are called fac-simile editions, who are at all aware of the new sources of error which are likely to exert their influence.[1]

[1] So great is the obligation to Professor Tischendorf on the part of all who value textual criticism, that it is specially a cause for regret to have in any way to *answer* any statements of his, or to show that he has made such statements under any misapprehension. But, in connection with these Nitrian Fragments and with what I mentioned above (p. 184.) as to my intention of publishing them, it is almost needful to speak of the attack made on me by Professor Tischendorf; this appeared prefixed to the third part of his Greek Testament (dated April, 1857), and it now is embodied in the Prolegomena (pp. cxvii. seq.). He appears to consider that I made a misstatement when I said that I had communicated to him my intention of publishing this palimpsest. He refers to the correspondence that passed between us when he was in England in March, 1855; and he quotes amongst other letters one from me dated March 31, in that year: "Il faut que je vous dis que le palimpseste dans le Mus. Brit. est le MS. que j'ai eu l'intention de publier il y a quelques années, comme je vous ai écrit en 1853." (!!) . . . To this he subjoins: "*Ad hæc ego nihil respondi.*" Now I make no pretence to infallibility, and I wrote that letter in the full belief that I had then (*and still have*), that in 1853 I did write to Professor Tischendorf, that finding that Mr. (now Dr.) Cureton was not going to publish the MS. I intended to do it: but, *if I had been mistaken*, surely Professor Tischendorf might have set me right, instead of abstaining from making any remark on my statement; he allowed me (if mistaken) to continue in my mistake, and in the belief that *he* agreed with me about the point of fact now disputed. It is true that to my letter of March 31, 1855, I had no *immediate* reply, but to the inquiry which is contained: "Vaudra-t-il mieux qu'il y aura ce MS. publié en deux éditions; la mienne separée, et la votre avec des autres monumens?" (to which he subjoins the words "ad hæc ego nihil respondi") I had a pretty long answer dated Leipzig, 2 Nov. 1855; and this I think that Professor Tischendorf must have forgotten; though as to my having written to him in 1853, or not, he says not a word: of course, therefore, I supposed that he assented to what I had said. Now even in the beginning of 1857 (Jan. 14.), Professor Tischendorf wrote to me about a great many subjects, and amongst others *about these very fragments*, about his forthcoming edition, and asking if I were also going to publish it; and yet not a word about any mistake or misstatement that I had made: indeed the *tone* was not that of one who had been misrepresented by me: in acknowledging a mistake that I had pointed out to him, he says in this letter: "Des erreurs de cette sorte nous rapellent bien que nous ne sommes pas infaillibles. La collation du même MS. [Codex Augiensis] faite de la main de votre fameux R. Bentley m'a prouvé la même chose. Reçevez encore mes remercimens d'avoir bien voulu m'indiquer la faute; *vous m'obligerez toujours de faire de même.*" It is a cause for surprise that *three months afterwards* the attack on me was written, and grounded on a letter of *two years anterior*. I first saw it at Geneva in July 1857, and I could only feel that some hallucination had come over his mind since the preceding January.

I might perhaps have given forth a detailed *answer* to what Prof. Tischendorf said about me in connexion with this MS. and the Codex Claromontanus; but Prof. Rilliat of Geneva and Prof. W. Dindorf of Leipsic assured me in the strongest manner that as far as the continent is concerned it was not called for. I hope that Prof. Tischendorf may see that I have not calumniated him, or spoken disparagingly of him, and that *even if* I made a mistake in what I said that I had written to him in 1853, he allowed me to remain in the supposition that he agreed with me as to its correctness. Those who profit so much by

Small Nitrian Fragments (p. 184.).

Tischendorf (who designates these fragments N^b) has given them a place in the same volume in which R. appeared: in his Greek New Testament he notes, that in the printed edition *και* (John xvi. 8.) is omitted before *ελθων*, though legible in the MS. He might have added that *περι* at the beginning of verse 9. is found in the MS.; and in verse 19. after *εγνω* there follows *ουν ο ις οτι η* (in the same line.) But the MS. requires a clear sky, and not one remarkably cloudy, if it is correctly read at all; and as the MS. is doubly a palimpsest, it is all the more difficult to decipher the *twice buried* Greek writing.

D (of the Epistles). Codex Claromontanus (p. 190—3.).

To this *history* (given p. 192.) of the printed edition of this MS., it may be proper now to add, that when my examination of every point in this MS. had been mentioned in writing to Tischendorf, he replied, July 25, 1849: — "Quant au Codex Claromontanus, j'ai bien depuis 1840 l'intention de le publier en grec et latin. J'en ai pris une copie bien exacte; j'en ai même parlé à plusieurs éditeurs mais rien n'est encore arreté. *Comment si nous le ferions ensemble?*" *And on this proposal I acted:* every correction of different hands noted by Tischendorf in his Greek New Testament of 1849, did I compare in the following year with the MS. itself; all variations were specially noted; and then I went over them at Leipsic, with his transcript and notes, marking out for him all variations and corrections. I executed the labour of all this; and the whole was put into his hands to use for the forthcoming edition, for which also I had made the fac-simile tracing of two pages. It was therefore rather surprising to see that I was blamed for mentioning that I had anything to do with this edition, my connection with which was first proposed by Tischendorf himself. To those who use the edition it may be a satisfaction to know that the immense number of corrections in the Greek text from various hands, have all been gone over by more than one collator of some experience; those too, who find that the citations from it in Tischendorf's Greek Testament of 1849 differ so often, may be glad to find that they were all compared, both with my collation of the MS., and with the MS. itself. It is satisfactory to know, that after this, Tischendorf recompared such points with the MS. at Paris. I had no means of knowing how much use Tischendorf made of my notes and papers, but they were communicated to him, and he had for weeks the full *opportunity* of using, not only my collations, but also the results of the comparison of our several collations of the same MSS. How useful such comparisons were *to me*, I must always thankfully avow. — [In page 192, last line of *text*, read "thoroughly *Western*."]

Prof. Tischendorf's services to sacred criticism can bear a great deal from him, though all unpleasant feeling should be deprecated. I wish to acknowledge in every proper time, manner, and place, the importance of what he has discovered and what he has executed.

Later Uncial MSS. of special importance (p. 194.).

Amongst these documents a very high place belongs to the fragments (Ξ) to which attention has been but recently directed, of which some account may thus be given: —

Ξ. Codex Zacynthius.

On the 11th of August, 1858, I received a letter from Dr. Paul de Lagarde of Berlin, informing me that a Palimpsest MS., hitherto unused, containing a considerable portion of St. Luke's Gospel, with a Catena, was in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

After a little more correspondence with Dr. de Lagarde, and with the officers of the Institution, I went to London, and inspected the MS., which is noted in the Catalogue, and on the back, "24, *Greek Evangelisterium. Parchment*" (regard being had in this to the *later writing only*). It had been (I found) brought to Dr. de Lagarde's notice by Mr. Knolleke, one of the Foreign Secretaries of the Society. Even on a cursory examination, the value of the MS. appeared to be great; but as in many parts it was illegible, except in a very good light, and as it would take a considerable time to decipher the Biblical portion, I made application to the Committee, through the Rev. John Mee, one of the Secretaries, for permission to use the MS. at my own abode. This was kindly granted me, and thus I have been able to collate the MS., and to prepare the portion containing the text of St. Luke for publication, with a fac-simile of the entire page, text and catena.[1]

The book in its present form is of a quarto or small folio size (the leaves measure 11 by 7 inches), and consists of 176 folios (to which I have affixed *Arabic* numbers, as there was previously no pagination), folded in twenty-two quires, each of which is marked in Greek numerals, on the upper corner of the first page. The later writing is a Greek Lectionary from the Four Gospels, and belongs, I suppose, to the thirteenth century. The vellum is generally coarse, and a few of the leaves are torn.

In the beginning there is a piece of paper stuck inside the cover, with this writing, Μνημόσυνον σεβάσματος τοῦ Ἱππέος Ἀντωνίε Κόμητος. 1820. (*sic.*) Then, below in pencil, "*Il Principe Comuto, Zante.*" Then in ink, "*Presented by General Macaulay, November* 6, 1821." This MS. seems, therefore, to have been given in 1820 to the late General Macaulay (brother of the late Zachary Macaulay, uncle therefore of the late Lord Macaulay), when he visited Zante to investigate the condition of slavery in that and other of the Greek islands, and to have been transferred by him in the following year to its present possessors. There is, I suppose, no trace of its history prior to its having been then in Zante.

[1] The MS. has been returned to the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society for more than a year.

The older writing must have been part of a volume of large folio size (14 by 11 inches); for the leaves are now folded across, the later writing running the other way; it consists of eighty-six leaves, and three half leaves, two of which are *sewn together* to make part of one of the modern quires, and one folio of the later writing (173) is supplied by paper. These leaves are of course now intermixed; but for convenience sake, if ever the book is bound with reference to the ancient writing, I have marked the folios *with Roman numerals* from i. to lxxxix. Folio i. begins with (apparently) part of a prologue to the Catena, accompanying the text Χρῆδετὸν ἐντύγχανοντατῇδε . . . ending in line 21, τανοημαται. The verso of that leaf, and folio ii., contain the κεφάλαια of St. Luke's Gospel. The TEXT of large portions of St. Luke, from the beginning of the Gospel to chap. xi. 33, is accompanied by *large* Patristic extracts, occupying often the greater part, and at times, the whole of the page. The *Text* is in round full well-formed Uncial letters, such as I should have had no difficulty in ascribing to the *sixth* century, were it not that the Catena of the same age has the round letters (ϵΘOC) so *cramped* as to make me believe that it belongs to the *eighth* century.

There are several notations of *sections* in the book; the ordinary κεφάλαια or τίτλοι (with the heading either at the top of the page or directly above the text), also *numbers* which appear to refer to sections in the Catena: these run up to 100 ($\bar{\rho}$), and then begin again; and besides these, this MS., contains also the *same chapters as the Vatican* MS. *similarly numbered.* This notation is sometimes in the margin in large Greek letters, and sometimes close to the text, and occasionally in both places. To this Vatican notation there is commonly prefixed the letter Ψ, large and formed like a cross. The only other document in which I have ever seen this *Capitulatio Vaticana* is the Vatican Codex itself; nor do I know of its being found elsewhere. It is at least a peculiar feature in this palimpsest. Occasionally the same portion of Scripture occurs more than once, when accompanied by a different Patristic extract.

As a specimen of the *readings* of Ξ, I will give those differing from the common text of the beginning of St. Luke's gospel as far as chap. ii. 4., being the portion in which I was made acquainted with this palimpsest too late for me to give the references to Ξ in my Greek Testament. I add in each case a reference to a few of the more important MSS. with which Ξ accords in the readings cited. Luke i. 5. *om.* του before βασιλ. [BRL] *om.* ἡ before γυνη [BCD] γυν. αυτῳ [BCDL]. 7. ην ἡ Ελισ. [(B)DL]. (*lacuna* ver. 10-18 *fin.*) 20. πλησθησονται [D]. 21. εν τῳ ναῳ αυτου [BL]. (*lacuna* ver. 24-27 ανδρι). 28. *om.* ὁ αγγελος [BL]. (*lacuna* ver. 28 ειπεν—Μη φοβ. ver. 30. & ver. 33 *init.*—35 *fin.*). 36. συνειληφεν [BL].—γηρει [ABCDL]. 37. του θεου [BDL], 41. τον ασπ. της Μαρ. ἡ Ελισ. [BC*DL]. 42. κραυγη μεγ. [BL]. 44. εν αγαλλ. το βρεφ. (*as rec.* with BC*DL). 50. εις γενεας και γενεας [BC*L]. 56. ὡς μηνας [BL]. 59. τῃ ἡμ. τῃ ογδ. [BCDL]. 61. ειπαν [DL]. 61. εκ της συγγενειας [ABC*L]. 62. οτι αν θελοι. 63. *om.* το before ονομα [B*L]. 66 ταις καρδιαις [DL]. (*lacuna* ver. 66. και χειρ—

77 *init.*). chap. ii. 1. *om.* δε [A].—του απογραφ. [L]. 2. Κυρηνου *ut vid.* 3. ἑαυτου πολιν [BDL]. 4. Ναζαρετ [BL].

These examples will suffice to show those who have any acquaintance with Biblical Criticism what is the character of the readings of Ξ, and how great the affinity which it bears to the *very best* codices. It sustains the same character *throughout*, as will be seen when its readings are examined.[1]

The MS. is often very difficult to read, but I believe that by examining in different lights, and using every clear day for about *four months*, I have at last succeeded in reading and noting every letter in the text of St. Luke: in the atmosphere of London, there is much that I could never, I believe, have read. No chemical means have been taken for restoring the ancient writing: if this step be needful, the parts requiring it most are those nearly buried in the binding; perhaps the smaller Patristic writing will not be all read without such restoration.

The following nine Ecclesiastical writers are cited by name at the head of the pages, as the authors of the extracts in the Catena:—"The Holy John [CHRYSOSTOM] Bp. of Constantinople," *four times.* ORIGEN, *eight times.* EUSEBIUS, *once.* "ISIDORE, Presbyter, of Pelusium," *once.* "VICTOR, Presbyter," *twice.* "The Holy BASIL," *three times.* "The Holy CYRIL," *thirty-nine times.* "The Holy TITUS," *nineteen times.* "The Holy SEVERUS, Abp. of Antioch," *five times.* The mode in which the scribe has designated these writers may indicate his Ecclesiastical connections. A later hand seems to have deleted with some care the name of *Severus.* I have noticed extracts from Cyril of Alexander in Ξ identical (though with better readings) with some of those published by Cardinal Mai, in his *Bibliotheca Nova Patrum*, vol. ii., and with the Syriac version of the Homilies of Cyril, recently edited from the Nitrian MSS., by the Rev. Robert Payne Smith of the Bodleian Library. Some of the pages of Ξ are marked εξ ἀνεπιγραφοῦ; others have no indication of the author of the citation; in such cases there appears to be simply a continuation of the previous quotation: of three folios only the *lower* half is contained in Ξ. I do not know of any MS. of equal antiquity accompanied by a Catena; in many respects this most valuable palimpsest is worthy of special attention: it is remarkable that it had remained in this country for nearly forty years unread and unused.[2]

The Moscow fragment, mentioned above p. 204., may be compared with Ξ: both MSS. are in uncial letters accompanied by a Catena; though Ξ differs in having the Catena also in uncial letters.

[1] They are inserted in Dean Alford's Gr. Test. vol. i. ed. 4., as well as in the forthcoming part of my Gr. Test.

[2] Besides the *collation* of this MS. I have prepared the text for a fac-simile edition, all of which is now in type, so that it is nearly ready for publication. Codex Zacynthius (Ξ): containing parts of St. Luke's Gospel, deciphered, transcribed, and edited, line for line, with the Palimpsest fragments, by S. P. Tregelles, LL.D. with a lithographed fac-simile of the text and catena of an entire page. Printed with the Alexandrian types, kindly lent for the purpose, by the trustees of the British Museum. London: Samuel Bagster and Sons 15 Paternoster Row.

But in goodness and character of text they are remarkably alike, indeed it is extraordinary that so small a portion of text as the Moscow fragments, should exhibit so many excellent readings as those found in John xx. Mathæi's edition of these fragments is contained in the vol. of his larger Greek Testament containing the Epistles to the Thessalonians and to Timothy (Riga, 1785) pp. 258—260. The fac-simile appeared in the volume containing the Apocalypse.[1]

From these fragments of different ages, and from X of a still later age, it seems as if there were grounds for believing that in certain MSS. with Catenæ, the older readings—readings found in documents more ancient even than the writers cited in such Catenæ—were preserved in such documents even where in general they had ceased to be common. For all study connected with Catenæ the uncial Catena in Ξ appears to stand alone.

F. Codex Augiensis (pp. 197—9.).

The text both Greek and Latin of this valuable MS. has now been published by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener, with a photographed fac-simile of one page, and a comparison of the readings of the Greek text of the Codex Boernerianus at the foot of each page.[2] As this is one of the most valuable and important Biblical MSS. which we possess in this country, Mr. Scrivener has rendered good service by thus making its text accessible letter for letter; the ordinary Greek and Latin types are used, and Mr. Scrivener seems to have taken the utmost care to ensure the accuracy of his work.

The marginal note in this MS. referred to above (p. 198. *foot note*) in which Tischendorf read "Cumianus *Rabani,*" but which Mr. Hort cites as "Cumianus *Fota in,*" is given by Mr. Scrivener (p. xxv. note 2) "Cumianus *habet in.*"

Γ and Λ of the Gospels (p. 203.).

These MSS. brought to Europe by Tischendorf are now added to the stores of the Bodleian Library. The *occasional* occurrence of the postscribed iota in Λ may be noticed as a *fact* rare enough in uncial Biblical documents: in Δ this is sometimes found, and *once* I noticed it in U.

Θ. Fragmentum Tischendorfianum (p. 204.).

Two very small pieces of this MS. were also obtained by Tischendorf in 1853; they contain together *ten lines*; see Anecdota Sacra, p. 12. No. 3., and Monumenta Sacra, vol. ii. (1857) p. xxxvi., where the text is given, p. 321.

[1] The Moscow Fragments will be added, I intend, to my edition of Ξ.

[2] An exact transcript of the Codex Augiensis, a Græco-Latin Manuscript of St. Paul's Epistles, deposited in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge. To which is added a full collection of fifty manuscripts, containing various portions of the Greek New Testament in the libraries of Parham, Leicester, Oxford, Lambeth, the British Museum, &c., with a critical Introduction by the Rev. Frederick Henry Scrivener, M.A. Cambridge, 1859.

B OF THE APOCALYPSE (p. 206.).

This MS. is used by Cardinal Mai for the text of the Book of Revelation in his edition of the New Testament from the Vatican MS.

CODEX LEICESTRENSIS (p. 210—11.).

This MS. is one of those the collation of which throughout has been given with great care by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener in his volume which contains the Codex Augiensis. There is also a facsimile of part of a page, and a very good and clear description of the MS. itself.

38. OF THE APOCALYPSE (p. 211.).

The readings of this MS. may now be known as much more certain than they were through Birch's collation; for Mr. Bradley H. Alford collated it at Rome in 1859, and to his brother, the Dean of Canterbury, I am indebted for the use of the collation so made.

CODEX TISCHENDORFII ACTORUM (p. 211.).

A collation of this excellent MS. is given by Mr. Scrivener, who quite agrees with me as to the need that existed for a revision of that which Tischendorf had published in his *Anecdota*. Mr. Scrivener points out that its date is really 1044; it is expressed in the MS. thus $\bar{\varsigma}$ $\phi\bar{\nu}\beta$, but the stroke between ν and β should not be taken for iota, and thus we obtain 6552 = A.D. 1044; the number of the indiction being 12 for that year (as stated in the subscription) is decisive against 1054, when the indiction was 7 as Mr. Scrivener has shown. He bears a high testimony to the value of this MS. "This copy contains only the Acts of the Apostles in a mutilated condition, but it is unquestionably the most valuable cursive MS. of that book yet known." I ought to have pointed out above that this MS., if it did not once contain the Catholic Epistles as a collection, had at least that of James; for the κεφαλαια of that epistle are on a leaf evidently part of the MS. itself, which was loose when it came to England the first time and was in my possession, but which now is bound into the volume in the British Museum. "61" may be conveniently used as the reference for this MS. as that number is now unappropriated, through Scrivener having identified the unknown MS. *Hal.* with 111 of the Acts (Cantab. Mm. 6, 9.); see his collations p. xxxvi.

Several other MSS. might be mentioned amongst the more valuable cursives; especially perhaps 157 (Urb. Vat. 2.) of the twelfth century: the Evangelisterium of the early part of the fourteenth century, in the British Museum (Burney, 22.), designated "y," by Scrivener, in his collation of the Gospels: Trin. Coll. Cant. B. x. 16., called "w" in his recent volume (of the early part of the fourteenth century also),

and a MS. at St. Petersburgh, called Pet. 2., by Muralt and Tischendorf (vi. 470, in the catalogue of the Imperial Library): the letters in which this MS. is written are described as upright, large, and simple cursives.

Codex Ottobonianus (p. 217. 356.).

From Mr. Bradley H. Alford, I learn that there is *nothing* written between the Latin and Greek columns, which in fact stand *near* together; no doubt that I was quite right in the *reading* which I gave (p. 356., *foot-note*) of part of what stands between the columns in the so-called fac-simile; but then these letters seem only to have sprung from the Greek tracing having been begun with the beginnings of the lines, though the paper was afterwards accidentally moved. What appears between the columns is only the commencement of each opposite Greek line.

The Curetonian Syriac Version (p. 267.).

The actual publication of this version by Dr. Cureton, in 1857, has made its text accessible to all who can read Syriac, or even to those who know how to use a literal construing of the text. Its value has been owned by some; while others have depreciated it, and that on the ground especially of not knowing what it is. Thus some reviewers of more zeal than knowledge, and with more pretension than either, laid hold of every mark of antiquity which the Curetonian Syriac displays, as though they disproved its value. Thus this version was stigmatized for omitting the name "Jesus," in Matt. i. 18. But so, according to the testimony of Irenæus it *ought* to be: that venerable Bishop of Lyons says expressly that the Holy Ghost wrote by Matthew *Christ* WITHOUT *Jesus*. Also in chap. v. verses 4 and 5 are transposed: — yes, and we know from the express testimony of Origen and the Eusebian Canons that this is the *right* order. And so we might go on with very many of the omissions or changes from what is found in the common Greek text in which the Curetonian Syriac upholds the readings which we know independently to be ancient; and thus the evidence for their authority is greatly strengthened.

The Curetonian Syriac will henceforth take its place as part of the necessary equipment of all who would enter on critical studies as to the text of the New Testament: those, too, who wish to study the *older* Syriac forms, and who prefer its earlier condition to that of about the tenth century, will find this version to be a valuable aid to them.

Now that the Curetonian Syriac is published, we are able to investigate more points relating to its history and origin. In such inquiries the information which Dr. Cureton has collected and communicated affords most valuable aid.

Thus *this* version was known to the Syriac writer Bar Salibi, Bp. of Amida in the twelfth century; for he mentions peculiarities in its

reading of so marked a kind as almost absolutely to identify the version of which he was speaking with this translation; and when the twofold coincidence of the passage is considered, the identification must be felt as certain. For Bar Salibi speaks of a version in Syriac in which in Matt. i. 8. the three kings (Ahaziah, Joash, and Amaziah) are *inserted;* so there they are in the Curetonian Syriac; this *might* be a mere coincidence, but still the identification would be *probable.* But Bar Salibi goes on to say that though these three kings are inserted in the genealogy, there are afterwards *fourteen* and not seventeen generations specified: here then, there is an inconsistency; and just as Bar Salibi read seven hundred years ago, so do we now. And this twofold accordance has an identifying character: for it is not a mere coincidence of a few cited words, but it is identity in characteristic readings, and that, too, in points which would be hardly likely to be found in the same document.

It has been already noticed (p. 269.) that in St. Matthew's Gospel there are linguistic differences from the others. When this is connected with another part of Bar Salibi's testimony, we find that it has a bearing on a very important and interesting inquiry. For that learned Bishop of Amida says that *this* St. Matthew is "a Syriac copy made from the Hebrew" so that it is at once suggested that the Curetonian text was really formed from the Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic in which the apostle himself wrote. Even if this be not admitted as a proved fact, it is at least certain that this version was that which the Syriac scholars themselves identified with one formed from St. Matthew's own Hebrew. The student may find much to support this opinion from the examination of the version itself.

If we wish at all to consider the relation which the Syriac St. Matthew bore to the Hebrew or Aramæan, it is illustrated by comparing the Chaldee portions of Daniel and Ezra, with the Syriac version of the Old Testament. The verbal identity might often be striking, but accompanied with frequent variation of terms. In Matt. vi. 11., we know from Jerome, that the Hebrew St. Matthew had מחר where the Greek has *ἐπιούσιον.* We do *not* find that word here, but we read ܐܡܝܢܐ ܕܝܘܡܐ "CONSTANT of the day,"—(combining *σήμερον* at the end of the verse.) This might have sprung from the interpretation given to מחר "morrow by morrow," and it may be illustrated by Old Testament passages. Those who think that *if* this version had been made from St. Matthew's Hebrew, we *ought* to find מחר here, forget that a translation is not a verbal transfusion.

Gothic Version. Codex Argenteus (p. 301. *seq.*).

In Uppström's edition of this precious MS., there is a note at Mark i. 20., informing the reader that *ten leaves* are not edited by him from the MS. itself, but from the older editions; the reason of this being, that when the Codex was examined in 1834, by Loebe, it was found that these ten leaves had been abstracted; in 1821 this defect did not exist. In Sweden it was industriously circulated that

the theft had been committed by some Englishman, and under this unpleasant imputation English scholars were laid in that country, though without any evidence, or, indeed, any suggestion *who* the thief had been, or in what part of the fourteen years it was committed.

It is therefore satisfactory to know that the ten leaves have been found, and that too in Sweden. The thief, on his death-bed, took means for putting the ten leaves into Uppström's hands; so that he has since (1857) published them in the same form as his edition, in order that they may be inserted in their places. In reading the whole account as published now by Uppström, no doubt can remain that this Swedish abstractor was himself the inventor of the story by which he charged his own dishonesty on one of our countrymen. They are now restored to their place in the MS. at Upsal. Uppström gives a painful account of his intercourse with this anonymous Swede. "Piget singula referre, quæ quærenti mihi respondebat, præsertim quam maximam partem ejusmodi sint, ut potius ad occultandam veritatem quam ad patefaciendam excogitata et dicta esse videantur. . . . Deus, cui jam vitæ rationem reddidit, scit quid vere, quid falso dixerit; ego vero opinor, hæc folia ab hoc homine ante hos quinque fere et viginti annos furto ablata fuisse, qua opinione quum me esse profiteor, non possum non habere gratiam ei, etiam mortuo, quod mihi tandem illa reddidit, quæ nullo quoque negotio in omnem posteritatem abolere potuisset, et quamquam facinus ejus abhorreo et detestor, ex intimo tamen corde optavi et opto, ut summus ille rerum opifex potius se clementem quam severum judicem ei præbuerit." (Præfat. II. p. v.)

POSTSCRIPT, Nov. 1, 1860.

Notitia editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II. susceptæ. . . . . Edidit Ænoth. Frid. Const. Tischendorf, &c. &c. &c. (4to, pp. 124. Leipsic, 1860.)

THIS descriptive account of the Codex Sinaiticus is of sufficient importance to demand a special notice. Professor Tischendorf gives the history of the discovery of the document, its transmission to St. Petersburg, his own preparations for the publication of its text, together with specimens of its readings, the entire text of certain pages, and a beautifully executed fac-simile. Other codices are also described in the same volume.

The portion of this same MS., containing part of the Old Testament, which Tischendorf procured on his first visit to the monastery of St. Catharine, in May, 1844, was part of that which was found (he states) in a basket with other fragments, destined for the fire by the monks. At the time when he published this part (Codex Friderico-Augustanus) in 1846, and for some years after, he declined to mention *where* it had been found; and once, when conversing on the subject, he said that more still remained, which might at a future time be obtained, if the subject was not too much discussed. However, in 1844, Tischendorf *saw* a great deal more of the same MS. than the part which he obtained; and though he was unable then to procure the rest, he rendered the good service of preserving from destruction the remainder of this precious MS.

When, in 1853, he again visited Mount Sinai, he could, however, neither see the rest of the MS., nor could he find what had become of it. His conjecture was that it had been taken to some part of Europe. And it was not unreasonable that this should have been supposed; for, in 1846, the Russian Archimandrite Porphyrius appears to have seen the same MS., and to have observed especially the New Testament portion of it, and to have noted the character of the text, though the published account of this did not appear till 1856. And a little later, perhaps, Major Macdonald described a very ancient MS. which he had seen at Mount Sinai, containing the New Testament in early uncial characters, which he stated distinctly to be attributed to the 4th century. Major Macdonald also mentioned the manner in which the monks destroyed by fire ancient MSS.

In the early part of 1859, Tischendorf was at Mount Sinai for the third time, having been commissioned by the Russian Emperor, Alexander II., to search out and obtain ancient Greek and Oriental MSS. At this time, he evidently had no idea that the ancient MS., of which he obtained a portion in 1844, comprised any part of the New Testament.

He thus describes his discovery:—

"On the last day of the month of January [1859], I arrived at the monastery of St. Catharine for the third time, and was most kindly received by the Sinaitic brethren. On the 4th of February, when I had already sent one of the servants to fetch camels with which on the 7th, I might return to Egypt, while taking a walk with the steward of the monastery, I was conversing on the subject of the Septuagint version, some copies of which, as edited by me, together with copies of my New Testament, I had brought for the brethren. On our return from the walk, we entered the steward's dormitory. He said that he, too, had there a copy of the Septuagint, and he placed before my eyes the cloth in which it was wrapped. I opened the cloth, and saw what far surpassed all my hopes; for there were there contained very ample remains of the Codex which I had a good while before declared to be the most ancient of all Greek Codices on vellum that are extant; and amongst these relics, I saw existing not only those that I had taken from the basket in 1844, and other books of the Old Testament, but also (and this is of the highest importance) the whole New Testament, without even the smallest defect, and to this were added the whole of the Epistle of Barnabas, and the former part of the Shepherd [Hermas]. It was impossible for me to conceal the admiration which this caused." (p. 6.)

He might well speak as he does of the thanksgiving to God which he felt was called for by this discovery, when he examined the MS. in his own chamber, and was thus *fully* aware of its importance and its contents. All the leaves were loose,—many of them were torn into separate parts,—but, when arranged, there was the New Testament complete, and much of the Old. The monks consented that Tischendorf should be allowed to transcribe the MS. at Cairo, if their Superior, resident in that city, should consent. On the 7th of February he left Mount Sinai, reaching Cairo on the 13th; no time was lost in obtaining the permission of the Superior; a messenger was sent to Mount Sinai, who went the whole distance there and back in nine days, returning on Feb. 24th with the MS. At Cairo he transcribed the MS. for publication. After various negotiations, the MS. was put into the hands of Tischendorf, Sept. 28. 1859, to be presented to the Emperor Alexander II.

The fac-simile edition, executed (it is designed) with the utmost care, is intended to appear in 1862, not for sale, but only as presents in such quarters as the Emperor may think proper. Another edition of the text, in common types, is to be published in the usual manner.

The portion of the MS. thus recovered consists of 345 leaves and a half. Of these 199 are of the Old Testament (and Apocrypha), the remaining 147 and a half of the New Testament, with Barnabas and part of Hermas. The Old Testament part contains a portion of the 1st of Chronicles, the whole of Isaiah, part of Jeremiah, the minor prophets (except Hosea, Amos, and Micah), Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Canticles; together with the apocryphal books, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, 1st and 4th of Maccabees, and part of Tobit and Judith.

The order of the New Testament books is, the four Gospels, St. Paul's Epistles (Hebrews preceding the Pastoral Epistles), the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, Revelation. Then follow the Epistle of Barnabas, and (after a lacuna of four leaves) the fragment of Hermas.

The antiquity of the MS. is determined by the application of the same kind of palæographical arguments as have been used in connection with other MSS., especially the Codex Vaticanus. In fact, the fourth century may be considered as the date previously established as belonging to the previously known portion of this MS.

But besides the antiquity of the actual ink and vellum of the Codex, the antiquity and character of the *text* is a subject of important consideration. And here *comparative criticism* comes to our aid; and this mode of investigation we can apply to this MS. even now, before we know its readings throughout, from the *specimens* of its readings which Tischendorf has now published. These, in the New Testament, comprise the text of Matt. xxvii. 64—xxviii. 20.; Mark i. 1—35.; John xxi. 1—25.; 2 Cor. xi. 32—xiii. fin.; Gal. i. 1—17.; 2 Thess. ii. 17—iii. fin.; Heb. i. 1—7.; Acts xxviii. 17—31.; James i. 1—ii. 6.; Rev. ix. 5—x. 8., and the concluding verses of chap. xxii. And besides these portions of text, he has given specimens of the readings in various books, and a fac-simile of the upper part of the last page of St. Luke. An investigation carried on upon principles of comparative criticism has the advantage of establishing the point discussed as a matter of demonstration, and not as a mere question of opinion. The value of this will be felt, when it is remembered that some of late have sought to disparage the Vatican MS. by admitting that it does belong to the fourth century, and then alleging that to that very age pertained the formation of what I have termed *the transition text*, in which the gospels were assimilated, and what belonged to one writer was introduced into the work of another. This mode of undervaluing the Vatican MS., or any other, is completely and conclusively met, when it is shown that such most ancient documents *contradict* the transition or mixed text in all the more characteristic points of detail.

To form therefore an estimate of the Codex Sinaiticus I shall give a selection from its readings, noting the leading authorities which accord with it. Tischendorf designates this MS. as ℵ (and not as Σ, which it was thought might have probably been taken as its letter of reference); as ℵ therefore I shall cite some of its

readings. The other abbreviations and letters of reference will be those commonly used in critical works, and it will be remembered that in a portion of St. Luke's Gospel Ξ is the Codex Zacynthius.

Matt. i. 5. Βοες ℵB. *k.* Memph. Theb. *ib.* Ιωβηδ ℵBC*Δ. (33.) Memph. Theb. Æth. Ver. 6. om. ὁ *βασιλευς* ℵB. 1. *For.* $g^{1.\ 2.}$ *k.* Syrr. Crt. & Pst. Memph. Theb. Arm. Ver. 18. *γενεσις* ℵBCPZΔ. 1. S. Syr. Hcl. *Eus. ib.* om. *γαρ* ℵBC*Z. 1. Vulg. *a. b. c. f.* $ff^{1.}$ Syrr. Crt. Pst. & Hcl. Memph. Theb. Arm. *Iren.* 204. Ver. 19. *δεινγματισαι* ℵ**BZ. 1. *Eus.* Ver. 25. *υἱον* (not *τον υἱον αυτης τον πρωτοτοκον*) ℵBZ. 1. 33. *a. b. c.* $g^{1.}$ *k.* Syr. Crt. ii. 3. ὁ *βασιλευς* Ἡρωδης ℵBDZ. 1. *b. c. k.* Memph. *Eus.* Ver. 17. *δια* Ἱερεμ. ℵBCDZ. 33. Vulg. *a. b. c. f.* $ff^{1.}$ Syrr. Pst. & Hcl. (txt.) Arm. Æth. *Just.* Ver. 18. om. *θρηνος και* ℵBZ. 1. Latt. Syr. Pst. Syr. Hier. Memph. Theb. Æth. *Just.* Ver. 21. *εισηλθεν* ℵBC Memph. iii. 2. om. *και* ℵB. $g^{2.}$ Memph. Theb. Æth. *Hil.* Ver. 7. *αυτου* om. ℵB. Theb. *Orig. ter.* Ver. 11. *ὑμας βαπτιζω* ℵB. 1. 33. *Am.* $ff^{1.}$ $g^{2.}$ *m. Just. Cypr.* Ver. 16. *βαπτισθεις δε* ℵBC* (P *ut vid.*) Vulg. $ff^{1.}$ *l.* Syr. Pst. Memph. Theb. *ib. ευθυς ανεβη* ℵB[D]. 1. Vulg. *a. b. c. f.* $ff^{1.}$ $g^{1.}$ *l.* Syrr. Crt. & Pst. Memph. Theb. Æth. *Hipp. Hil. ib.* om. *και* (before *ερχομ.*) ℵ*B. *Am. For. Tol. Harl.** *a. b. c.* $g^{2.}$ *h.* Memph. *Hil.* iv. 3. *προσελθων* (without *αυτῳ*) ℵB. 1. 33. Vulg. $ff^{1.}$ *l.* Syr. Pst. Memph. Arm. Æth. *ib. ειπεν αυτῳ* ℵBD. 1. 33. Vulg. *a. b. c.* $ff^{1.}$ $g^{1.\ 2.}$ *h. l.* Syrr. Crt. & Pst. Memph. Arm. Æth. v. 11. om. *ῥημα* ℵBD. Latt. Syr. Hier. Memph. Æth. *Hil. Lucif.* Ver. 13. *βληθεν εξω καταπατεισθαι* ℵBC (*sic*, not D. as in Tischendorf through misprint) 1. 33. Syr. Hcl. MS. *Orig.* Ver. 22. om. *εικη* ℵBΔ$^{2.}$ Vulg. Æth. *Orig.* bis. Ver. 30. *εις γεενναν απελθῃ* ℵB. 1. 33. Vulg. *a. b. c.* $ff^{1.}$ $g^{1.}$ *h. l.* Syr. Crt. Memph. Æth. Ver. 39. *ῥαπιζει* ℵB. 33. *ib. εις τ. δεξ.* ℵB. Ver. 42. *δος* ℵBD. *Clem.* Ver. 44. *εχθρους ὑμων* omitting what follows, ℵB. 1. (Latt.) Syr. Crt. Memph. *Iren. Orig.* (quinquies) *Eus. Cypr. Hil.* vi. 1. *προσεχετε δε* ℵZL. 1. 33. $g^{1.}$ Syrr. Pst. & Hcl. Memph. Æth. Ver. 12. *αφηκαμεν* ℵBZ. 1. *Fuld. For. Harl**. Syr. Pst. *Orig.* bis. Ver. 13. om. the doxology ℵBDZ. 1. Vulg. *a. b. c.* $ff^{1.}$ *h. l.* Memph. *Orig. Tert. Cypr.* Ver. 18. *κρυφαιῳ* ℵBD. 1. viii. 31. *αποστειλον ἡμας* ℵB. 1. 33. Vulg. *a. b. c. d.* $ff^{1.}$ $g^{1.}$ *l.* Syr. Hcl. mg. MS. Syr. Hier. Memph. Theb. Æth. ix. 19. *ηκολουθει* ℵCD. 33. Vulg. *a. b. c. ff*$^{1.}$ $g^{1.}$ *h. Hil.* Ver. 36. *ερριμμενοι* ℵB*CL. x. 3. *και Θαδδαιος* (om. rel.) ℵB. Vulg. *c.* $ff^{1.}$ $g^{2.}$ *l.* Memph. Theb. xi. 19. *των εργων αυτης* ℵB*, Codd. ap. Hier. *Schol. Græca.* Syrr. Pst. & Hcl. txt. Memph. Arm. MSS. Æth. xiii. 9. om. *ακουειν* ℵBL. *a. e.* $ff^{1.}$ *h. Tert.* Ver. 29. ὁ *δε φησιν* ℵBC. Vulg. *b. c. b.* $ff^{1.\ 2.}$ $g^{1.\ 2.}$ *h.* Syr. Hcl. mg. (MS.) Ver. 35. om. *κοσμου* ℵ**B. 1. *e.* Syr. Crt. Æth. *Orig. Eus.* Ver. 36. om. ὁ Ιησους ℵBD. 1. (Latt.) Syr. Crt. Memph. Æth. *Orig.* bis. *ib. διασαφησον* ℵB. *Orig.* xiv. 6. *γενεσιοις δε γενομενοις* ℵBDZL. Syrr. Crt. Pst. & Hcl. txt. Memph. Arm. Æth. xv. 8. om. *εγγιζει μοι & τῳ στοματι αυτων και* ℵBDL. 33. (Latt.) Syrr. Crt. & Pst. Memph. Arm. Æth. *Clem. Rom. Ptolem. Clem. Alex. Orig.* (diserte) sæpe. *Eus. Tert. Cypr. Hil.*

Mark i. 2. *καθως* ℵBLΔ. 1. 33. K. *Orig.* ter. *ib. εν τῳ Ἡσαιᾳ τῳ*

προφητη ℵB(D)LΔ. (1.) 33. Latt. Syrr. Pst. & Hcl. mg. (*White.*) Syr. Hier. Memph. Goth. Arm. MSS. (*Iren.*) *Orig. ib.* εμπροσθεν σου om. ℵBDPLK. *Am. Fuld. Tol. a. b. c. l.* Syr. Pst. Syr. Hier. Memph. *Schwartze.* Æth. *Iren. Orig.* (diserte). Ver. 4. ὁ βαπτιζων ℵBLΔ. 33. Ver. 6. και ην ℵBL. 33. Vulg. *b. d. ff*[1·] *g*[1·] Memph. (*Wilkins*). Ver. 11. εν σοι ℵBD *Gr.* LΔ. 1. 33. 69. Vulg. *a. c. ff*[2·] *g*[2·] *l.* Syrr. Pst. & Hcl. txt. Memph. (Schwartze). Goth. Arm. (Zohrab). Æth. Ver. 13. om. εκει ℵABDL. 33. Latt. Memph. Goth. Æth. *Orig.* Ver. 14. om. της βασιλειας ℵBL. 1. 33. 69. *b. c. ff*[2·] Syr. Hcl. ed. Memph. Arm. *Orig.* Ver. 16. και παραγων ℵBDL. 33. 69. Latt. (Syr. Hcl. mg.) Memph. Goth. Arm.

Luke i. 5. om. του before βασ. ℵBRLΞ. Ver. 25. ὁ κυριος. om. ὁ ℵCDL. 33. *ib.* om. το before ονειδος ℵB*DL. 1. Ver. 29. om. ιδουσα ℵBDLX. 1. Memph. (*Schwartze*). Theb. Arm. Ver. 37. παρα του θεου ℵ*BDLΞ. Ver. 66. και γαρ ℵBC*DL. (Latt.) Syr. Hcl. mg. Memph. Goth. Æth. ii. 14. ευδοκιας ℵ*AB*D. Latt. Goth. *Iren. Orig. Tert. Hil.* Ver. 33. ὁ πατηρ αυτου και ἡ μητηρ ℵBDL. 1. Vulg. *g*[2·] Syr. Hcl. MS. mg. Memph. Theb. Arm. *Orig.* (diserte). *Hieron.* iii. 17. διακαθαραι ℵB. (*a. e.*) Memph. Arm. *Iren.* (Lat.) *ib.* συναγαγειν ℵB. *e.* Arm. Ver. 23. και αυτος ην Ιησους αρχομενος ὡσει ετων τριακοντα ℵBLX. 1. 33. 69. Vulg. *b. c. g*[1·] *l.* (Memph.) *Hipp. Orig. Eus. ib.* ων υἱος ὡς ενομιζετο ℵBL. 1. (*a.*) *Eus.* iv. 5. om. ὁ διαβολος ℵBDL. 1. *a. e.* Memph. (Schwartze). Theb. Arm. *ib.* om. εις ορος ὑψηλον ℵBL. *Am. Fuld. b. g*[1· 2·] Memph. Theb. Ver. 9. ηγαγεν δε ℵBLΞ. Syr. Hcl. mg. Memph. (Theb.) Ver. 17. βιβλιον του προφητου Ησαιου ℵBLΞ. 33. 69. *Am. a. b. Orig. Int.* Ver. 34. om. λεγων ℵBLΞV*. Memph. *Orig.* v. 33. δια τι om. ℵ**BLΞ. 33. Memph. Ver. 36. επιβλημα απο ℵBDLΞX. 1. 33. 69. Vulg. *b. c. e. ff. g*[1·] *l.* Syrr. Pst. & Hcl. Memph. (Arm.) Ver. 39. θελει without ευθεως ℵBC*L. 1. Memph. Arm. Æth. *ib.* χρηστος ℵBL. Syr. Pst. Memph. vi. 1. om. δευτεροπρωτῳ ℵBL. 1. 33. 69, *txt. b. c. f***. *l.* Syrr. Pst. & Hcl. mg. Ver. 34. δανεισητε ℵBΞ. *ib.* λαβειν ℵBLΞ. *Just.* Ver. 48. πλημμυρης ℵB*LΞ. 33. *ib.* δια το καλως οικοδομεισθαι αυτην ℵBLΞ. 33. Syr. Hcl. mg. Memph. (Æth.) Ver. 49. συνεπεσεν ℵBDRLΞ. 1. 33. 69. *Tol. b. e. l.* vii. 21. ἡμερᾳ ℵL. 69. Ver. 28. om. προφητης ℵBLΞX. 1. 33. KM. *a. b. c. e. ff. l.* Syr. Hcl. mg. Syr. Hier. Memph. Æth. *Orig. Tert. ib.* του βαπτιστου om. ℵBLΞ. 1. Syr. Pst. MS. Syr. Hier. Memph. Arm. *Orig.* Ver. 32. ἁ λεγει ℵB. 1. Ver. 37. ἡτις ην εν ℵBLΞ. 1. (69.) Vulg. *c. f. l.* (Syrr. Crt. & Pst.) Memph. Arm. viii. 24. διεγερθεις ℵBL. 33. ix. 34. επεσκιαζεν ℵBL. *a.* x. 25. και λεγων om. και ℵBLΞ. *e.* Syr. Crt. Memph. Ver. 36. ουν om. ℵBLΞ. 1. (Latt.) Syr. Crt. Memph. MS. *Orig.* xi. 48. μαρτυρες εστε ℵBL. (Æth.) *Orig.* Ver. 53. κακειθεν εξελθοντος αυτου ℵBCL. 33. Syr. Hcl. mg. Memph. Ver. 54. ἱνα κατηγορησωσιν αυτου om. ℵBL. Memph. Æth.

John i. 3. ουδεν ℵ*D. 1. *Ptolem. Clem. Exc. Theod. Orig. Syn. Ant. Eus.* Ver. 4. εστιν (not ην) ℵD. *a. b. c. e. f. ff.* Syr. Crt. Theb. *Iren. Clem. Exc. Theod. Hipp. Orig. Cypr. Hil.* Ver. 15. λεγων

om. ℵD. 1. *b.* Ver. 18. *μονογενης θεος* ℵ*BC*L. 33. Syrr. Pst. & Hcl. mg. Memph. Æth. Rom. *Iren.* 256. *Clem.* 695. *Exc. Theod.* Clem. 968. (*θεὸν αὐτὸν δηλοῖ λέγων, Ὁ μονογ. θεὸς ὁ ὢν κτλ.*) *Orig.* i. 440*f.* (*καὶ μονογ. γε ὢν θεὸς* ap. nonnullos). iv. 89[b]. 438[d]. *Orig. Int.* iv. 92[d]. *Marcel. ap. Eus.* 19[c]. *Eus.* c. Mcl. 67[d]. *ὁ μονογ. υἱὸς ἢ μονογ. θεός*; c. Mcl. 124[c]. *θεὸν δὲ καὶ μονογενῆ. Hil.* 1124[c] seq. "id ipsum unigenito Deo esse proprium Evangelia testantur, ... cum unigenitus Deus in sinu patris est, et cum Jesus Christus super omnia Deus est." (et in sequentibus *sæpe*). *ὥσπερ ὁ πατὴρ εἷς θεὸς εἴρηται, οὕτω ὁ υἱὸς κέκληται μονογένης θεός, λόγος, καὶ εἷς κύριος Ἰησοῦς χριστός. Didymus* de Trinitate, 10[b]. (p. 27.). *περὶ μὲν τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἰωάννης εἶπεν, Ὁ μονογένης θεὸς ὁ ὢν ἐν τοῖς κόλποις τοῦ πατρός.* id. 62[a]. (p. 140.) habet et 33[a]. (p. 76.). *Epiphanius, diserte* (*μονογ. θεὸν αὐτὸν φάσκων . . . περὶ υἱοῦ δὲ* [*γέγραπται*] *ὅτι μονογένης θεός*). Ancorat. c. 3. (ii. 8. [c. d.]) *τὸ δὲ εὐαγγέλιον ἔφη . . . . ὁ μονογ. θεὸς αὐτὸς ἐξηγήσατο.* lib. iii. tom. i. Hær. lxx. c. 7. (i. 818[a]). lib. ii. tom. 2. Hær. lxv. c. 5. (i. 612[c]) bis (dis.). *ὁ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν λόγον μονογενῆ θεόν. Epist. Synodi Ancyranæ* 2[c] ap. Epiph. lib. iii. tom. i. Hær. lxxiii. 8. (i. 854[c].) *Basil. M.* de Spir. S. c. vi. (iii. 12[b].) c. viii. *μονογενῆ θεὸν* diserte e Scriptura laudat (iii. 14[c].). c. xii. (23[a].) in cod. Mosq. (vid. Matthæi N. Test. ed. 2. i. 780.) vid. *Greg. Nyss.* i. 192[b]. 663[a]. ii. 432[b]. 447[a]. 478[d]. 506[c]. 595[605][a]. 681[a]. *Cyr. Alex.* iv. 104[c]. v. p. i. 137[b]. 237[a]. 786[e]. *Fulgentius* interdum. *Isidorus* Pel. 6. iii. 95. (ap. Wetst.) Scriptores Græci et Latini sæpissime habent verba *μονογένης θεός, unigenitus Deus*, tanquam nomen Jesu in Scriptura tributum, e. g. *Greg. Nyss.* sæpissime, *Greg. Naz.*, *Bas. Sel.*, *Arius*, *Lucianus* (s. pseudo-Luc.), nec non *Eunomius*, *Tit. Bost.*, *Gaudentius*, *Ferrandus*, *Prudentius*, *Vigilius*, *Alcuinus*, &c.; quod ab hoc loco ut videtur pendet. | ‡ *μονογενης υἱος ς* ℵ**AC[3]XΔ. 1. rel. Latt. Syrr. Crt. & Hcl. txt. Syr. Hier. *sic.* Arm. Æth. (Platt.) *Iren.* 255. *Hipp.* c. Noet. 5. (10). *Orig.* i. 440[f]. (ap. De la Rue). *Syn. Ant.* (Routh iii. 197). *Eus.* in Ps. 440[a]. c. Mcl. 86[a. b]. 92[d]. 123[b]. 142[c]. *ὁ δὲ υἱὸς* [*χρηματίζοι ἂν*] *μονογένης θεός*, 175[a]. *Hil.* 520[d]. 831[c]. 852[e]. 873[d]. 874[a]. 905[e]. vid. *Tert.* adv. Prax. 8. *Athanas.* vid. *Bas. M.* iii. 23[a]. (ed.) iii. 358[b]. *Greg. Nyss.* iii. 648[a]. ii. 466[c]. *Cyril. Alex.* v. p. i. 365[c]. vi. 90[b]. ex his nonnulli (vid. supra) *vere* legebant *θεός*, quæ vox post *μονογενης* facillime mutaretur a librariis (vid. Joh. iii. 16. 18. 1 Joh. iv. 9.) et in hoc loco Scripturæ et in citationibus, *unâ litterâ* tantum mutatâ (ΘC et TC); *μονογ. θεος* cum sit in Sacris Scripturis *ἅπαξ λεγόμενον*, propterea judicio nonnullorum hæc lectio evitanda est.[1]

[1] In this one instance I have given at length the evidence for and against the reading, so as to show what authorities do really support *μονογενης θεος* and what uphold *μονογενης υἱος*. The statement is here given just as it stands in my Greek Testament, with the precise references to the Patristic citations.

When in my "History of the Printed Text" I drew attention to this passage, it led to its discussion by Ezra Abbot, Jr., in an Appendix to Professor Andrews Norton's "Reasons for not believing the Doctrines of Trinitarians" (second edition), pp. 448–469. He points out rightly that I had incorrectly alleged *Phœbadius* for the reading *μονογενης*

Joh. iv. 1. ὁ Ιησους (for ὁ κυριος) ℵD. 1. Λ. Vulg. *a. b. c. e. l.* Syrr. Crt. Pst. & Hcl. txt. Memph. Arm. Ver. 21. πιστευε ℵBC*DL. Theb. *Græce. Orig.* . xiii. 2. γεινομενου ℵBLX. Æth. *Orig.* quater ib. ἱνα παραδοι αυτ. Ιουδας Σιμωνος Ισκαριώτης ℵB(L)X(M). Vulg. *b.* (*g*). Memph. Arm. *Orig.* Ver. 12. και ανεπεσεν ℵBC*. *a. e.* Syr. Pst. Memph. Æth. *Orig.* iv. Ver. 19. πιστευσητε before ὁταν γεν. ℵB. *Frag. Nitr.* L. *Am. a. b. e. g.* Memph. (Æth.) *Orig.* ter. Ver. 26. βαψας ουν ℵBCLX. 33. (*a*). *Orig.* iv. 437[d]. 444[a].

These readings, being a portion of those given by Tischendorf as specimens, will serve the purpose of comparative criticism; they show that ℵ does in many points belong to the same class of text as the other more ancient documents. Amongst other readings specified it may be of interest here to state that ℵ like B does not recognise the last 11 verses of Mark xvi.; that it omits the portion of John v. 4. &c., that is of doubtful or less than doubtful authority; that is does not contain the history of the adulteress John viii. In Rom. v. 1. it reads *ā prima manu* εχωμεν, in 1 Tim. iii. 16. it has (as all acquainted with criticism would know *must* probably be the case) ὁς εφανερωθη; in Eph. i. 1. the words εν Εφεσῳ were originally not there; thus the doubt of their genuineness, which is also gathered from B*, is materially confirmed. In Acts xx. 28. the reading is εκκλησιαν του θεου. It is needless to state that it does not contain the mention of the Heavenly witnesses in 1 John v. 7. In Rev. i. 5. it has τῳ αγαπωντι ἡμας και λυσαντι (add. ημας[2]) εκ των. Ver. 6. και εποιησεν ἡμας βασιλειαν (add. και[2]) ἱερεις.

In the Epistles its accordance with A is great, for there A has far more affinity (as comparative criticism proves) with the most ancient and unaltered text.

But besides the results which may be drawn from the specimens of the readings which Tischendorf has selected, a judgment may be formed from the portions of text which he has printed: a collation throughout of some of these passages with the common text will therefore now be given. Readings marked * are those subsequently altered.

θεος (an error which originated, I believe, in revising in the proof-sheet the name which had been intended for *Prudentius*), and his remarks have led to a re-examination of the whole of the evidence. It appears to be most clear that not only is μονογενης θεος the ancient reading of MSS. and some versions, but also of the fathers *generally*; for those that have both readings in the present copies of their works, evidently do support that which is not in the *later* Greek text, with which those who copied their writings were familiar; and the doubtful passages must give way to the *express* mentions of θεος by the same writers as the reading in this place. Mr. Abbot has entirely failed in his endeavour to show that Patristic citations are wholly a matter of uncertainty. When some *most* ancient MSS., some versions, and some fathers support a reading, we may be sure that such fathers followed what they had in their copies. I do not here follow out Mr. Abbot's remarks on the theological bearing of the passage; it presents no difficulty with the reading θεος to him who believes that the son is "God of the substance of His Father begotten before the worlds:" but, as far as I can judge, Mr. Abbot does not really apprehend *what* those who hold the doctrine of the Trinity really do believe; or *why* the Godhead of Christ, and the Propitiation wrought in the shedding of his blood, are of such importance to them. Dogmatic grounds are no reason for rejecting or accepting a reading for the genuineness of which there is good evidence.

Matt. xxviii.

1. Μαριαμ ἡ Μαγδ. 2. *και προσελθων.* ib. *om. απο της θυρας.* 3. *om. ην δε ἡ ειδεα αυτου*.* ib. *ὡσει χιων*] *ὡς χ.* ὥση χ.**.* 4. *εγενηθησαν ὡς νεκροι.* 5. *om. ταις γυναιξι*.* ib. *φοβηθηται*.* 6. *om. ὁ κυριος.* 7. *ειπον*] *ειπα*.* 8. *απελθουσαι.* 9. *om. ὡς δε . . . . τ. μαθηταις αυτου.* ib. *Ιησους* (*om. ὁ*) *ὑπηντησεν*.* 10. *αδελφοις* (*om. μου*). ib. *απελθωσιν*] *ελθωσιν*.* ib. *και εκει.* 11. *ανηγγιλαν.* 12. *λαβοντες*] *εποιησαν*.* 13. *ὁτι ante ειπατε.* 14. *om. αυτον.* ib. *ποιησωμεν.* 15. *αργυρια* (*om. τα*). ib. *ὡς*] *καθως**.* ib. *εφημισθη.* ib. *μεχρι*] *ἑως*.* 17. *om. αυτῳ.* 18. *om. αυτοις*.* 19. *om. ουν.* 20. *ειμι μεθ' ὑμων.* ib. *om. αμην.* (No subscription.)

Joh. xxi. (from *-σης της* Τιβ. ver. 1.)

2. *οἱ υἱοι* Ζεβ. 3. *εξηλθον ουν.* ib. *ενεβησαν.* ib. *om. ευθυς.* ib. *εκοπιασαν** (but *κο* obelized). 4. *om. ηδη*.* ib. *Ιησους* (*om. ὁ*) *επι τον αιγ.* ib. *εγνωσαν.* 5. *Ιης.* (om. *ὁ*). ib. *om. τι*.* 6. *ὁ δε ειπεν*] *λεγει*, εὑρησετε*] *add. οἱ δε ειπον δι' ὁλης της νυκτος εκοπιασαμεν και ουδεν ελαβομεν, επι δε τῳ σῳ ρηματι βαλουμεν**.* ib. *εβαλον ουν*] *οἱ δε εβαλον*.* ib. *ισχυον.* 8. *τῳ αλλῳ πλοιαριῳ.* ib. *αλλα.* 9. *ανεβησαν*.* ib. *επι την γην.** 11. *ενεβη ουν Σιμων.* ib. *εις την γην.* 13. *om. ουν.* 14. *τουτο δε ηδη.* ib. *om. αυτου.* 15. *Ιωνα*] *om.** (*Ιωανου***). ib. *πλεον.* 16. *παλιν λεγει αυτῳ* (*om. δευτερον* add. το* $\overline{\beta}$****). ib. *Σιμων Ιωαννου.* ib. *om. ναι*.* 17. *Σιμων Ιωαννου.* ib. *ελυπηθη*] *add. δε*.* ib. *φιλεις*] *præm. και*.* ib. *λεγει αυτῳ, Κυριε.* ib. *παντα συ.* ib. *και λεγει αυτῳ* (*om. ὁ Ιησους*). 18. *τας χειρας*] *την χειραν*.* ib. *αλλοι ζωσουσιν σε.* ib. *οισει ὁπου*] *ποιησουσιν σοι ὁσα* · αποισουσιν σε ὁπου**.* 20. *om. ακολουθουντα ὁς*.* ib. *ειπε*] *λεγει** & *add. αυτῳ.* 21. *τουτον ουν ιδων.* ib. *ειπεν τῳ Ιησου.* ib. *om. κυριε.* 22. *μοι ακολουθει.* 23. *οὑτος ὁ λογος.* ib. *ουκ ειπεν δε* (*om. και*). ib. *om. τι προς σε*.* 24. *ὁ και γραψας.* 25. *πολλα ἁ εποιησεν.* ib. *ουδ' αυτον.* ib. *χωρησειν.* ib. *om. αμην.* (Subscription *ευαγγελιον κατα Ιωαννην.*)

2 Cor. xii. & xiii.

1. ab init. *præm. ει**. καυχασθαι δε ου συμφερον μεν, ελευσομαι δε εις.* 5. *om. οὐ** (add.[1] ut vid.) 6. *om. τι*.* 7. *αποκαλυψεων διο ἱνα.* ib. *Σατανα*.* ib. *om. ἱνα μη ὑπεραιρωμαι*.* 9. *δυναμις, om. μου*.* ib. *τελειται*.* 10. *ὑβρεσιν εν*] *ὑβρ. και*.* ib. *εναγκαις** (corr.[1]). ib. *εν στεν.*] *και στεν.*.* 11. *om. καυχωμενος.* 12. *εν σημειοις*] *σημειοις τε*.* 13. *ἡσσωθητε*.* 14. *τριτον τουτο ἑτοιμως.* ib. *om. ὑμων.* ib. *αλλα bis.* 15. *ει και*] *om. και*.* ib. *αγαπω*.* ib. *ησσον*.* 16. *κατεναρκησα ὑμων αλλα.* 19. *παλιν*] *παλαι*.* ib. *κατεναντι.* ib. *θεου* (*om. του**). 20. *ερις.* 21. *ελθοντος μου*.* ib. *ταπεινωσῃ με.* xiii. 1. ab init. *præm. ιδου**.* ib. *ἱνα επι*.* ib. *η τριων.* 2. *om. γραφω.* 4. *om. ει*.* ib. *ασθενουμεν συν αυτῳ αλλα ζησομεν συν αυτῳ.* 5. *om. η*.* ib. *χριστος Ιησους.* 7. *ἱνα ἡμεις*.* 8. *αλλα.* 9. *om. δε* (post *τουτο*)**.* 10. *ὁ κυριος εδωκεν μοι.* 13. *om. αμην.* (Subscription *προς Κορινθιους* $\overline{\beta}$.)

2 Thess. iii..

2. *ὁ κυριος εστιν*.* 4. *om. ὑμιν.* ib. *om. και* ante *ποιειτε*.* 5. *κατευθηναι.* 6. *παρελαβε*] *-βοσαν*. -βον**.* 8. *αλλα.* ib. *νυκτος*

και ημερας. 10. *om. τουτο*.* 12. *δια του κυριου ημων Ιησου χριστου*] *εν κυριῳ Ιησου χριστῳ*.* 13. *εγκακησητε.* 18. *om. αμην*.* (Subscription *προς Θεσσαλονικεις* (add. *στιχων ρπ'***).)

Acts xxviii. 17. *ουδεν εναντιον*——fin.

18. *ανακρινοντες*.* ib. *με εβουλοντο*] *add. με*.* 19. *μου ου εχων*.* ib. *κατηγορειν.* 20. *παρεκαλεσαν*.* ib. *εινεκεν*.* ib. *Ισδραηλ.* 21. *ειπαν.* ib. *κατα σου.* 22. *ακουσαι παρα σου.* ib. *ημιν εστιν.* 23. *ηλθον.* ib. *διαμαρτυραμενοι*.* ib. *om. τε*.* ib. *om. τα.* ib. *Μωυσεως.* 24. *και οἱ μεν ουν*.* 25. *ασυμφωνοι τε*.* ib. *περι Ησαιου*.* ib. *ὑμων.* 26. *λεγων.* ib. *ειπον.* ib. *βλεψητε**.* 27. *επαχυνθη*] *εβαρυνθη*.* ib. *ωσιν αυτων.* ib. *om. και τῃ καρδια συνωσιν*.* ib. *ιασομαι.* 28. *τουτο το σωτηριον*.* 29. *om.* ver. 30. *εμεινεν*] *ενεμειν.* (*-αν**, corr^{1}) ib. *om. ὁ Παυλος.* 31. *om. χριστου*.* (Subscription *πραξεις αποστολων.*)

Rev. ix. 5. *αυτων ὡς*——*ἡν ηκουσα* x. 8.

6. *ου μη εὑρ.* ib. *φευγη.* 7. *ὁμοιοι.* 8. *ειχαν.* 10. *ὁμοιοις.* ib. *κεντρα και εν* (*om. ην*). ib. *ἡ εξουσια* (*om. και*). 11. *om. και* ab init. *εχουσιν ἑαυτων τον βασιλεα τον αγγ.* ib. *ᾧ ονομα αυτῳ.* ib. *εχει ονομα.* 12. *ἡ ουαι*] *om. ἡ.* ib. *ἡ μια*] *om. ἡ*.* ib. *ερχεται*.* 13. *om. και* ab init. ib. *φωνην*] *-νης**.* ib. *om. εκ των τεσσαρων κερατων*. εκ των κερατων**.* 14. *λεγουσαν*] *λεγοντα* λεγουσης**.* ib. *ὁ εχων την σαλ.* ib. *τεσσαρες.* 15. *om. οἱ* ante *ἡτοιμασμ.* ib. *om. και ἡμεραν.* ib. *ἱνα*] *add. μη.* 16. *των στρατευματων.* ib. *δυο μυριαδων μυριαδας ηκουσα.* 17. *επανω αυτων.* 18. *απο των πληγων τουτων.* ib. *πυρος και του καπνου και του θειου.* 19. *ἡ γαρ εξουσια των ἱππων εν τῳ στοματι αυτων εστιν και εν ταις ουραις αυτων.* ib. *εχουσαι*] *εχουσας** (*-σας* corr.^{1}). 20. *πληγαις αυτων ταυταις ουδε μετ.* ib. *προσκυνησουσιν.* ib. *τα ειδωλα τα χρυσαια και τα αργυρα και τα χαλκεα και τα ξυλινα και τα λιθινα.* ib. *δυνανται.* 21. *πορνειας*] *πονηριας*.*

x. 1. *και ιρις*] *και ἡ θριξ*.* ib. *κεφ. αυτου.* 2. *και εχων εν τῃ.* ib. *ηνεωγμενον.* ib. *της θαλασσης.* ib. *της γης.* 3. *εκραξεν*] *add. ὡς*.* ib. *αἱ ἑπτα*] *om. αἱ*.* ib. *βρονται*] *φωναι*.* ib. *ταις ἑαυτ. φωναις.* 4. *ὁτε*] *ὁσα.* ib. *om. τας φωνας ἑαυτων.* ib. *om. μοι.* ib. *ὁσα ελαλ.* ib. *μη αυτα.* 6. *αυτου την δεξιαν.* ib. *εν τῳ ζωντι*] *om. εν*.* ib. *om. και την θαλασσαν· και τα εν αυτῃ*.* ib. *ουκ ετι εστιν** (*εσται***). 7. *αλλ' εν.* ib. *του αγγ. του ἑβδ.* ib. *ετελεσθη.*

The text of the concluding words of the book of Revelation are thus given by Tischendorf: — *αυτου απο του ξυλου της ζωης και εκ της πολεως της ἁγιας των γεγραμμενων εν τω βιβλιω τουτω λεγι ο μαρτωρων ταυτα ειναι* (om.**) *ναι ερχομαι ταχυ ερχου κε ιηυ* (add. *χε***) *η χαρις του κυ ιυ μετα των αγιων αμην*: —

αποκαλυψεις ιωαννου·

The *corrections* marked thus** are those of different ancient hands, which Tischendorf has endeavoured to distinguish: it will appa-

rently be found that one at least of these has carefully corrected the errors of the original scribe; indeed it seems not improbable that such a corrector may have been the person whose business it was to revise what had been written by a mere mechanical copyist. For a full apprehension of the value &c. of the corrections, we must wait the appearance of Tischendorf's edition. The antiquity of the text is manifest; and, as an additional witness, it will be found that ℵ is a valuable auxiliary to B, and the few other MSS. of the oldest class. Even though it may be less accurately written than B, it appears to be of the same age and its value may be about as great; its discovery confirms the position previously taken, that each newly discovered MS. of the greatest antiquity does in fact present the features of the ancient and not the modified or blended text.

INDEXES.

I. INDEX TO THE INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

II. INDEX TO THE INTRODUCTIONS OF THE RESPECTIVE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

III. INDEX TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST.

INDEX I.

INDEX TO THE INTRODUCTION TO THE TEXTUAL CRITICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Accents, employed by Euthalius, 33. Not found in the oldest MSS., 25.
Additions, common, 59.
Adler on the Jerusalem Syriac version, 284. On the Syriac Apocalypse, 281.
Ædesius and the Æthiopians, 315.
Æthiopic facsimile, 323. MS. described by Horne, 321. MSS. used by Platt, 318. *note*. New Testament, &c., first published, 316. Version, 315. Version of end of St. Mark's Gospel, 320. Version, mistakes of rendering, &c., 319.
Africa, jealousy of revision in, 242. The region where the Latin versions began, 230.
African Latin text, 241.
Agreements, general, of copies, 47.
Alber on 1 John v. 7., 387.
Alcuin corrects Latin copies, 247. MSS. corrected by, 248.
Aldine edition, 118.
Alexander's conquests lead to the diffusion of Greek, 10.
Alexandrian MS. (A), 152.
Alexandrian readings often adopted by Scholz, 101. Recension, Griesbach's, 73.
Allix notices the older writing of Cod. Ephræmi, 166.
Alford's edition, 142. Remarks on Lachmann, 135. 341. *note*, 136. *note*.
Alter's edition, 131.
Ambrosian Gothic palimpsests, 305, 306.
Amiatinus, Codex (Latin), 253. Used by Sixtus V., 251.
Ammonian sections, 30.
Ammonian version, 298.
Amplifications, 56.
Ancient divisions, 30.
Antioch, suggested as the place where the text was changed, 45.
Antiocheian creed does *not* contain 1 John v. 7., 365.
Antwerp Polyglott, Peshito in, 260.
Aorist terminations in New Testament Greek, 16.
Apostolic Fathers, 382.
Application of results of criticism, 389.
Arabic versions, 324. When made, 325.
Argenteus, Codex (Gothic), 301.
Armenian MSS. not Latinized, 312. Version, 309.
Assemani on the Jerusalem Syriac Lectionary, 285.
Athanasius, 335.
Athens, literary pre-eminence of, 9.
Attic Greek, permanence of, 9. Its relation to the common dialect, 10.
Atticisms in New Testament Greek, 13.
Augiensis, Codex (F), 197.
Augiensis, Codex (Latin), 255.
Augustine, 1 John v. 7. unknown to, 362. To Jerome, on jealousy of revision, 242. On old Latin versions, 234.
Authorities, how gathered, 400.
Authority, original, not affected by mistakes of copyists, 389. Of Scripture, not set aside by criticism, 389.
Aymon's mutilation of Cod. Claromontanus, 191.

Bandini's fragment, 204.
Barberini fragments, 204.
Barberini readings, 112.
Bar-Hebræus, on the Philoxenian Syriac, 274.
Barnabas, 333.
Barrett's Collation of Cod. Montfortianus, 215. Edition of Cod. Dublinensis, 181.
Barsalibæi, Codex, contains John viii. 1—11., 282.
Barsalibæus cites *another* version of John viii. 1—11., 283.
Bartolocci's Collation of Codex Vaticanus, 161.
Bashmuric version, 298.
Basil, 335.
Basilianus, Codex (B), 206.
Basileensis, Codex (E), 200. Codex (1), 208.
Bellarmine's preface to the Clementine Vulgate, 251.
Benedictine text of Jerome's version, 253.
Bengel's Apparatus Criticus, 129. Edition, 128. Matured judgment on families cited, 69. Paragraph divisions, 35. Suggests systems of recension, 67.
Benson on 1 John v. 7., 386.
Bentley procures a Collation of Cod. Vaticanus, 161. Estimate of the Vulgate, 253. Proposed edition, 127. On the Sixtine and Clementine Vulgate, 252. Use of Patristic evidence, 340.

Bentley (Thomas) examines Cod. Vaticanus, 162.
Bernstein's edition of St. John's Gospel in the Harclean Syriac, 276. On the Philoxenian Syriac, 274.
Beza denies the purity of the New Testament Greek, 21. Critical use of Cod. Bezæ, 170. Editions, 124.
Bezæ, Codex (D), 169.
Birch, collations of, 131. Collates Cod. Vaticanus, 162.
Blanchini's edition of Cod. Brixianus, 238.; of Cod. Forojuliensis, 254.; of Cod. Vercellensis, 237.; of Cod. Veronensis, 237.
Blackwell (in part), defends the purity of New Testament Greek, 22.
Bobbienses, Codices (Latin), 239, 240.
Bode's Latin version of the Æthiopic text, 317.
Boernerianus, Codex (G), 199. (Latin), 241.
Boetticher's edition of the Acts in Memphitic, 292.
Boivin's extracts from Cod. Ephræmi, 166.
Bombasius sends Erasmus extracts from Cod. Vat., 158.
Boreelii, Codex (F), 200.
Borgianus, Codex (T), 180.
Bowring (Sir J.), on the Complutensian MSS., 121.
Breathings not found in the oldest MSS., 25.
Bredenkamp collates the Armenian New Testament, 311.
Brescia MS. (Latin), 238.
Brescia MS. and the Italic revision, 286.
Buchanan's edition (incomplete) of the Peshito, 262.
Burgess's defence of 1 John v. 7., 364. On 1 John v. 7. (five works), 387. (two works) 388.
Burk's edition of Bengel's apparatus, 129.
Butler on 1 John v. 7., 386.
Buttmann aids Lachmann, 134.
Byzantine standard, was there any ? 96.

Calamy on 1 John v. 7., 385.
Calmet on 1 John v. 7., 385.
Campianus, Codex (M), 202.
Canons, Eusebian, 30.
Cantabrigiensis, Codex (see Codex Bezæ), 169.
Capitulatio Vaticana, 30.
Caro, Cardinal de St., invents his chapters, 34.
Carolinus, Codex, 179.
Carshuni edition, 324.
Caryophilus and the Barberini readings, 113.
Cassiodorous compares Jerome's revision with the old Latin, 246.
Castiglione's Gothic researches, 304.
Century, fourth, transition text, 44.
Cerda, De la, publishes the Velezian readings, 111.
Changes, intentional, hardly found, 65.
Chapters, ancient, 30. In the Acts and Epistles, 32. Latin, introduced into Greek copies, 33. Modern, 34.
Characteristic variations, 47.
Characteristics of Griesbach's recensions, 75
Characteristics of New Testament Greek 12.
Charlemagne's Bible, 247. Causes Latin copies to be corrected, 247.
Chemical restoration of Codex Dublinensis, 181. Of Codex Ephræmi, 167.
Chrysostom, 335.
Cicero on the diffusion of Greek, 11.
Citations as sources of Criticism, 329.
Clarke on 1 John v. 7., 386.
Claromontanus, Codex (Latin, St. Matthew), 238. (Latin) of St. Paul, 241.
Classification of documents, 66. Of Latin copies, 241.
Clemens Anglicanus on 1 John v. 7., 388.
Clement of Rome, 332.
Clement of Alexandria, 333. On Metaphrases, 39.
Clement VIII's edition of the Vulgate, 251.
Clementine and Sixtine Vulgate, differences, 256.
Clermont MS. (D), 190.
Codex of the Acts procured by Tischendorf, 211.
Codex Alexandrinus, (A), 152. Whence brought, 152. Described, 153. Collators of, 155. Edition of, by Woide, 155. Facsimile of, 157.
Codex Amiatinus (Latin), 253. Used by Sixtus V., 251.
Codex Argenteus, taken from Prague to Sweden, 301. Found again in Holland, 301. Repurchased for Sweden, 301. Contents of, 307. Specimen of, 303.
Codex Augiensis (F), 197. (Latin), 255.
Codex Basilcensis (E), 200. (1), 208.
Codex Basilianus (B, Rev.), 206. Edition by Tischendorf, 206.
Codex Bezæ (D), 169. History of, 170. Description of, 170. Edited by Kipling, 170. Age of, 171. Facsimile of, 176. Latin text of, 237.
Codex Boernerianus (G), 199. Published by Matthæi, 199. (Latin), 241.
Codex Bobbiensis (Latin), 239, 240.
Codex Boreelii (F), 200.
Codex Borgianus (T), 180. Edited by Giorgi, 180.
Codex Brixianus (Latin), 238.
Codex Brixianus and the Itala of Augustine, 236.
Codex Campianus (M), 202.
Codex Claromontanus (D), 190. Described, 190. History, 191. Mutilated by Aymon, 191. Missing part restored by Lord Oxford, 192. Edited by Tischendorf, 192.
Codex Claromontanus (Latin) of St. Matthew, 238.
Codex Claromontanus (Latin) of St. Paul, 241.

Codex Coislinianus (H), 194.
Codex Colbertinus (22), 212. (33), 209. (Latin), 237.
Codex Corbeiensis (Latin), 240.
Codex Cottonianus (J), 177.
Codex Cyprius (K), 201.
Codex Dublinensis rescriptus (Z), 180. Writing discovered by Barrett, 180. Edition of, by Barrett, 181. Chemical restoration by Tregelles, 181. Facsimile of (Z), 182.
Codex Ebnerianus, facsimile of, 220.
Codex Ephræmi (C), 166. History of, 166. Collations of, 166. Chemical restoration of, 167. Publication by Tischendorf, 167. Correctors of, 167. Description of, 168.
Codex Forojuliensis (Latin), 254.
Codex Fuldensis (Latin), 254.
Codex Guelpherbytanus *A* (P), 179. Edited by Knittel, 179. Tischendorf's proposed edition, 179. *note.* History of the palimpsest, 179. *note.*
Codex Guelpherbytanus *B* (Q), 179. Edited by Knittel, 179.
Codex Harleianus, 5598, facsimile of, 224.
Codex Laudianus (E), 187. Described, 187. History, 187. Edited by Hearne, 188. Facsimile of, 189. (Latin), 240.
Codex Leicestrenis (69), 210.
Codex Monacencis (X), 195.
Codex Montfortianus, 213. Barrett's collation of, 215. Dobbin's collation of, 216. Facsimile of, 217.
Codex Mosquensis (V), 203. (J, K), 205.
Codex Mutinensis (H), 205.
Codex Nanianus (U), 202.
Codex Neapolitanus Regius, 218.
Codex Nitriensis (R), 183. Noticed by Cureton, 183. Collated by Tregelles, 183. Prepared for publication, 184.
Codex Ottoboniensis, 217. Facsimile of 217.
Codex Palatinus (Latin), 237.
Codex Passionei (or Angelicus), G, J, 205.
Codex Purpureus (N), 177. Its existing portions, 177. Published by Tischendorf, 177. Facsimile of. 178.
Codex Ravianus, 218.
Codex Regius (L), 194. Edited by Tischendorf, 194. (13), 212.
Codex Rhedigerianus (Latin), 239.
Codex Sangallensis (Δ), 196. Published by Rettig, 196.
Codex San-germanensis (E), 193. Description and age, 193. History, 193. (Latin) of St. Paul, 241.
Codex Seidelii I. (G), 201. II. (H), 201.
Codex Tischendorfianus rescriptus (II.), 184. iv. (Γ), 203. iii. (Λ), 203.
Codex Tolctanus (Latin), 255.
Codex Vaticanus (B), 158. Early known, 158. Described, 158. Used for the Roman LXX., 161. Collations of, 161. Facsimile of, 165.
Codex Vaticanus 579 (38), 211. 354 (S), 202.
Codex Venetus (209), 212.
Codex Vercellensis (Latin), 237,
Codex Veronensis (Latin), 237.
Codex Vindobonensis (Latin), 238.
Codices Corbeienses (Latin), 238.
Codices San-germanenses (Latin), 238.
Coislin fragments (H), 194. Scholia (F), 205.
Colbert MS. (Latin), 237.
Colbertinus, Codex (22), 212. (33), 209.
Colinæus, edition of, 123.
Collations of Birch, 131. Of Moldenhawer, 131. Of Scrivener, 145. Of Tischendorf, 137. Of Tregelles, 141.
Colossians ii. 15., how misinterpreted, 33. *note.*
Common additions, 59.
Common dialect of, Greek, 10. Based on Attic Greek, 10.
Comparative criticism, 148.
Complutensian edition, 119. MSS., 120. Note on 1 John v. 7., 360. *note.* New Testament, facsimile of, 359.
Compounds, new, in New Testament Greek, 14.
Conflate readings, 60.
Conjecture, critical, 149.
Constantinopolitan recension, Griesbach's, 74.
Constantinople, copies of the Gospels sent thither, 43.
Continuous writing, 25.
Contractions, usual, 183. *note.* Mistakes from, 54.
Coptic versions, 287.
Corbeiensis, Codex (Latin) of St. James, 240.
Corbey MSS. (Latin), 238.
Corrections by copyists, 62.
Correctoria, 248.
Cosmas Indicopleustes on the Cath. Epp. in Syriac, 259.
Cottonianus, Codex (J), 177.
Critical conjecture, needless and mischievous, 149.
Critical rules, 343.
Criticism, application of materials, 342. Application of results, 389. Comparative, 148. Textual, defined, 1. How misapprehended, 23. Preliminary studies, 4. Real object of, 2. Sources of, 147.
Crito Cantabrigiensis on 1 John v. 7., 387.
Curcellæus's editions, 124.
Curetonian Syriac, 267. Contents of the MS., 267.
Cursive writing, when introduced, 25. MSS. of importance, 207.
Cyprian, 336. Shown not to cite 1 John v. 7., 370.
Cyprius, Codex (K), 201.
Cyril of Alexandria, 335.
Cyrillus and the Slavonic version, 326.
Cyrillus Lucaris sends Cod. Alex. to England, 152.

Damasus desires the Latin to be revised, 243.
Davidson on 1 John v. 7., 388. On the Syriac Apocalypse, 281.
De Dieu's edition of the Syriac Apocalypse, 280. Publishes John viii. 1—11. in Syriac, 282.
De Wette cited on New Testament forms, 16. On Griesbach's system, 76.
Dia Tessarōn, Tatian's, 30. 40.
Difficulties in Scripture, 398. Removed by copyists, 54. 63.
Dionysius of Alexandria, 335. On 1 Tim. iii. 16., 339.
Dionysius of Corinth notices false readings, 39.
Division of words, wrong, 30.
Divisions, ancient, 30.
Divisions of the subjects specially considered, 6, 7.
Dobbin's Collation of Codex Montfortianus, 216.
Dobrowsky collates the Slavonic New Testament, 327.
Documents, classification of, 66.
Doricisms in New Testament Greek, 13.
Dublin palimpsest of St. Matthew (Z), 180.

Ebnerianus, Codex, 219.
Edessa, place of the origin of the Peshito Syriac, 259.
Edition of Aldus, 118. Of Alford, 142. Of Alter, 131. Of Bengel, 128. Of Colinæus, 123. Complutensian, 119. Corinthians, Stanley's, 137. *note.* Of Fell, 125. Of Griesbach (first), 131. Of Mace, 128. Of Matthæi, 131. Of Mill, 128. Romans, &c., Jowett's, 137. *note.* Revelation, Tregelles's, 139. Of Scholz, 132. Of Tregelles (in the press), 141. Of Wells, 126. Of Wetstein, 129.
Editions of Beza, 124. Of Curcellæus, 124. Of the Elzevirs, 124. Of Erasmus, 117. Galatians and Ephesians, Ellicott's, 144. Of Lachmann, 134. Of Stephens, 123. Of Tischendorf, 138.
Egyptian versions, 287. Early existence of, 288.
Egyptian version, a third, 298.
Eichhorn on the old Latin version, 230. *note.* His accordance with Hug's system, 87.
Ellicott's editions of Galatians and Ephesians, 144.
Elzevir editions, 124.
Emlyn on 1 John, v. 7. (three works), 385.
Engelbreth publishes fragments of a *third* Egyptian version, 298.
Ephræmi, Codex (C), 166.
Ephrem and *his* works, 336. His doubtful Greek works, 337. *note.* On Syriac version, 258.
Epistles, when collected, 25.
Epistolare, 36.
Erasmus's editions, 117. Notes, mistakes as to, 110. *note.* Suggests the charge of Latinising, 107.
Erpenian Arabic, 324.
Eugenius's use of 1 John v. 7., 372.
Eusebian Canons, 30.
Eusebius, 335. Sends copies of the Gospels to Constantinople, 43. His text accords with Origen's, 43.
Euthalius employs accents, 33. And stichometry, 26.
Evangeliarium, 36.
Examples of application of criticism, Matt. i. 18—25., 345. Matt. xiv. 22.—xv. 20., 349.
External form of New Testament, 24.
Eznak and the Armenian translation, 310.

Facsimile, Æthiopic, 323. Of Codex Alexandrinus (A), 157. Of Codex Vaticanus (B), 165. Of Codex Bezæ (D), 176. Of Codex Dublinensis (Z), 182. Of Codex Ebnerianus, 220. Of Codex Laudianus (E), 189. Of Codex Montfortianus, 217. Of Codex Purpureus (N), 178. Of Complutensian New Testament, 359. Of a Lectionary, 224.
Families suggested by Bengel, 67.
False accusation, sin of, 136. *note.*
Fathers, early used as critical authorities, 340. Greek, 330. Ignorant of 1 John v. 7., 364. Modes of citation, 330.
Fell's edition, 125.
Fleck's collation of Codex Amiatinus, 253.
Fœdus cum Græcis, 109. (See also *Addenda.*)
Ford edits the Thebaic version, 296.
Form, external, of New Testament, 24.
Forms, New, in New Testament Greek, 13.
Forojuliensis, Codex (Latin), 254.
Fosdick's correction of Hug, 62. *note.*
Fourth century, transition text, 44.
Fragment of Hebrews at Moscow 206.
Fragmenta Coisliniana (H), 194. Published by Montfaucon, 194. Perusina (Latin), 255.
Fragments of later uncial MSS. of Gospels 204.
Fragmentum Harleianam, 207. Uffenbachianum, 206. Woideanum, 180.
Franeker Arabic Codex, 325.
Frankish not the language of Codex Argenteus, 303.
Frumentius and the Æthiopians, 315.
Fuldensis, Codex (Latin), 254.
Future subjunctive in the New Testament, 16.

Gabelentz and Loebe's edition of the Gothic version, 307.
Gataker denies the purity of New Testament Greek, 22.
Gaugengigl's edition of the Gothic version, 308.

Georgian version, 328.
Giorgi's edition of Codex Borgianus, 180. Edition of Thebaic fragments, 295. Publishes fragments of a *third* Egyptian version, 298.
Gloss, 1 John v. 7. originally a marginal in *Latin*, 362.
Gospels, collected in the time of Trajan, 25. Confused in their readings by copyists, 40. Copies procured for Constantinople, 43. Most ancient MSS. of, 151.
Gothic version, 299. The parts extant, 307. Palimpsest, facsimile of, 305.
Goths, their divisions and locations, 299.
Græco-Latini (Codices), text of, 113.
Grammar as affecting interpretation, 17.
Grammatical peculiarities of New Testament Greek, 15.
Greek, characteristics of New Testament, 12. Common dialect, 10. Fitness of for the common revelation, 11.
Greek language, diffusion of, 8. How effected, 9. Characteristics of, 8.
Green (Rev. T. S.), on grammar as affecting interpretation, 18. *note*. On the Greek common dialect, 10.
Greenfield's edition of the Peshito, 262.
Gregories, the two, 335.
Gregory I. uses Jerome's revision, 246.
Gregory Thaumaturgus, 335.
Griesbach on the enumeration of titles, 31. On 1 John, v. 7., 386. Misrepresented by Norton, 70. *note*. On Latinising MSS., 115. Opposed by Matthæi, 76. His collection of readings from Origen, 341. First edition, 131. Second edition, 132. His Meletemata, 84. His Symbolæ Criticæ, 132. His system described by De Wette, 76. Opposed by Laurence, 88. His first theories on recensions, 71.
Grosse asserts the purity of New Testament Greek, 22.
Gutbier's edition of the Peshito, 261.

Hales on 1 John v. 7., 387.
Harclean revision of the later Syriac, 272.
Harclean Syriac, critical use of, 277.
Harleian fragment, 207.
Harmony, Tatian's, 30.
Hearne's edition of Codex Laudianus, 188.
Hebraisms, instances of, 19.
Hebrew colouring of the Greek of the LXX., 18. Of the New Testament, 18.
Hegesippus on Syriac version, 258.
Heinsius denies the purity of the New Testament Greek, 22.
Hellenistic, the term as applied to New Testament Greek, 21.
Hellenistic Greek, misuse of the term, 21.
Hentenius edits the Vulgate, 249.
Hesychian recension, 78.
Hexaplar Syriac, Old Testament, 273.
Hey on 1 John v. 7., 386.
Hilary, 336.
Hippolytus, 334.
History, early, of the text, 37. Of the printed text, 116.
Hoffman cited on inspiration, 22. *note*.
Horne's (Rev. T. H.) account of Mai's Gothic discoveries, 304.
Horne (Rev. T. H.) on an Æthiopic MS., 321. On 1 John v. 7., 358. *seq*. His list of works on 1 John v. 7., 384. On Matthæi's procedures, 77.
Horsley's paraphrase of 1 John v. 7., 374.
Hort's collation of a Latin MS., 255.
Hug examines and describes Codex Vaticanus, 162. His misquotation of Jerome corrected, 78. *note*. His recension system, 78.
Huyshe on 1 John v. 7., 387. On Wiseman on 1 John v. 7., 388.

Ignatius, 332.
Ignatius the Jacobite patriarch, 260.
Inflections in New Testament Greek, 16.
Insertions, examples of, 55.
Inspiration and criticism, 393.
Integrity, substantial, of New Testament books, 402.
Interpretation and criticism, 394.
Interpunction, first traces of, 26. In MSS. when frequent, 29. Varying, as in John i. 3, 4., 25.
Ionicisms in New Testament Greek, 13.
Iota post or subscribed not found in the oldest MSS., 25. 51.
Irenæus, 383. On false interpretations, 39. On Matt. i. 18., 38. On a various reading, 37.
Irici's edition of Codex Vercellensis, 237.
Itacism, 50.
"*Itala*," mentioned by Augustine, 234. *Not* the old Latin version, 235. The revised version of Upper Italy, 235.
Italian revision of Latin, 241.
Interchanges of vowels, 50.

James of Edessa, his writings confounded with those of Ephrem, 337. On Syriac versions, 259.
James, Thomas, Bellum Papale, 256.
Jealousy of revision in Africa, 242.
Jerome misquoted by Hug, 78. Not the author of the "Prologue to the Cath. Epp.," 372. On old Latin versions, 235. Revises the Latin version, 44. To Damasus on revision, 244. Revision of the Latin, 243. Revision disliked in Africa, 242. Revision gradually introduced into use, 246. Revision gradually corrupted, 247.
Jerusalem Syriac Lectionary, some readings noticed, 287. Syriac version, 284.
John I., v. 7., 355.
Jonah, passage in, altered by Jerome, 242.
Jones's collation of the MSS. of the Peshito, 264.
Joseph and the Armenian translation, 310.
Jowett on 1 John v. 7., 386.
Jowett (B.), edition of Romans, &c., 137. *note*.

Junge denies the purity of New Testament Greek, 22.
Junius's edition of the Gothic Gospels, 302.
Justin Martyr, 333.
Juynboll on Arabic versions, 325.

Kettner on 1 John v. 7., 385.
Kipling's edition of Codex Bezæ, 170.
Knittel on 1 John v. 7. (translated), 387. His edition of the Codices Guelpherbytani, 179. Of fragments of the Gothic Epistles, 303.
Krasinsky on Slavonic regions, 326. *note.* 327. *note.*
Küster's reprint of Mill, 126.

Lachmann's editions, 133. His own claims and expectations, 137. His use of patristic authorities, 341. His use of Codex Fuldensis, 254.
La Croze contributes Memphitic readings to Bengel, 294.
Language of the New Testament, 8. Original, needful to be well known by a critic, 5.
Latin chapters, when introduced into Greek copies, 33.
Latin copies, classification of, 241.
Latin Fathers, 336.
Latin MSS. of the old version, 237.
Latin version, revised by Jerome, 44. 243. Old, characteristics of, 232. (Old), *one* and not many, 233. Originates in Africa, 230.
Latin versions prior to Jerome, 230.
Latin words in the New Testament, 14.
Latinising, charge of, 107.
Laudianus, Codex (E), 187. (Latin), 240.
Laurence opposes Griesbach's system, 88.
Lectionaries, 36. 221.
Lectionary, Latin, cited by Mabillon, 255.
Lee on an Æthiopic MS., 321. Referred to against Nolan's false assertions, 93. *note.* His edition of the Peshito, 262.
Lee (W.) on Inspiration quoted, 398. *note.*
Leicester MS. (69.), 210.
Lessons, ecclesiastical, 36.
Leusden and Schaaf's edition of the Peshito, 261.
Lexicography of New Testament Greek, 12, 13.
Leyden MS. of the Syriac Apocalypse, 280.
Lieder's edition of the Memphitic New Testament, 293.
Liturgical notes transferred to text, 59.
Loebe and Gabelentz's edition of the Gothic version, 307.
Lord's Prayer, as read by Origen, 56.
Lucas Brugensis edits the Vulgate, 249.
Lucian's recension, 78.
Lucifer, 336.
Lye's edition of the Gothic Gospels, 302.

Mace's edition, 128.
Macedonian supremacy, diffusion of the Greek language through, 10.
Madden, Sir F., his account of obtaining Charlemagne's Bible, 247.
Mai discovers Gothic Palimpsests, 304. On the history of the Codex Carolinus, 179. *note.* On "Speculum," 240. His edition of Codex Claromontanus (Latin) of St. Matthew, 238. His prepared edition of Codex Vaticanus, 163.
Manuscripts, Latin, of the old version, 237.
MSS., most ancient of the Gospels, 151. Notation of, 151. Palimpsest, 152.
Marcion, a corrupter of the New Testament, 38.
Margin, readings in, transferred to text, 57.
Mariana and the Velezian readings, 111. On Arabic version, 325. *note.*
Marsh on Stephens's β' and Codex Bezæ, 174. On 1 John v. 7., 387. On the Velezian readings, 112.
Marshall and the Memphitic New Testament, 289.
Martianay's edition of Codices Corbeienses, 238. 240.
Martin on 1 John v. 7. (three works), 385.
Massman's edition of the Gothic version, 308.
Materials for criticism, application of, 342.
Matthæi on Cod. Bezæ, 172. *note.* Opposes Griesbach, 76. His edition, 131. His edition of Codex Boernerianus, 199.
Meanings, new, of words in New Testament Greek, 13. 15.
Memphitic version, 287.
Menologia, 36.
Mental prerequisites for a critic, 4.
Mercator copies part of the Gothic text, 301.
Meropius lands in Æthiopia, 315.
Metaphrases, 39.
Methodius and the Slavonic version, 326.
Michaelis (J. H.) denies the purity of New Test. Greek, 22.
Michaelis classifies various readings, 61. On 1 John v. 7., 373. On 1 John v. 7., 386. On the Peshito, 265. His recension system, 77.
Mico collates Codex Vaticanus, 161.
Middleton (Bp.) on Codex Bezæ, 173. On 1 John v. 7., 377. 386.
Miesrob and the Armenian translation, 309.
Mill's edition, 125. Use of patristic evidence, 340. Use of versions, 229.
Millii Annotationes, &c. (on 1 John v. 7.), 384.
Mingarelli edits portions of the Thebaic version, 295, 296.
Mixed text described by Griesbach. 74.
Mœso-Gothic, 300.
Moldenhawer, collations of, 131. His report on the Complutensian MSS., 120.
Monacensis, Codex (X), 195.
Montfort MS., 213.

Moral feeling, perverted, of Lachmann's censors, 136.
Moral prerequisites for a critic, 4.
Morillon notices the Gothic version, 301.
Moscow fragment, 204. Fragment of Hebrews, 206.
Moses Aghelæus and the Philoxenian Syriac, 267.
Moses Chorenensis and the Armenian translation, 310.
Moses of Mardin, 259.
Mosquensis, Codex (V), 203. (J, K), 205.
Münter edits Thebaic fragments, 295. Publishes fragments of a *third* Egyptian version, 298.
Murali's professed edition of Cod. Vaticanus, 163.
Mutinensis, Codex (H), 205.

Nanianus, Codex (U), 202.
Neander on the Slavonians, &c., 326. *note.*
Neapolitan fragment, 204.
Neapolitanus, Codex Regius, 218.
New Testament Greek, characteristics of, 12.
Newton, Sir Isaac, on Complutensian text of 1 John v. 7., 359. On 1 John v. 7., 385. Paraphrase of 1 John v. 7., 376.
Nitrian MS. (R), 183. Palimpsest fragments, 184.
Nolan on 1 John v. 7., 386. On the Greek Vulgate, 92. False accusations of Eusebius, 93. *note.* Repetition of calumnies against Origen, 93. *note.* Uncharitable conjectures, 93. *note.*
Norton's misrepresentation of Griesbach, 73. *note.*
Notation of MSS., 151.

Omissions, examples of, 60.
Optative, rare in New Testament Greek, 16.
Order of words, 52.
Origen, 334. Quotations of, 42. 132. On the readings in the Lord's Prayer, 56. Recension by, imagined by Hug, 78. 80. 83. On the state of the Greek text, 41.
Orme on 1 John v. 7., 388. Ostro-Goths, 299. Ottobonianus, Codex, 217.
Owen's attack on Walton, 125. *note.*
Oxford, Earl of, restores the missing part of Cod. Claromontanus, 192.
Oxlee on 1 John v. 7., 386, 387. Older MSS. preferred by Jerome, 44.

Pachomius, rules of, 288.
Pagninus makes verse divisions, 34.
Palatine MS. (Latin), 237.
Palestinian recension of Hug, 84.
Palimpsest MSS., 152.
Palmer sends MSS. of the later Syriac to Europe, 271.
Pamphilus, no recension ascribed to, 86. Stichometry, 27.
Papyrus, Egyptian, 24.
Paragraphs, Bengel's, 35.
Parallel passages altered by copyists, 54.
Paris fragment, 204. MS. (13), 212. Polyglott Arabic, 324.
Passionei, Codex (G, J), 205.
Paul, a Syriac translator, 273.
Peculiarities of New Testament Greek arising from the subjects, 20.
Persic Gospels, 328.
Perusina Fragmenta (Latin), 255.
Peshito, Syriac version, 258. Additions to, 278. Critical use made of, 264. First known in Europe, 259.
Peter of Alexandria, 335.
Pfochen asserts the purity of New Testament Greek, 22.
Pharez on 1 John v. 7., 386.
Philology, 395. Connected with theology, 23. Decisive as to the character of New Testament Greek, 23. Use of, as applied to the New Testament, 15.
Philoxenus, 270.
Phraseology of the Greek New Testament, 18.
Platt's collations of Æthiopic MSS., 317. Edition of the Æthiopic New Testament, 317. On some Æthiopic MSS., 319.
Pococke's edition of Syriac Cath. Epp., 278. Notice of the later Syriac, 271.
Polycarp, 332.
Polycarp and the later Syriac, 270.
Polyglott (Walton's) Persic, 328.
Porson on 1 John v. 7., 386.
Porter on 1 John v. 7., 388.
Portions of the Greek New Testament, earliest printed, 117.
Possinus and the Barberini readings, 112.
Postell aids the edition of the Peshito New Testament, 260.
Praxapostolos, 36.
Prerequisites for a critic, 4, 5.
Prevost's collation of Platt's Æthiopic text, 318.
Principles of criticism, 343.
Printed text, history of, 116.
Propaganda edition of the Peshito, 261.
Punctuation in MSS., 29. Not authoritative, 29.
Purists, mode of argumentation, 23.
Purity of New Testament Greek asserted by H. Stephens, 22. Pfochen, 22. Grosse, 22. Blackwell (in part), 22.
Purity of New Testament Greek denied by Valla, 21. Beza, 21. Junge, 22. Heinsius, 22. Gataker, 22. J. H. Michaelis, 22.
Purpureus, Codex (N), 177.

Quotations and criticism, 397.
Quotations exhibiting the state of the text, 40.

Ravianus, Codex, 218.
Readings, Barberini, 112. Conflate, 60. Of 1 John v. 7., 355. Sporadic, 64. Various, 48. Velezian, 111.

Recension, the term used by Semler, 70.
Recension-system of Hug, 78. Of Michaelis, 77. Of Nolan, 92. Of Scholz, 94.
Recensions, discussions on later theories, 88. Griesbach's first theories, 71. More matured theories, 72. Results of discussions on, 104. Suggested by Bengel, 67.
Recent text, 46.
Regius, Codex (L), 194.
Relation of MSS. exhibited, 106.
Rettig's edition of Cod. Sangallensis, 196.
Revised Latin copies, 241.
Revisions early discussed, 85.
Results of criticism, application of, 389. Of discussions on recensions, 104.
Revelation, Tregelles's edition, 139.
Revision of the Latin by Jerome, 243.
Reuss, cited on Lectionaries, 221. *note.* On Slavonic MSS., 327. *note.*
Rhedigerianus, Codex (Latin), 289.
Ridley on the Syriac versions, 276. And later Syriac, 271.
Rinck's terminology, 103.
Rieu's collation of the Armenian New Testament, 312.
Rödiger on the writings of Ephrem, 337.
Rolls, no copies of the New Testament in that form, 25.
Roman Arabic, 324.
Rome, prevalence of Greek in, 11.
Romish versions of Scripture, falsified, 390. *note.*

Sabatier's edition of Codex Colbertinus, 237.
Sahidic version, 295.
St. Germain MSS. (Latin), 238.
Sangallensis, Codex (Δ), 196.
San-Germanensis, Codex (E), 193. Latin of St. Paul, 241.
Schaaff's edition of the Peshito, 261.
Scholz on an Arabic version, 326. On 1 John v. 7., 388. Edition, 132. Families, specimens of, 100. Recension system, 94. System considered, 95.
Schwartze's edition of the Memphitic Gospels, 290.
Scrivener against the testimony of versions, 226. On Laurence's Examination, 91. On Nolan's Inquiry, 93. On "Wiseman's Conjecture," 232. *note.* On Scholz's system, 102. *note.* "Collation" cited, 102. Collations, 145.
Sections, Ammonian, 30.
Seidelii I., Codex (G), 201.
Seidelii II., Codex (H), 201.
Semler on 1 John v. 7., 385. On Latinising MSS., 114. On recensions, 70.
Septuagint, Hebrew colouring of its Greek, 18.
Sepulveda's letter to Erasmus (see also in Addenda), 108.
Simon on 1 John v. 7., 385.
Sionita, Gabriel, edits the Peshito, 260.
Sinaitic fragments, 205.
Sixtine and Clementine Vulgate, differences, 256.
Sixtus V. authorises *his* Vulgate, 250. His edition of the Vulgate, 250.
Slavonic editions, 327. MSS., 327. Version, 326.
Sloss on 1 John v. 7., 385.
Smalbroke on 1 John v. 7., 385.
Smith on 1 John v. 7. (two works), 385.
Sources of the Erasmian editions, 122.
Sources of textual criticism, 147.
"*Speculum*," 239.
Spirit to be cherished in critical studies, 6.
Sporadic readings, 64.
Stanley's edition of Corinthians, 137. *note.*
Stephens's editions, 123. β′ and Codex Bezæ, 173, 174.
Stephens (H.) asserts the purity of New Testament Greek, 22. Introduces verse divisions, 34.
Stephens (R.) edits the Vulgate, 249. Forms the modern verses, 34.
Stichometry, 26. Of the Gospels, 29. Specimens of, 28.
Stiernhielm's edition of the Gothic Gospels, 302.
Storr on Arabic versions, 324.
Subjunctive future in the New Testament, 16.
Substitutions, 52.
Synaxaria, 36.
Syriac versions, 258. In the second century, 258. MSS. of the Peshito, 264. Curetonian, 267. Philoxenian version, 267. Version of the Apocalypse, 280. Of Cath. Epp., 278. Of John viii. 1—11., 282.
Syro-Chaldaic words in the New Testament, 14.
Syro-Hierosolymitan version, 284.
Syzygiæ suggested by Bengel, 67.

Tatian's Dia Tessarōn, 30. 40.
Terminology of New Testament Greek, 20.
Tertullian, 336. Shown not to cite 1 John v. 7., 370.
Text, early history of, 37. Mixed, described by Griesbach, 74. Recent, 46. Transition, 44, 45. (Printed) history of, 116. Of New Testament in its external form, 24.
Textual criticism defined, 1. Formerly cherished in England, 7. Sources of, 147.
Textus Receptus, 124.
Thebaic version, 295.
Theodore of Mopsuestia, 335.
Theodoret, 335.
Theology connected with true philology, 23.
Theophilus, Gothic bishop, 300.
Theories of recensions, later, 88.
Thomas of Harkel, reviser of the later Syriac, 272.
Thomson (Dr. J.) on the Complutensian MSS., 121.

Tischendorf incorrectly cites a note from Codex Augiensis, 198. *note.* His Codex of the Acts, 211. Collations, 137. Editions, 138.; of L., 194.; of Codex Amiatinus, 254; of Codex Claromontanus, 192.; of Codex Ephræmi, 167.; of Codex Palatinus, 237.; of Codex Purpureus, 177.; of Uffenbach and Harleian fragments, 207. His fragments, 204. Palimpsest fragments (II.), 184.; described by him, 184.; published by him, 186.
Tischendorfianus iv., Codex (Γ), 203.; iii., Codex (Λ), 203.
Titles or larger sections, 31. Their enumeration explained, 31.
Toletanus, Codex (Latin), 255.
Transition text, 44.
Travis on 1 John v. 7., 386.
Tremellius's edition of the Peshito New Testament, 260.
Tregelles's collations, 141. Critical principles, 140. Edition (in the press), 141. Edition of Revelation, 139. Examination of patristic citations, 341.
Trent, Council of, canonise the Vulgate, 249.
Trinity College, Cambridge, Latin MS. in, 255.
Trost's edition of the Peshito, 260.
Turner on Nolan's Inquiry, 93.
Turton on 1 John v. 7. (also Reviews), 387.
Twells's answer to Mace, 128.

Uffenbachianum, Fragmentum, 206.
Ulphilas, Gothic translator, 300.
Uncial writing of the oldest MSS., 25.
Unrevised text of Hug, 80.
Uppström's edition of Codex Argenteus, 308.
Uscan's alterations of the Armenian text, 313. His edition of the Armenian version, 311.
Usher's Syriac MS. lost, 284.

Valla (Laurentius) denies the purity of New Testament Greek, 21.
Vallarsi's text of Jerome's version, 253.
Vallicellensis, Codex, 248. One MS., quoted as three, 248. *note.*
Variations of the third century, 42.
Various readings, 48. As classified by Michaelis, 61. Examples of substitutions, 52. How originating, 48. Illustrated from typography, 49.
Vatican MS., sections of, 30.
Vatican fragments of Codex Purpureus [Γ], 177.
Vatican MS. (B), 158.
Vatican MS. 579. (38), 211.
Vatican MS. (S), 202.
Velezian readings, 111.
Venetus, Codex (209), 212.
Vercelli MS. (Latin), 237.
Verona MS. (Latin), 237.
Verse divisions facilitate reference, 35. Injurious or not, 35.
Verses, how introduced, 34.
Versions, ancient, 225. Critical use of, 228. As witnesses of the state of the text, 40. Testimony of, 225.
Vetus Itala, 234.
Victorinus, 236.
Vienna fragments of Codex Purpureus [N], 177.
Vienna MS. (Latin), 238.
Visi-Goths, 299.
Vowels, interchanges of, 50.
Vulgate, Latin, as adopted, 249. As a source of criticism, 253. Of Clement VIII., 251. Of Sixtus V., 250. And *Old* Latin, mutual relation, 256.

Walton's Arabic, 324. Critical apparatus, 124. Polyglott, Peshito in, 261. Reply to Owen, 125. *note.*
Wells's edition, 126.
Werden, Gothic MS. found at, 301.
Westcott on the old Latin version, 331.
Western recension, Griesbach's, 74.
Wetstein on Latinising MSS., 114. On Lectionaries, 222. His collation of Codex Ephræmi, 166. His collation of the later Syriac, 276. His edition, 129.
Wheloc's Persic, 328.
Whiston's use of Codex Bezæ, 172. *note.*
Whitby's attack on Mill, 126.
White's edition of the later Syriac, 276.
Wichelhaus on the Peshito, 265.
Widmanstadt's edition of the Peshito New Testament, 260.
Wilkins's edition of the Memphitic New Testament, 260.
Winer cited, on New Testament Lexicography, 13. On grammar as affecting interpretation, 18. *foot-note.* On the Peshito, 265.
Wiseman, on the writings of Ephrem, 237. On the Italian revision, 236. On Arabic versions, 325. *note.* On 1 John v. 7., 388. On the old Latin version, 231. Quoted on the old Latin version, 232. On the Peshito, 259. On "Speculum," 240. Defence of 1 John v. 7., 363.
Woide edits Codex Alexandrinus, 155. On Latinising MSS., 115. On Thebaic readings, 295. On 1 Tim. iii. 16. in Codex Alexandrinus, 156.
Woideanum, Fragmentum, 180.
Woide's collection of Thebaic fragments, 296.
Wolfenbüttel MSS. [P and Q], 179.
Writing, continuous, 25.
Writing material, original, 24.

Xenaias, 270.
Ximenes and his edition, 119.

Zacagni's facsimile of Codex Vaticanus, 165.
Zoega publishes fragments of a *third* Egyptian version, 298. His catalogue of the Borgian MSS., 297.

INDEX II.

INDEX TO THE INTRODUCTIONS TO THE RESPECTIVE BOOKS OF THE NEW TESTAMENT.

Acts of the Apostles, 476. Title of, 476. Author of, 477. Genuineness and authenticity of, 477. Objects of the book, 478. Dates of, 479. Analysis of, 480. Narrative of, 482.
Alexander, quoted, on Mark and Luke, 446.
Alford on John xxi., 465. On the opposers of St. John's Gospel, 464.

Benson on Philemon, 562.

Canonical Books, name and number, 407.
Catholic Epistles, 588.
Cerinthus, doctrines of, 470.
Chronology of the Epistles, 511.
Classification of books, 404.
Colossian Church, by whom founded, 541.
Colossians, 541. Occasion of, 542. Scope of, 543. Analysis of, 543. Connection with Ephesians, 544.
Corinth, St. Paul's visits to, 529.
Corinthian Church, 521.
Corinthians I., 521. Occasion of, 522. Analysis of, 523. Genuineness of, 525.
Corinthians II., 527. Where written, 527. Scope of, 528. Analysis of, 528.
Corinthians, Is any epistle to them *lost?* 525.
Crete, Christianity in, 558.

Doctrinal Books, 404.
Doctrines taught in the Epistles, 507.

Eckermann, on sources of Gospels, 658.
Eichhorn, on sources of Gospels, 646.
Ephesians, 534. Authorship, 535. To whom addressed, 535. Analysis of, 538. Connection with Colossians, 544.
Epistles, apostolical, in general, 506. Chronology of, 511. Difficulties of, 512.
Evangelists, design of, 408. Not copiers one of another, 642.
Evidence, grounds of, unchanged, 403.

Galatian Church, 531.
Galatians, 530. Date of, 530. Genuineness, 531. Analysis of, 532.
Gieseler, on sources of Gospels, 658.
Gleig, on Luke i. 2., 443. *note.* On sources of Gospels, 660.
Gospel, the Word, 407.
Gospels, sources of, 641. Why four, 408. When and where written, 409.
Gratz, on sources of Gospels, 648.

Hebrews, 565. To whom written, 566. Language, 569. Authorship, 571. Date, 585. Analysis of, 586.
Herder, on sources of Gospels, 657.
Historical books, 404.

Irenæus, on the design of St. John's Gospel, 468.

James, epistle of, 591. Authorship, 591. Authenticity, 593. To whom written, 594. Analysis, 595.
James, persons named, 591.
John the Evangelist, account of, 460.
John's Gospel, 460. Date of, 462. Genuineness of, 463. Design of, 467. Analysis of, 471. Character of, 475. Language of, 476. vii. 53—viii. 11. discussed, 465. Chap xxi. discussed, 464.
John I., 610. Date, 611. Persons addressed, 613. Analysis, 614.
John II., 616.
John III., 617.
Jude, Epistle of, 619. Authenticity of, 619. Connection with 2 Peter, 623.

Latin, not the language of St. Mark's Gospel, 437.
Le Clerc on the date of the Gospels, 412. *note.*
Lessing, on sources of Gospels, 646.
Luke, account of, 442.
Luke's Gospel, 442. Genuineness and authenticity of, 444. Chaps. i. and ii., &c., authority of, 449. Written for Gentiles, 452. Scope of, 454. Analysis of, 455. Characteristics of, 459.
Macknight on 1 Tim., 553.
Marcion's Gospel, 449.
Mark, new grounds for identifying him with John Mark, 432. *note.*

Mark's Gospel, early testimony to, 433. Discussion on the concluding verses, 434. Supposed date of, 436.
Marsh on sources of Gospels, 647.
Matthew, account of, 411. His Gospel, 410. Date of, 412. Language of, 416. Genuineness and authenticity of, 420. Early chapters, genuineness of, 421. Written for Jews, 427. Analysis of, 430.
Mark, account of, 432. His Gospel, 432. Analysis of, 438. Relation to Matthew, 439.
Michaelis on the Acts, 479. On the authority of Mark and Luke, 445. Quoted on the Gospels, 409. On St. Mark, 440. On Romans, 518. On sources of Gospels, 645.

NAME and number of canonical books, 407.

OBSERVATIONS, preliminary, 403.
Order of books, 404.

PAUL, account of, 484. Conversion of, 486. Ministry of, 490—1. Imprisonment of, 494. Martyrdom of, 496. Remarks on, 497.
Peter, account of, 597.
Peter I., 597. To whom written, 599. Where written, 600. Analysis of, 602.
Peter II., 603. Genuineness of, 604. Analysis, 609. Connection with Jude, 623. Connection with St. Mark's Gospel, 436.
Philemon, 560. Canonicity of, 561. Contents, 563.
Philippians, 538. When and where written, 539. Scope of, 539. Analysis of, 540.
Preliminary observations, 403.
Priestley, quoted on the Gospels, 409.
Prophetical book, 405.

REVELATION, 624. Authenticity, 624. Date, 632. Analysis, 635. Modes of interpreting, 638.
Roman Church, 514.
Romans, Epistle to, 513. Date, 513. Genuineness, &c., 514. Occasion, 515. Condition of those addressed, 515. Analysis of, 518. Michaelis on, 518.

SCHLEIERMACHER on sources of Gospels, 653.
Scott on 2 Cor., 529.
Semler on Sources of Gospels, 646.
Silas and Luke, 444.
Smith, James, of Jordanhill, on St. Paul's Voyage, 482. On Sources of Gospels, 664.
Sources of Gospels, 641.

TABLE of Classification of Books, 406.
Thessalonians I., 544. Analysis of, 545.
Thessalonians II., 545. Analysis of, 546.
Timothy, account of, 547.
Timothy I., 547. Date of, 548. Authenticity of, 551. Analysis of, 552.
Timothy II., 554. When written, 554. Analysis of, 557.
Titus, Epistle to, 558. Date of, 559. Analysis of, 560.
Tomline quoted, on the date of the Gospels, 412. 415.
Townson on St. Matthew, 429.

VERSIS on Sources of Gospels, 651.

INDEX III.

INDEX TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL LIST.

Adams, Gr. Gospels, 712.
Adler, Bibliotheca Biblica, 667.
Adler on Syriac Versions, 729.
Æthiopic Version, 732.
Aitton, Gr. Test., 697.
Aldine LXX., 721.
Alexandrinus, Codex (N. Test.), 678.
Alexandrinus, Codex (O. Test.), 680.
Alexandrinus, Codex (Psalter), 679.
Alford, Gr. Test., 710.
Alter, Gr. Test., 692.
Amiatinus, Codex, 755.
Ammon, Gr. Pent. (Venice), 727.
Anglo-Saxon Version, 738.
Antwerp Polyglott, 715.
Apel, Apocrypha, 740.
Apocryphal books of O. Test., 740.
Apocrypha, N. Test., 749.
Appendix to Cod. Alex., 679.
Arabic Bibles (Polyglott), 730.
Arabic Versions, 733.
Argenteus, Codex, 738.
Arias Montanus, Heb. Bible, 672.
Armenian Versions, 733.
Athens LXX., 726.
Athias, Heb. Bible, 672.
Augusti, Apocrypha, 740.

Baber, Cod. Alex. O. Test., 724.
Bagster, Heb. Bible, 676.
Bagster, large print Gr. Test., 711.
Bagster, Polyglott, 717.
Bagster, LXX., 725.
Bagster, LXX. (with Apocrypha &c.), 726.
Bahrdt, Hexapla, 727.
Barberini Fragments, 683.
Barrett, Cod. Dublinensis, 696.
Bashmuric Version, 732.
Basle Gr. Test. (1825), 698.
Basle Heb. Bible, 677.
Bayley, Heb. Bible, 674.
Beck, Targum on Chronicles, 720.
Benedictine ed. of Jerome's version, 734.
Bengel, Gr. Test., 689.
Bernstein, Harclean Syr. St. John, 729.
Bezæ, Codex, 681.
Beza, Gr. Tests., 686.
Bialloblotsky, τα Βιβλια διπλα, 677.
Bible Society's Heb. Bible, 677.
Bibliotheca Biblica, Adler, 667.
Bibliotheca Biblica, Orme, 699.
Bibliotheca Sacra, Calmet, 667.
Bibliotheca Sacra, Masch, 667.
Bibliotheca Hebræa, Wolf, 668.
Bibliotheca Sacra, Le Long, 667.
Bibliotheca Sussexiana, Pettigrew, 669.
Biel (*De*), Heb. Bible, 673.
Birch, Apocrypha, N. T., 749.
Birch, Gr. Gospels, 692.
Birch, Various Readings, 692.
Blanchini, Evangeliarium Quadruplex, 734.
Blayney, Pent. Heb. Samar., 678.
Bloomfield, Gr. Test., 703, 704.
Boernerianus, Codex, 681.
Boetticher, Acta Apostolorum, Copticè, 731
Boissonade, Gr. Test., 698.
Bomberg, Heb. Bible, 671.
Boothroyd, Heb. Bible, 676.
Borgianus, Codex, 552.
Bos, LXX., 723.
Bowyer, Gr. Test., 691.
Breitinger, LXX., 723.
Brenton, LXX. in English, 726.
Brescia Heb. Bible, 671.
Bretschneider, Ecclesiasticus, 741.
Brylinger, LXX., 721.
Bugati, Daniel, Syr. Hex., 729.
Bugati, Psalms, Syr. Hex., 729.
Burton, Gr. Test., 702.
Buxtorf, Heb. Bible, 671.
Bythner, Lyra Davidis, 678.

Cædmon, Ang.-Sax. Paraphrase, 735.
Calmet, Bibliotheca Sacra, 667.
Carafa, LXX., 722.
Cardwell, Gr. Test., 705.
Castiglione, Gothic Palimpsests, 737.
Cellarii, Horæ Samaritanæ, 678.
Cephalæus, Gr. Test., 685.
Cephalæus, LXX., 721.
Chajim, Heb. Bible, 671.
Clarke, Succession of Sacred Literature, 668.
Claromontanus, Codex, 683.
Clementine Vulgate, 735.

Cluver and Klumpf, LXX., 722.
Colinæus, Gr. Test., 686.
Complutensian Gr. Test., 685.
Complutensian Polyglott, 714.
Complutensian LXX., 721.
Coislin Fragments, 682.
Copto-Arabic Psalter, 731.
Cotton, Maccabees, 741.
Curcellæus, Gr. Tests., 687.
Curetonian Syriac, 728.

Dakins, Gr. Test., 697.
D'Allemand, Heb. Bible, 676.
Daniel, Book of, LXX., 724.
Daniel, LXX. 722.
Davidson, Revision of Hebrew Text, 677.
Daye, Ang.-Sax. Gospels, 739.
Dee, Lyre of David, 678.
Didot, Latin Vulg., 736.
Dieu (*De*), Syriac Apocalypse, 729.
Dobrowsky, Fragmentum Pragense, 735.
Doederlein and Meissner, Heb. Bible, 675.
Dublinensis, Codex, 682.
Dulaurier, Apocryphal Revelations, 750.
Duncan, Gr. Test., 700.

Egyptian Versions, 731.
Ellicott, Galatians and Ephesians, 711.
Elzevir Gr. Tests., 686.
Engelbreth, Egyptian Fragments, 732.
English Translations of LXX., 726.
Ephræmi, Codex (N. Test.), 680.
Ephræmi, Codex (O. Test.), 691.
Erasmus, Gr. Tests., 685.
Erpenius, Ar. N. Test., 730.
Ess (*Van*), Gr. and Lat. Test., 698.
Ess (*Van*), LXX., 725.

Fabricius (Apocrypha), 747.
Fabricius, Apocrypha, N. Test., 749.
Fell, Gr. Test., 688.
Fischer, Exod. and Lev., Gr., 723.
Fischer, Numb. and Deut., Gr., 724.
Fleck, Cod. Amiatinus, 735.
Foxe, Ang.-Sax. Gospels, 739.
Frankfort Latin Vulgate, 736.
Frederico-Augustanus, Codex, 683.
Fulda, Gothic Gospels, 737.

Gabelenz, Ulfilas, 738.
Gaillard, Gr. Test., 697.
Georgi, Thebaic fragments, 732.
Gfroerer, Apocrypha, &c., 749.
Giles, Apocrypha, N. T., 750.
Glasgow Gr. Test. (1821), 697.
Glasgow LXX., 725.
Goeschen, Gr. Test., 705.
Gothic Version, 736.
Grabe, LXX., 723.
Gratz, Gr. and Lat. Test., 697.
Greek N. Testament, 684.
Greenfield, Gr. Test., 699.
Greenfield, Syriac N. Test., 728.
Greverus, Cædmon, 739.
Griesbach, Gr. Test. ed. I., 691.
Griesbach, Gr. Test. ed II., 693.
Griesbach, N. Tests. (Leipsic), 694.
Griesbach's Text of Gr. Test., with readings of Mill and Scholz, 705.
Grinfield, Hellenistic Gr. Test., 708.
Guelpherbytani, Codices, 682.

Hagiographa (1487), 670.
Hahn, Gr. Test., 706.
Hahn, Heb. Bible, 676.
Hahn, Heb. and Lat. Bible, 677.
Halle LXX. (1759), 723.
Harleian Fragment, 683.
Harwood, Gr. Test., 691.
Hasse, specimen of Syr. Hex. Version, 729.
Hearne, Cod. Laudianus, 689.
Hebrew Bible, editions of, 670.
Hebrew Reading Lessons, 678.
Henkius, Apocrypha, 740.
Henshall, Gothic St. Matt., 737.
Hervagius, LXX., 721.
Hexapla (Origen's), 726.
Hexapla, English, 718.
Holmes, LXX., 724.
Hone, Apocryphal N. T., 750.
Hooght (*Van der*), Heb. Bible, 673.
Houbigant, Heb. Bible, 673.
Howard, Ecclesiasticus, 741.

Ideler, Coptic Psalter, 731.
Ihre, Gothic Fragments, 737.
Iliff, Biblia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Polyglotta, 718.
Interlineary Heb. and English Psalter, 677.

Jablonsky, Heb. Bible, 672.
Jager, LXX., 725.
Jahn, Heb. Bible, 675.
Jasher, 747.
Jasher (forgery), 741.
Jaumann, Gr. Test., 704.
Jerome's Version, 734.
Jerusalem Targum, 720.
Jonathan, Targum, 720.
Jones on the Canon, 749.
Jones, Syriac Collations, 728.
Joseph, Targum, 720.
Jowett, Gr. Test., 708.
Jowett (*B.*), Thess., Gal., Romans, 711.
Junius, Cædmon, 739.
Junius, Gothic Gospels, 736.

Kennicott, Heb. Bible, 674
Kipling, Cod. Bezæ, 693.

Kirsch, Pent. Syr., 727.
Knapp, Gr. Test., 696.
Knittel, Gothic Fragments, 736.
Koppe, Gr. Test., 691

Lachmann, Gr. Tests., 701.
Lachmann, Latin Text, 735.
Latin Versions, 733.
Laudianus, Codex, 681.
Laurence, Enoch, 747.
Laurence, Ascensio Isaiæ, 748.
Laurence, Esdras I., 749.
Le Jay, Polyglott, 715.
Le Long, Bibliotheca Sacra, 667.
Le Long, Sur les Bibles Polyglottes, 667.
Lee, Syriac O. Test, 727.
Lee, Syr. N. Test., 728.
Leusden, Apocrypha, 740.
Leutsch, Gr. Test., 699.
Lieder, Memph. and Arab. N. Test., 731.
Linde, Ecclesiasticus, 741.
Lloyd, Gr. Test., 699.
Loebe, Ulfilas, 738.
London, Ar. N. Test., 730.
London Polyglott, 715.
London Society's Heb. Bible, 676.
Lye, Gothic Gospels, 736.

Mace, Gr. Test., 689.
Macmichael, Gr. Test., 711.
Maestricht, Gr. Test., 689.
Magistris, (*De*) Daniel, LXX., 724.
Mai, Cod. St. Matt. Lat., 734.
Mai, Gothic Palimpsests, 737.
Mai, Gr. Test., 712.
Manuscripts, fac-simile editions of, 678.
Maresius, Heb. Bible, 672.
Marsh, Lectures, 668.
Masch, Bibliotheca Sacra, 667.
Massmann, Gothic Fragments, 737.
Massmann, Ulfilas, 738.
Matthæi, Cod. Boernerianus, 693.
Matthæi, Gr. Tests., 691.
Megilloth, Quinque, (1482, 1486), 670.
Meissner and Doederlein, Heb. Bible, 675.
Memphitic Version, 731.
Memphitic and Arabic Gospels, 731.
Memphitic and Arabic N. Test., 731.
Michaelis, Curæ in Vers. Syr. Act. Apost., 728.
Michaelis, Heb. Bible, 673.
Middeldorpf, on Syr. Hex. Version, 729.
Middeldorpf, Cod. Syr. Hex., &c., 729.
Mill, Gr. Test., 688.
Mingarelli, Thebaic Fragments, 732.
Montanus, Heb. Bible, 672.
Montfaucon, Hexapla, 726.
Munster, Heb. Bible, 672.
Münter, Frag. Lat., 734.
Münter, on Thebaic, 732.
Murray, Enoch Restitutus, 748.

Naebe, Gr. Test., 701.
Newcastle Arabic Bible, 730.
Nobili, Latin version of LXX., 733.
Nodier, Bibliothèque Sacrée, 669.
Norberg, Jer. and Ezek., Syr. Hex., 729.
Norzi, Heb. Bible, 673.

Onkelos, Targum, 719.
Oriental Versions, 727.
Origen, Hexapla and Tetrapla, 726.
Orme, Bibliotheca Biblica, 669.
Overton on Enoch, 749.
Oxford LXX. (Carpzov's Introd.) 725.

Palfrey, Griesbach's Gr. Text translated, 696.
Paris Polyglott, 715.
Parson's LXX., 724.
Paulus, Specimina Verss., Arr., 730.
Paris Fragments, 683.
Pentaglott Psalter, 714.
Pentateuch, Samaritan, 678.
Pentateuchus Hebraicus (1482), 670.
Peshito, 727.
Persian Gospels, Polyglott, 730.
Persic Version of Gospels, 730.
Pettigrew, Bibliotheca Sussexiana, 669.
Philoxenian Syriac, 728.
Plantin, Heb. Bible, 672.
Pickering, Gr. Test., 699.
Platt, Æthiopic Gospels and N. Test., 733.
Pococke, Syr. Cath. Epp., 729.
Polyglott, Æthiopic Psalter, 732.
Polyglott Bibles, 713.
Potken, Æthiopic Psalter, 732.
Potken, Tetraglott Psalter, 714.
Pratensis, Heb. Bible, 671.
Prophetæ, Heb. (1486), 670.
Psalms, Heb. and English, 677.
Psalter, Interlineary, 677.
Psalterium Hebraicum (1477), 670.
Purpureus, Codex, 683.

Rabbinic Heb. Bible, 671.
Reeves, Gr. Test., 696.
Regius, Codex, 682.
Rehdigerianus, Cod., 734.
Reineccius, Heb. Bible, 673.
Reineccius, LXX., 723.
Reineccius, Tetraglott, 717.
Rettig, Cod. San-Gallensis, 705.
Reuss, Geschichte des Neuen Testaments, 669.
Rogers, Hebrew Psalter, 677.
Roman Æthiopic N. Test., 732.
Roman Arabic Bible, 730.
Roman Ar. Gospels, 730.
Roman Copto-Arabic Psalter, 731.
Roman, LXX., 722.
Rossi (*De*), Variæ Lectiones Vet. Test., 669.
Rossi (*De*), Scholia Critica, 669.
Rossi (*De*) on Syr. Hexapl. Version, 729.

Sabatier, Latin Vers. Ant., 733.
Samaritan, Pentateuch, 678.
San-Gallensis Codex, 682.

Schaaf, Syr. N. Test., 728.
Scharfenberg, on Gr. Fragments, 727.
Scheibel, Cod. Rehdigerianus, 734.
Schmeller, Gothic and Frankish St. Matt., 737.
Schmidt, Heb. Bible, 673.
Schoetzen, Gr. Test., 690.
Scholefield, Gr. and Engl. Test., 705.
Scholz, Gr. Test., 700.
Scholz's Text, with English and various readings, 708.
Schott, Gr. Test., 696.
Schwartze, Memphitic Gospels, 731.
Schwartze, Psalterium Copticum, 731.
Schulz, Cod. Rehdigerianus, 734.
Schulz, Griesbach's Gr. Gospels, 694.
Scrivener, British edit. of Gr. Test., 710.
Septuagint, 720.
Sharpe, Griesbach's Gr. Text Translated, 696.
Simonis, Heb. Bible, 673.
Sixtine Vulgate, 735.
Slavonic Version, 738.
Soncino, Heb. Bible (1488), 671.
Spelman, Angl.-Sax. Psalter, 739.
Spohn, Jeremias, Gr., 726.
Stanley, Corinthians, 712.
Stiernhielm, Gothic Gospels, 736.
Stephens, Gr. Tests., 686.
Stier and Theile, Polyglott, 719.
Syriac Bibles (Polyglott), 727.
Syriac Hexaplar version, 709.
Syriac Pentateuch, Kirsch, 727.
Syriac Versions, 727.
Syriac O. Test., Lee, 727.

Targums, 719.
Targum, on Psalms, Job, &c., 720.
Tattam, Memphitic Prophets, 731.
Tetrapla, (Origen's), 726.
Thebaic Version, 732.
Theile, Gr. Test., 709.
Theile, Heb. Bible, 677.
Thilo, Acta Petri et Pauli, 749.
Thilo, Acta Thomæ, 749.
Thilo, Apocrypha, N. T., 750.
Thomson, LXX. in English, 726.
Thorpe, Ang.-Sax. Gospels, 740.
Thorpe, Ang.-Sax. Psalter, 739.
Thorpe, Cædmon, 739.
Thwaites, Ang.-Sax. Heptateuch, 739.
Tischendorf, Apocryphal Acts, 750.
Tischendorf, Apocryphal Gospels, 750.
Tischendorf, Cod. Amiatinus, 735.
Tischendorf, Cod. Ephræmi, 709.
Tischendorf's, Codices, 683.
Tischendorf, Evangelium Palatinum, 734.
Tischendorf, Gr. Tests., 707, 708.
Tischendorf, Monumenta Sacra, 682, 683.
Tischendorf, LXX., 726.
Tittmann, Gr. Test., 697.
Townley, Illustrations of Biblical Literature, 668.
Townley, Literary History of the Bible, 668.
Tregelles, Account of Printed Text, 670.
Tregelles, Gr. and Eng. Revelation, 709.
Tregelles, Gr. Test., 712.
Tregelles, Hebrew Reading Lessons, 678.
Triglott Gospels, 719.
Trollope, Gr. Test., 705.
Turner, Gr. and Eng., Ephesians, Hebrews, Romans, 711.

Uffenbach Fragment, 683.
Uppström, Codex Argenteus, 738.
Upsal Gr. Test. (1820), 697.

Vallarsi, Jerome's Version, 735.
Valpy, Gr. Test., 702.
Valpy, LXX., 725.
Van der Hooght, Heb. Bible, 673.
Vater, Gr. Test., 698.
Vatican LXX., 722.
Venice Greek Version, 727.
Versions, ancient, 719.
Villoison, Gr. Prov., &c. (Venice), 727.
Vulgate Version, 735.

Walton, Polyglott, 715.
Walton, Polyglott Gr. Test., 687.
Webster and Wilkinson, Gr. Test., 711.
Wechel, LXX. and N. Test., 722.
Wells, Gr. Test., 688.
Wetstein, Gr. Test., 690.
Wheloc, Persian Gospels, 730.
White, Gr. Test., 697.
White, Philoxenian Syriac, 728, 729.
Widmanstadt, Syr. N. Test., 727.
Wilkins, Memphitic N. Test., 731.
Wilkins, Targum on Chronicles, 720.
Wilson, Apocrypha, 740.
Woide, Cod. Alex., 692.
Woide, Thebaic Fragments, 732.
Wolf, Bibliotheca Hebræa, 668.
Wordsworth, Gr. Apocalypse, 710.

Ximenes, Polyglott, 714.

Zoega, Thebaic Catalogue, &c., 732.
Zohrab, Armenian Bible, 733.

FINIS

VOLUMINIS QUARTI ET TOTIUS OPERIS.

LONDON

PRINTED BY SPOTTISWOODE AND CO.

NEW-STREET SQUARE

00059077

Digitized with financial assistance from

Government of Maharashtra

on 30 January, 2020